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The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

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Emma
Goldman
Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 43

Correspondence

April 16, 1938, to July 15, 1938

Edited by
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- [Letter] 1938 June 20, London [to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].
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- [Circular] 1938 June 20, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / M[anuel] Mascarell.
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- [Circular] 1938 June 21, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / Lucía Sánchez Saornil.
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- [Letter] 1938 June 22, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / J. Prince.
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Introduction to Reels 38 through 45 (July 1, 1936, to March 15, 1939)

During July 1936, Goldman, still grieving over Berkman's death, redirected her energies toward the anarchist struggle in the Spanish Civil War. She devoted herself wholeheartedly to enlisting international support against Francisco Franco's Fascist forces and their allies among right-wing groups.

At first, Berkman's suicide left Goldman at a loss about the future direction of her life. "We burried [sic] him yesterday," she wrote to Liza and Semion Koldofsky, "and the largest part of my life was burried with him" (7/1/36). She was unable to work on her lectures with the deluge of expressions of condolence from family, friends, and comrades to respond to. In accordance with Berkman's last wishes, she helped his companion, Emmy Eckstein, relocate to her parents' home in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Goldman tried to get a passport to facilitate Eckstein's emigration to the United States.

Goldman had taken an interest in Spanish anarchism long before war began. She had visited Spain briefly in 1928 with Henry G. Alsberg, an associate from New York, to learn about the growing anarcho-syndicalist movement. There she met Federica Montseny, daughter of veteran anarchists and during the Civil War the first woman to serve in a Spanish cabinet. Throughout the 1930s, Goldman had been impressed with Spanish anarcho-syndicalist organizations, which were among the most successful in Europe.

After her return to Europe from Canada in 1935, Goldman began to follow events in Spain more closely. She learned about conditions there from several of her correspondents who had become involved with the Spanish anarchists: Augustin Souchy, Max Nettlau, Helmut Rüdiger, and Alexander Schapiro. As members of the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men's Association (IWMA), they volunteered to work for the two affiliated Spanish organizations, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), the

association of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions, and the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI), the political organization of anarchist militants.

Throughout these years, however, and even for a few weeks into the war, Goldman saw little hope of an anarchist revolution in Spain. Indeed, on first hearing the news of the outbreak of fighting between the military forces of General Franco and the anarchist and socialist militia, Goldman worried that the people could become the victims of change, as they had during the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, rather than its beneficiaries (to Therese Souchy, 7/22/36). In light of the early military victories by Republican forces, Goldman decided that she had been mistaken about the chances of an anarchist victory in Spain. "The awful pall that hung over me since Sashas untimely death has been broken," she wrote to her friend Arthur Leonard Ross. "It was due to the call I have received from my Spanish comrade[s] to help them in their heroic struggle" (8/29/36).

Soon after arriving in Spain in September 1936, Goldman decided to contribute her formidable public relations skills to the anarchist struggle. She would meet with important anarchists, gather information and documentary material, and then return to Great Britain to set up a press service and propaganda bureau. During her three-month tour of the areas under anarchist control, she visited agrarian collectives and worker-operated factories and utilities to learn as much as possible about economic conditions and labor organizations. Based in Barcelona, where she produced the English language version of the weekly CNT-FAI Information Bulletin, she traveled throughout Catalonia, the Levante, and Aragón and visited the Huesca and the Aragón fronts. She was hindered by her inability to speak Spanish, but with the help of interpreters and her fluency in French, the most commonly spoken foreign language in Spain, she was able to ascertain enough to be impressed by the level of organization that was maintained in most sectors of the economy. In her letters she repeatedly contrasted the innovativeness of Spanish

revolutionaries with her experience of the inability of their Russian counterparts to create new social institutions during the early 1920s.

Goldman's accounts of the Civil War, while naturally influenced by her partisanship, nevertheless provide some of the most thoughtful contemporary commentary on events in Spain. Her relatively balanced observations are all the more valuable because of the war's controversial nature, which produced grossly inaccurate reportage from the mass media and left-wing press alike. Goldman refrained from hasty assessments of a complex political situation about which she initially knew little. For example, she avoided publicly criticizing the CNT-FAI for issuing so much publicity about Soviet aid to the Republican forces. She suspected Stalin's motives in supplying arms and noted that the arms went only to troops controlled by the Spanish Communist party, Partido Comunista de España (PCE), leaving the anarchist-controlled militia in Catalonia very poorly supplied. Nevertheless, in a letter from Barcelona to an unnamed comrade (12/7/36), she warned against judgments based solely on theory: "Bear in mind that life is more exacting than theories. Not that I can agree with some of the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. But being on the spot I can understand them."

Another issue that Goldman faced was the extent to which anarchists should ally themselves with other parties of the Left. Accompanying the anarchists in their struggle against the Right were the PCE, the socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), and the dissident (anti-Stalinist) Communist party, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM). Caught in the cross fire between anarchist purists of the IWMA, including Alexander Schapiro and Mollie Steimer (who opposed any anarchist alliances with other organizations), and generally uncritical supporters of CNT-FAI policies such as Max Nettlau, Goldman identified most with the pragmatic flexibility of Mariano Vázquez of the CNT-FAI. She believed that the demands of the military struggle against Franco forced anarchists to ally with other antifascist organizations. But she continually urged anarchists to expand their own

political activities in the liberated regions by holding public meetings, producing propaganda, and increasing mass participation in anarchist organizations. She warned that otherwise, in the competitive political dynamics of Civil War Spain, anarchist groups would lose their identity in mass organizations.

Returning to Britain in early 1937 as an official representative of the CNT-FAI, Goldman rose to the familiar challenge of defending a movement beset by critics from both the Right and the Left. While she had her own criticisms, she concentrated on publicizing the constructive work of the Spanish anarchist movement, emphasizing the revolutionary aspects of the struggle: the agrarian collectives, the new public schools, the worker-owned factories and utilities, the democratic structure of the anarchist militia. These new, democratic institutions, Goldman insisted, were replacing a corrupt system dominated by the landed aristocracy with its allies in the Catholic church and the army. This emphasis corrected both the conservatives' portrayal of Spanish anarchists as destroyers of civil order and traditional values and the pro-Soviet Left's dismissal of anarchists as undisciplined opportunists unwilling to do their share of fighting on the front lines.

Her role as a representative of an organization, the CNT-FAI, was a new one for her. Throughout her life she had worked as an independent activist, forming coalitions or *ad hoc* committees as the need arose. As the London representative for the CNT-FAI, she agreed to function as an official of a large organization, an organization that had the opportunity and the will to undertake governmental functions. Federica Montseny, for example, one of Goldman's associates in the CNT, was serving as the Minister of Health, along with three other anarchist ministers. Goldman faced this dilemma with an extensive understanding of the political dynamics in Spain. She knew that Spanish anarchists had to choose between two potentially damaging alternatives. On one hand, they could stay out of the Popular Front government and allow other parties to take power and risk having that power

used against them in the future. On the other hand, they could join the government and risk abandoning the central tenet of their political philosophy: that the functions of government are oppressive in all contexts. While Goldman did not take a definite position on this issue, she insisted that anarchists should never work to limit the freedom of other parties or individuals, except that of Fascists.

Her first project consisted of an effort to display her collection of photographs, posters, journals, newsletters, manifestos, and paintings from Spain as a way to demonstrate the importance of the anarchist contribution to the Spanish Revolution. Her exhibition of photographs of the bombardment of Madrid by Franco's forces was also an appeal for humanitarian aid for the casualties of an increasingly mechanized war that targeted civilian populations. She worked with Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose of the Independent Labour Party on a joint exhibition of her collection and other materials from Republican Spain. And she was a prime mover behind the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children which raised about £500 during the winter and spring of 1937.

While her public meetings were well attended, usually attracting seven or eight hundred people, she frequently complained in her letters about the lack of response to her efforts in Britain. She may have been comparing the British response to her Spanish aid campaign with the huge crowds she drew in the United States in the similarly charged atmosphere of the years before World War I. As before, she was convinced that she could do more in the United States to aid the Spanish anarchists; in early 1937 she applied through Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union for another visa to lecture in the United States. This application, her last major effort to return, was rejected.

Goldman also set herself the formidable task of convincing the British labor movement to take direct action to force the government to end its arms embargo against Spain. Without foreign aid, except the small amounts of arms

and a few advisers from the Soviet Union and Mexico, the Republican forces were unable to hold ground against Franco's army, which was well supplied by the governments of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The British government's arms embargo continued throughout the Civil War, despite general public support for the Republican cause. The anticommunist sympathies of the leadership of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress prevented any rank-and-file challenge to the government's "neutrality". In addition, Goldman and her associates had few contacts with British labor unions. They were unable to attract more than a few individuals to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, which was formed primarily to provide support for the CNT-FAI.

Goldman's journalistic efforts on behalf of Spain were considerably more successful. She worked with Vernon Richards, the son of an Italian anarchist, and his companion Marie-Louise Berneri, the daughter of the Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, a major figure in the CNT in Barcelona, on the fortnightly newspaper, *Spain and the World*. Although Goldman wrote several letters to the editors of major British dailies to try to correct their inaccurate reporting on the Civil War, she preferred to write for an anarchist journal. She was able to obtain financial support for *Spain and the World* from the CNT, and she recruited several British writers, including the poet and art critic Herbert Read, to write for the paper. In addition to providing an alternative to the mass media's distortion and the neglect of Spanish events, *Spain and the World* contributed to the sense of urgency about the Civil War that led hundreds of individuals to volunteer for the International Brigades, which were essential to the Republican military efforts.

Events in Spain became more complicated after the outbreak of street fighting in Barcelona between the CNT militia and the central Republican forces, which were increasingly dominated by troops loyal to the PCE, during the "May Days" of 1937. The fighting, which continued for several days, began when the central government attempted to remove the Barcelona telephone exchange, the primary center for communications for Catalonia, from CNT

control. Hundreds of CNT and POUM militants were killed and hundreds more arrested. After the negotiated settlement, in which Federica Montseny played a crucial role, Goldman changed her initial stance of muting her public criticism of the other leftist parties in Spain. She began to criticize the suppression of the workers' organizations and the arrest and detention of anarchist militants. She held the PCE responsible for the street fighting because she believed that the Republican government, dependent on Soviet aid, was being forced to eliminate the revolutionary programs of the CNT-FAI, that the desire to limit the revolutionary potential of the Civil War guided the Soviets' policy. They ostensibly wanted to maintain the participation of all levels of Spanish society in the Popular Front against Franco and to avoid offending the governments of Britain, France, and the United States, countries whose governments were opposed to a communist or anarchist revolution in Spain. When the left-wing socialist premier, Largo Caballero, who had resisted communist influence, was removed, along with the four anarchists in his cabinet, and procommunist Juan Negrín was installed in his place, Goldman's criticism became even harsher. In an article in *Spain and the World* of June 4, 1937 (see the Goldman Writings Series), she accused the Communists and right-wing socialists of plotting to end the social revolution in Spain. She also attributed the death of Camillo Berneri--found shot in the back after being arrested during the May Days--to agents of Stalin. Finally, she likened this campaign, which included attacks on agrarian collectives, to the repression of the anarchists and other noncommunist leftists in Russia under Lenin and Stalin.

The events of May 1937 shattered the solidarity of the Popular Front government in Spain but did not surprise Goldman who had been prepared for such an outcome by her disappointing experience in the Russian Revolution. She was angered by the conciliatory position of the CNT leaders who were trying to avoid a protracted battle between anarchists and the Republican government. But she was also angry at the insistent criticisms of Mollie

Steimer, Alexander Schapiro, and others in the international anarchist movement, who demanded that the anarchists cease all cooperation with the Republican government. She argued that the urgency of the war against Franco, in which the Republican forces were taking heavy losses, made such theoretical purity impossible. Goldman was also able to place what she saw as the mistakes of the CNT-FAI leaders in the context of the constructive efforts they were making.

During the months after the May Days, Goldman became impatient for reliable news from Spain. A comrade from New York, Abe Bluestein, after visiting her in London, wrote her several detailed reports from Barcelona, documenting the repression of the anarchist organizations by the Republican government. He also described the developing split between the leaders of the CNT-FAI and a new organization, Libertarian Youth, whose members wanted to resist the repressive governmental actions. Feeling the need to reassess the political situation for herself, Goldman returned to Spain in September 1937. She visited the Madrid front and was impressed by the high morale of the Republican troops. She found many of the agrarian collectives in Catalonia still thriving. She also visited the Modelo Prison in Madrid where she learned that fifteen hundred anarchists and several hundred members of POUM were being held as political prisoners. Outraged by these arrests and the recent disappearance of Kurt Landau, a member of the Executive Committee of POUM, Goldman attacked the Republican government in an article, "Political Persecution in Republican Spain," in *Spain and the World* (12/10/37, Goldman Writings Series). Mariano Vázquez and Pedro Herrera of the FAI, in a response to this article, advised Goldman to use more tact in her criticisms of the Republican government. Such complaints, they argued, could undermine the support the Republican government sought in its struggle against fascism.

Back in Britain by December 1937, Goldman continued to campaign for the CNT-FAI. She wrote for *Spain and the World*, organized a musical evening

for the benefit of Civil War refugees, and formed a British branch of a new organization, Solidaridad Internacional Anti-Fascista (SIA), founded in Spain by Federica Montseny to raise funds for humanitarian aid for Catalonia. By the spring of 1938, Goldman began to find it more difficult to arouse support for the Spanish cause as the attention of the public was drawn to Central Europe; Hitler occupied Austria in March and began to intensify his anti-Semitic propaganda campaign. Meanwhile, after the Soviet government's indictment of the Old Bolsheviks, Goldman focused increasingly on the links between Stalinism and fascism, an analysis that had limited appeal in Britain. Feeling that her work in Britain was failing, Goldman decided to visit Spain once more and then move to Canada, where she hoped to be more successful at raising funds for the CNT-FAI. As the military situation worsened and Franco's troops advanced toward Barcelona, she knew that the anarchist cause might be defeated in Spain. But she needed to draw inspiration once again from "the only people in the world who still love liberty passionately enough to be willing to die for it" (to Arthur Leonard Ross, 6/17/38).

At the same time she faced another personal crisis when her niece Stella Ballantine was hospitalized in New York for severe depression. For decades Goldman had been closer to Ballantine than to any other family member, relying on her even more for emotional support after Alexander Berkman's death. The loss of this support contributed to the growing feeling of isolation that Goldman experienced as her work in Britain brought fewer results.

By the time she reached Barcelona in September 1938 for her third and final visit, a deep split had developed within the anarchist movement over the issue of cooperation with the Republican government. Although she sympathized with the faction of the CNT-FAI, led by Pedro Herrera, that adhered to the classical anarchist principle of avoiding any cooperation with the state, she considered this an internal matter about which she was unwilling to comment. She nevertheless remained determined to call attention to the

Republican government's political repression of dissident leftists. She spoke out against the charges brought against a number of POUM activists accused of collaboration with the Fascists, declaring that it was the POUM's anti-Stalinism that had led to their arrests. And she expected CNT personnel like Mariano Vázquez to do more to obtain the release of the jailed anarchists.

After Goldman returned to London in November, she closed the CNT-FAI press office, as there was no one else in London able to carry on her work, and she convinced Ethel Mannin to take responsibility for the SIA. Before moving to Canada, where she planned to raise funds for the SIA, Goldman needed to find a safe repository for Berkman's papers, which were in storage in her house in St. Tropez. She chose the International Institute of Social History, located in Amsterdam, because of its reputation for independence from any government restrictions or monitoring. She spent most of January 1939 cataloguing his papers. Briefly absorbed again in her private life, perhaps effecting a final separation from Berkman and an integration of the experience of the decades she was associated with him, she thus insulated herself from the final defeat of the Spanish anarchists with the fall of Barcelona to Nationalist troops in late January.

The plight of the Spanish refugees detained in poorly supplied refugee camps in France, however, evoked an immediate response from Goldman. She began work to raise money to help them emigrate to North America. She also began a dispute with Mariano Vázquez about the cause of the defeat of anarchism in Spain. Goldman believed that the sabotage of the social revolution by the Communists was the deciding factor; their attacks on the programs and organizations that benefited the Spanish masses led to the demoralization of the groups that supported the Republican cause. Vázquez saw the failure of Western democracies to come to the aid of Republican Spain as the primary cause of the defeat because it left the Republican forces hopelessly outnumbered by the well-equipped Nationalist troops assisted by their German, Italian, and Moroccan units.

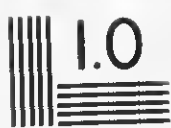
Each of these positions included differing assessments of the actions of the anarchists themselves. Goldman thought it was naive to ally with the Communists in the Popular Front government. She was aware of the importance of public morale in maintaining a protracted civil war with heavy casualties; therefore it was important to distinguish one's efforts from any organization that could act against the interests of the people. She could not see as clearly as Vázquez the importance of external, international forces in a conflict as complex as the Spanish Civil War. Vázquez believed that without support from an international anarchist movement, other labor organizations abroad, or democratic governments, the Spanish anarchists had no choice but to accept support from the Soviet Union. In late 1937, Goldman had been willing to admit that she may have been too optimistic in her assessment of the strength of the anarchist movement in Spain. This allowed her to accept the eventual defeat of the anarchists without losing hope for the future. She had come to realize that "it will take more than one revolution before our ideas will come to full growth. Untill then the steps will be feeble, our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will be the mistakes our comrades are bound to make.... I will die as I lived[,] with my burning faith in the ultimate triumph of our ideal" (to Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, 9/7/37).

Editor's Note.

Many documents relating to Emma Goldman's involvement with the anarchist cause during the Spanish Civil War, including a large body of correspondence, were acquired too late to be incorporated in the chronologically organized Correspondence Series. Users of the microfilm are advised to consult reels 68 and 69, which consist of supplementary correspondence, for those documents, especially material from the

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives at the International Institute of
Social History, Amsterdam.

16X



1.0



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1.8

1.6

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 16 [London to] Elisabeth Wilkinson, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 16th 38

Mrs. Elisabeth Wilkinson
Sec. National Emergency
Conference On Spain.

Dear Elisabeth,

As the representative of the SIA and its Hon.
secretary I have asked comrade Ethel Mannin our Hon Treasurer to
apply for a delegate card to repr sent us at the Conference. I am
mailing this credential to Ethel Mannin and she will apply direct
If she does I hope you will extend the same courtesy to her as you
have to me and send her a Consultative Delegates Credential.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 16, Bath [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / G. Tollemache. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

*John
Goldman
letter* T Bath *Bath*
April 16/38
17744

Dear Miss Goldman,

I'm afraid my friends in London or neighbour-
hood amount only to a semi-circle -

Miss Reeves - 28th Brunswick Square W.C. 1

" Leeson Quarter "

Miss Thompson 43 Rosebery Gardens

Miss Jacobi. 1 Beloise Grove Hampstead N.W. 3.

R. Wellby Esq Oakwood Waterdell - Watford.

Miss Norvell " Rivington Gardens Putney S.W. 15

Mrs Gower 20 Christchurch Rd Streatham Hill S.W. 2

" Davis 6 Camden Grove Church St Kensington W. 8

I am sorry I shall not be in London at
the date of the Concert

- Sincerely

G. Tollemache

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 16, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
4 p.; 10 × 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17119

Saturday

Dearest Emma,

Cheques returned herewith duly endorsed. Also Mrs. Joachim's letter. I have replied to this. By the way she doesn't make it clear what she wants the money used for - she says £2.10. S.I.A. and £17.10. for 'Spanish Relief'. But S.I.A. is Spanish relief! I presume she means the £17.10. for the Arms fund? I have told her that if this is the case not to bother to write to me again, but only to bother if I am wrong in this assumption. As you say, a gesture like this does put heart into one. If only there were more such gestures!

I will send you the Resolution on Tues. after I have spoken to McNair. I have mislaid my copy, and though I can pretty well remember it we might as well have it verbally correct. Haven't you got a copy, by the way?

I think I shall be able to manage Sat. alright, dear. It's just that I had promised McNair and Reg I would go down with them on the Sat. and fit in a semi-social thing as well as the meeting; but it's not important, and I don't think I'll be letting anyone down by not doing it, so long as I go on the Sun. for the meeting.

The only thing is I will I be the right person to act as the SIA delegate? I am willing enough, God knows, but I have never been

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 16, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. — 4 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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17120

a Conference delegate before, and I shouldn't like to let you (not to mention the SIA) down.

If you are going in the morning we could lunch together perhaps as well as dine ? But I am agreeable to anything you suggest.

conference being
Is the mass meeting in the evening that is in the Queens Hall, isn't it ? (But we'd get no chance to put in a word at that, I presume ? Shall we be attending that as well ? Or only the Conference ? Probably no point in attending the evening thing ?) If we're not attending the mass meeting I rather think I will come home after the afternoon session of the Conference, to have a quiet evening and think out what has to be said at Eastbourne next day; but of course if you want me to go to the evening meeting I will go, and then we could dine together as you suggest.

I am really in yr hands about the whole thing, dearest Emma.

The wonderful flowers arrived shortly after I'd phoned. They are so beautiful, Emma dear, and it was such a dear and lovely thought of you to send them. Those lovely delicate red lilies & I feel almost jealous because I never found anything so delicately beautiful for you ! Bless

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 16, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. --
4 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-3-

27121

you dear, and thank you very, very warmly and appreciatively.

You sounded so tired, and 'spiritually' as well as physically, done-in on the phone, my dear; I do hope you get a bit of rest sometime this weekend. You really must come out here the first weekend, is away and nothing but sit about in the garden and just drink in the smell of the lilac and listen to the birds and not a thing else.... I would give you my room, with telephone beside the bed, and a fire which you can switch off from the bed (how's that for luxury ??) But if you're wise you won't ring anyone that weekend (and no one can ring you here) W.B. Yeats when he stayed here called Oak Cottage my 'beautiful efficient little house', and I hope so much you'll find it so... My Ada and I will anyhow do our damndest to make it so for you. You need a rest, my dear, a real relaxation - if you don't take it you'll crock up and who the hell then will carry on the work - I can only work under yr direction, and imagine poor old Ralphie muddling along alone... As soon as I have a weekend to myself you'll be invited, dear - I prefer to wait till I'm alone; I feel it would be easier and more comfortable and satisfactory all round, I hate three-somes anyhow.

I'll get you a copy of my new novel if you're interested, dear. It seems to be getting a good press.

Managed to work all Good Friday and today. I do hate these 'national'

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 16, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
4 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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17122

holidays, though I admit they're a blessing to office, shop and factory workers. Only I hate them for myself and see no reason to knock off work just because everyone else is!

Have a frightful headache for some reason, so propose to go and do a bit of gardening for half an hour to see if the air will cure it.

My devoted love, dearest, gallant, Emma, and bless you for your Easter gift, and do try and get a bit of rest - if only to give you the strength to carry on -

McNair said he thought ~~my~~ I did my opening remarks very well at the Conway Hall meeting - he said, 'You got right down to it' - I hope you thought I did well, Emma; I never expect to do brilliantly, but I always hope so desperately that anyhow I'll do adequately and not let you down... you do think I'll be able to manage the delegate business alright, don't you? I've no experience of 'delegate-ship'...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 16, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe [Bluestein]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17874

THE CHALLENGE

Station D. Box 177
New York, N. Y.

246 East 27th Street
New York, N.Y.
April 16, 1938

My Dear Emma:

Hello! Hello! Hello! You don't know how much I would like to say it to you in person. I can understand how you want to return to this country where you fought and lived so long. But Emma, I would like nothing better than to be back in sick Europe. And especially would I love to be even now with my comrades in unhappy Spain----the more so now that the news has reached us that the fascists have reached the coast. What will become of our unhappy country? My mind simply cannot take it in and refuses to accept the reality of what is happening there.

Emma dear, I did not write to you all this time because I was not myself living. Without a home, a without a job, living with Selma's parents who were very nice, and asking for money all the time even for carfare; thrown out of the passionate intense atmosphere of Spain and even Paris into the lap of phlegmatic New York, I could not adjust myself. Believe it or not, I did not even look at a single newspaper during my first two weeks here and only little by little was I able to bring myself out of my stupor. I hardly went to see anybody, spoke to no one, read nothing, wrote nothing. The reaction was the strangest I had ever experienced.

Under those circumstances, I received your letter, read it and put it away to be answered in the future when I could snap out of it. Today I am once more myself ready to take my place in the struggle.

I will not answer your letter specifically. The condition of our comrades is so tragic that I cannot find it in my heart to discuss their actions in a letter. I have been following your activities in a round-about manner all this time, through letters that Pauline Turkel showed me, and Friedman. I know the difficulties that face you, the disheartening cold apathy of the English. And I know that nothing can be worse for you than such an atmosphere. Your courage and persistence in the face of it must be added to the even greater courage and persistence of our Spanish comrades in the face of their even greater and more fatal obstacles. Emma, regardless of the outcome of the war in Spain, we all of us know that the fight will go on, must go on at all costs. Between reaction and fascism on one side, and the quest for human dignity, liberty and justice there can never be peace---nor truce. Those who envision a better society and a finer humanity can never be subjected to servitude, can never live under fascism. We have all come to the conclusion that it is far better to die fighting than to live and adapt ourselves to the inhuman ~~conditions~~ and humiliating conditions of modern fascism. Wherever we are this must be so and nothing short of death itself can or must stop us.

That is why, even at this very time, a large number of comrades have decided to come out with a weekly paper. The prospects seem to be good because a libertarian paper has not been sought so much at any time since the Russian Revolution. Today broader and

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 16, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe [Bluestein]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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17875

THE CHALLENGE

Station D. Box 177
New York, N. Y.

broader strata of people, both workers in the trade unions and many intellectuals, are completely fed up with the Bolsheviks of every stripe and color. They want honesty. They are looking for the cold fierce uncompromising north wind of liberty, free of intrigues and compromises and fuhrers and bending the knee. They militance and spirited resistance against the further advance of fascism and dictatorship. After ~~21~~ 21 months of unrelenting struggle in which the Spanish revolutionary movement lost the flower of marvellous ~~generation~~ generation that will surely take on legendary proportions with the passing of time no matter what happens in the immediate future, ~~the~~ the seeds of the Spanish Revolution are definitely beginning to take root and its tender precious green shoots are coming to the surface. In this country people are beginning to understand that if the resistance has lasted so long, if it was begun in the first place, it was because the people were so imbued with Anarchist principles and Anarchist methods of struggle. A Revolution that has been so misunderstood, neglected and betrayed, abandoned by the workers of the world, is at last beginning to sink into the consciousness of the more advanced elements. I speak of this country at least. People who have always been Bolsheviks, Stalinists at first, then Trotskyists, are now turning to us. People who never went beyond the Socialist Party and reformistic parliamentarianism today listen to us with sympathy, eager to learn---and to act. That is why we are going to start a weekly paper.

I am going to edit it, at night at the beginning, because I cannot give up my job until we are certain that the paper will live and be self-supporting and be able to give me enough to live. But everyone is going to work in the same manner---all voluntary---until we will be in a position to have a staff. Frankly nobody is afraid of the prospect of putting out a weekly paper on a voluntary basis. On the contrary, everyone is eager to pitch in. One comrade, Anna Mosnofsky's sister, Liza Luchkovsky, is prepared to work on it all day as secretary on a voluntary basis. She will be the only one working on a full time basis at the beginning.

A number of prominent intellectuals and writers are going to collaborate with us. Anita Brenner, once a Socialist and then a Trotskyite who used to slander the Anarchists, is going to be an associate editor, helping me out as much possible, contributing a column regularly, and meeting with me at least once a week. Others are going to cooperate to the extent of maintaining a guest column of well known writers, including Dr. James Rorty, one of the best known authorities in advertising, exposing them etc.; James Farrell, author of Studs Lonigan and other books and considered one of the best novelists in the country, and others.

We aim to make the paper a paper for the masses, keeping it popular and always dealing with current problems. Articles are to be short and too profound. We are going to have cartoons, a humorous column, workers' correspondence, a youth section, and other features.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 16, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe [Bluestein]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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3

17876

THE CHALLENGE

Station D. Box 177
New York. N. Y.

And we want you to write for us also, Emma. I have already asked Schapiro and Ruedigher to write too. I want to have outstanding figures in our international movement to discuss our current problems of interest in short crisp articles (no article should be over 1,500 words, because the paper will be four pages, tabloid size at the beginning and we don't want to devote too much space to any one item at the expense of more diversified material.) I'm sure we can expect your cooperation in our work. The first issue will appear on May First, so the sooner you start sending us material the better.

The policy of the paper is to be Anarcho-Syndicalist, from the point of view of working ~~xxx~~ in the existing unions rather than dream of starting organisations of our own or merely supporting the IWW paper organisations. As for Spain, we will naturally identify ourselves with the CNT-FAI and stress their economic and social accomplishments. But we will probably disagree with their participation in the government and their excessive compromises. This will probably done more through signed articles in the nature of open discussion of policies and both sides will have the opportunity to discuss and defend their points of view. The name of the paper is CHALLENGE rather than The CHALLENGE. Do you like the name?

Emma, believe it or not I haven't seen a single copy of Spain and the World since I left Spain. I wonder if you could ask Recchione to send me a file from the beginning of December to my home address and to put me on his mailing list for the future. I have no money to pay for a subscription but we'll be sending him our paper in exchange in the near future. Also could you ~~xxxx~~ send me a copy of Rocker's Anarcho-Syndicalism. I am very anxious to see it. We also want to know what chance there is of making an arrangement with the publisher to get a quantity of them. We want to make a combination offer of the book and a year's subscription for the paper. Will you let us know about that soon?

Emma dear, I'll close now. Give my xx greetings to Barr, Recchione and the other comrades whom I met over there. We must all of us gather strength and courage from the great heroism of our Spanish comrades fighting against insuperable odds and from the knowledge that our scattered comrades all over the world are also carrying onto the best of their ability, determined never to stop as long as an ounce of strength remains in their bodies and the breath of life holds them up.

Emma joins me in sending you our love. May we see you in the States before the year is over!

As ever, your comrades

P.S. Could you also send us the list ^{file} of intellectuals who answered your questionnaire? I'll also try to help us to try to get contributions for the paper? We'll also try from this end after we get the list.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870926000

[Letter, 19]38 April 18 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / M. Joachim. —
2 p.; 14 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11 g
18060
17. SOMERSET TERRACE,
DUKE'S ROAD, W.C.1.
18.4.38

forgive me for troubling you; I
know you are very busy, but the
matter seems to me important.

Yours faithfully,
M. Joachim.

Dear Mrs. Goldman,

Thank you for your letter. I
hope I am able to go to the concert
on the 24th but am not sure whether
I shall or not. I enclose a
list of very doubtful "possibles" who
might be interested in a notice of
it; please do not mention my
name, as I am not much in
touch with most of them now.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930246

[Letter, 19]38 April 19, London [to Nemesio] Galve [and Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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18936

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F.A.I.

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London Office

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SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 19 avril 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Cher Camarade Galvé et Mascarell,

La camarade qui vous portera cette lettre est Sonia Edelman qui travaille avec nous pour la S.I.A. ainsi que pour la CNT-FAI. Cette camarade nous a aidé également s'organiser l'Union Anarcho-Syndicaliste l'année dernière et elle fait partie du Comité de Rédaction de Spain and the World. Vous voyez donc qu'elle est entièrement dévouée à la cause de nos camarades espagnols aussi bien qu'à la propagande pour nos idées dans ce pays. Je lui ai demandé de vous voir et de vous apporter ma lettre pour Vazquez et Herrera que vous devriez leur faire parvenir le plus tôt possible. Je vous envoie aussi des exemplaires de notre matériel publié dernièrement et distribué en grande quantité.

Chers camarades, vous êtes plus près que nous de l'Espagne et vous devez donc être renseignés sur l'état actuel de la lutte. Je vous supplie de dire à notre camarade Sonia la position de la CNT-FAI. Je suis pleine d'anxiété sur leur sort et sur leurs chances de succès sur l'ennemi menaçant. Je tremble à la pensée que nos camarades servent à retirer les marrons du feu pour leurs alliés et quel que soit le résultat ils devront le payer avec leur sang et avec la destruction de toutes leurs conquêtes révolutionnaires. J'espère me tromper. Je vous prie de m'envoyer des renseignements par Sonia. C'est plus sûr que par lettre —

.18937

Telephone: 01-404 2030
LONDON, W.1
21 WHITE STREET
CHALETBURY AVENUE

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929130

[Letter] 1938 April 19 [London to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17747

19th April 1938.

Dear Madam,

Your name was given to us by a mutual friend.

We are taking the liberty of enclosing our announcement for a literary and musical evening to take place at Friends House on Friday the 29th April.

We would appreciate greatly if you would send us your order for tickets, and if possible also the names and addresses of your circle of friends to whom we might send folders; or if you would care to send out folders we would be glad to send them to you.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Reeves. 28a Brunswick Square. W.C.1.
Mrs Levenon Gower. 28a Brunswick Square W.C.1.
Misses Thompson. 43 Roseber Gardens.
Miss Jacobi. 1 Belsize Grove. Hampstead N.W.3.
H Wellbye Esq. Oakwood, Waterwell. Watford.
Miss Norwell. 11 Rewigny Gardens. Putney. S.W.15.
Mrs Gover. 20 Christchurch Road. Streatham Hill. S.W.2.
Mrs Davis. 6 Camden Grove. Church Street. Kensington. W.8.

also to S.Y. Pearson for attendance.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 19, London to unknown recipient (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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17745

Mrs. Ronald Carter 10 Stafford Terr.
W. 8

Mrs. Basil Nicholson 26 Great-
Diamond St.
W.C.1

Mrs. Louisa

Flat 7, 24 Palace Ct. W. 2

Miss Douglas Smith 14 Thurston Rd.
NW 3

Mrs. Mansel 33 Lower Belgrave St.
S.W. 1

Mrs. Hankin 15 Dorset Sq. NW 1

Mrs. George Cooke

Hyver Hall

Burnet Gate, Hert.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 19, London to unknown recipient (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 17 x 11 cm.

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15746

Mr. Gye

Edsott, The Ridgeway, Mill Hill
NW.7

Mr. Cote 40 Warwick Sq. W. 14

Mr. Chorley The Rookery, Stanmore
Essex

Names sent in by Dr. S. V. Pearson.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 19 [London to Frances] Briggs, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 18 × 20 cm.

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April 19th 38

My dear Miss Briggs.

I called the League on the phone a while ago but
was told you are not yet back from your holiday. I am therefore writing
you about our affair for the refugee children and women in Spain.
I have the insulate folder. I wonder if I may send down a poster and
some folders to the League and whether you would care to take them
in case anyone wants to buy them between now and the end.

I can be reached until noon at Speedwell 71 35. All after-
noon at our office 21, Frith Street, Gerard 26 36. If you would
kindly call me up to say whether I may send our printing and
I will appreciate it very much.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 19, London [to Mariano R.] Vázquez and [Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

My comrades Nazque London April 19/38
and Herrera
I have received your various
circulars on Spanish war in English
They were nearly all duplicates such
as the account of the death of our com-
rade Adolfo Arnal is other matters.
Some that arrived in time to go into
Spain & the World as the IWA bulletin
were of course used. The
recent circulars will go into the
next issue of the W.
I am not publishing a third
issue of the IWA Bulletin. It
costs a lot of money and un-
nately does not bring the desired
result. Perhaps later in the summer
I will again print another
issue.
You will see by the inclosed
letter that we are now concentrating
in our concept. The difficulties to
secure artists have kept us a
lot of time & energy. But now as
our will mind of the undertaking

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 19, London [to Mariano R.] Vázquez and [Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

will only prove successful.
I hope you will also like the
issue of the bulletin. Let me know
soon how many of the bulletin
a folder - to send you. I expect
to tell you that all the efforts
to enlist members to the I.W.O. have
not been crowned with success.
It is true everything else in our
must people are in grooves of
their parties or trade unions.
They cannot be pulled out
of them.

Dear comrade Vázquez the appeal
to the International General
you sent me will be printed
at once and distributed. We
are preparing for the ~~May~~ first
of May demonstration. This
year we even have our own
wagon from which we will
speak. We will have muskets

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 19, London [to Mariano R.] Vázquez and [Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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19266

demanding things for Spain.
If only our efforts would move
the British workers, I say
one would faithfully work day
and night. No matter how much
our small group does it is
~~at~~ insignificant with your
suffering and your sacrifice.
We had a public meeting
the 13th of this month. I am
sending you samples of our
papers & handbills so you
can see our call was strong.
There was plenty of appeal
at the meeting but no willingness
to act, ~~to decide~~ the appeal
made & was our money to buy
arms for Spain. This is of
course against the non intervention
pact, hence "illegal." But I

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 19, London [to Mariano R.] Vázquez and [Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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3
I have lost patience with dem
anding of the Government
for the release of the political prisoners. I am sure
that the Government is not in a hurry to
in air. I am sure that the Government
is not in a hurry to release the political prisoners.
For my self, I would welcome
arrest, at going to prison
for my "crime".

1927
The disheartening thing is the poor response. £34 were contributed at the meeting. Well perhaps the value of the appeal is of a moral nature as an example that to wait for the National government or any government to act is to wait forever. Only when the masses had the courage to act ~~immediately~~ even if it is illegal have they ever accomplished something.

Dear comrade everywhere I go or sneak ~~there~~ I am confronted with question why the CNT does not demand the immediate release of the political prisoners. It is contented and not without reason that the politicals in various jails for nearly a year would do better service if they went to the front. I am sure that most of them who have bravely fought before last May would do it again in the most crucial and gravest hour of the Spanish people. Besides people outside of Spain have been outraged that there should be revolutionary politicals in anti fascist Spain. Last but not least is the danger of Francos hords should they be successful which I hope with all my heart he may not, ~~because~~ they would butcher without mercy the helpless prisoners. All in all it would have a tremendous moral example if the CNT would insist on the liberation of all real revolutionists. Forgive me dear comrade if I seem to appear as knowing your situation better than you. I do not claim that for a second. But I do claim to know England and A. and I know that the fact of so many politicals in anti Fascist prisons has a very deterrent effect on the workers outside. I hope you will realize that and do your utmost to get them released.

We of the CNT-FAI and SIA bureaus are in frightful tension about the enemies advance and your struggle now more than ever so heroic. Is there no way of sending me word of the real situation?

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 19, London [to Mariano R.] Vázquez and [Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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19260

situation, your hopes, your plans your possibilities of saving the people from Francos, or rather Hitlers and Mussolinis mad dogs. It is not only for our peace of mind I am asking you for some authentic information it is because of the effect such information would have here. You understand of course that the reactionary as well as the liberal papers give distorted and lying accounts of your struggle. Thus one of the papers a few days ago wrote that there was "looting and killing in Barcelona by the Anarchists" And that the exodus is not due to Francos men but to the "lawlessness" of the CNT-FAI. The dastardly thing is that one cannot write a protest to these miserable sheets as they will not publish them. And so the lies go on. Atleast if we had authentic news from you direct I might be able to counteract the terrible harm done by our enemies.

Please dear comrades let me hear from you as soon as possible

With every thought and every feeling I am with your in your superhuman strgggle. I fervently wish for your triumph

Salud

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 19 [London to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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23892

April 19th 38

Dear Samuel.

Thanks a lot for your letter of the 7th inst. In the consuming anxiety and worry about our Spanish comrades 't is a comfort to know that in writing to you it is not like the void in writing to Mark. He does not even take time to ~~xxxxx~~ send a postcard that he has received whatever I have sent him. I realize that he too like all of us is distressed and that nothing is important in the face of the tragedy confronting our people in Spain. Still it is disheartening not to know what is going on at your end. I sent Mark the first part of my report. There was not a line of it in the Freie Arb Stimme. I saw something in very small type in the Spanish Revolution. I can readily understand that the report reads pale and meaningless now with the CNT-FAI fighting their supremest battle and offering up their supremest sacrifice. I feel that way myself and have therefore stopped writing. What is the use of recording what was in Lerida or Aragona, or Barcelona when the Hitler and Mussolini birds are so near and will destroy every thing? Yet if Mark or you would read the messages of our appeal, their appeals to the International proletariat and the work they continue to do in printing and what not you would understand their superiority to us in faith and enthusiasm. However it is not that I care if anything I write is published. But I do want to know whether it was received. That much I have a right to expect from Mark or the other comrades. Well, you make up for the "sins" of the others by your promptness.

My dear I did not know that Rose only talks. The fact of the matter is that she has also acted, she has interested some people who have connections in Washington and who promised to try to reach those who can decide about a visa for me. Could you do more, or anyone else? After all Rose cannot eh herself turn the tide can she? All she can do is to round up people who carry weight which no one of you can do no matter how good your intentions. Yes, you are quite right in my case action is required. But in this as in many other things I must depend on Rose she has connections outside of our own ranks. And she may get them to act. You will admit my dear that no one in our ranks can reach anybody outside your Jewish connections. So what else can one do but rely on Rise and keep up her courage?

However it is well to call the comrades together and to take up the effort for the fund for that is as essential as trying for a visa. Jeanne is doing the work in her own way since whatever she collects comes from her personal friends outside of our ranks. It is best that such comrades as Jeanne who have frx such friends should work in their own way. I have written Jeanne when she was in Californai to see the comrades there which I am sure she did if my letter was for

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warded to her. As far as Toronto is concerned and Montreal I would suggest you or the Federation should write Seltzer, Langbord and the other Jewish comrades. You probably do not know that there is a feud and has been when I was there four years ago between The Libertarian group, Joe Desser and the others and the Arbeiter Ring comrades. They latter have not come near Joe, Giessecke and the Libertarian group. So I advise strongly you should write those I have indicated. It is sad that the few we have should pull apart instead of working together. But that is an old calamity everywhere.

My dear Samuel, forgive me if I say I was amused to read your suggestion that meetings can be arranged by correspondence. You would be right if you have in mind Jewish meetings, or if we had Gentile comrades in Canada. Not having a soul whom are you going to reach by correspondence? No my dear unless I will have some dependable comrade to do advance work there will be no English meetings anywhere outside of Toronto. Not that I object to Jewish meetings. As you know I always had them. But it would be ridiculous to come all the way from England to Canada to speak in Yiddish or only to one or two cities. However, we need of worrying about this now. It is only to prepare the means for a possible tour through Canada. I hope you understand that.

Of course there is the Spanish issue who knows what is going to become of it. If our comrades should be sacrificed there will hardly be anything to talk about on a tour. Grave and desperate as the situation is I cannot yet get myself to believe that our comrades will be crushed. It would be the most dastardly crime ever committed by those who call themselves Popular Front and with the workers "Motherland" in existence. It gives me the shivers even to think of it. Yet I know in my heart that nothing short but a miracle can save our people. I am convinced that the Negrin gang do not want them saved. Certainly while that counter revolutionist Prieto was in the Government he deliberately and unscrupulously had our bravest and most heroic comrades thrown into the first rank fire. I know that of one brigade consisting of eight hundred CNT-FAI men only one escaped to tell the story the rest were butchered. And so it went all along the line. So what chance have our people? And of what avail were all their compromises and concessions? Believe me my dear I do not belong to those who will now say "we told you so". On the contrary I feel that if we had had a movement worth its salt in every country even the dull International proletariat might have come to the rescue of ~~our~~ the bravest and most marvelous idealists the world has ever seen. As it was the International proletariat had no one or very few to give them the example needed to make them do something drastic, something which would have resounded all over the world to wake the cowardly masses from their stupor. Never were a people so betrayed and so forsaken by their brothers. Not one single general strike, not one attempt at a boycott, not one loud voice in the dreadful silence of twenty one months. I mean a voice that should have sounded like the trumpets at Jericho to ring in peoples ears until they would have been forced to act above the heads of their miserable leaders in every country. It is heart-breaking.

In the face of all this what good is the work I am desperate

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23894

ly trying to do here. Our meeting brought about three hundred people. The appeal for funds to buy arms for Spain brought £34. It is to weep And I fear the affair I have organized for the SIA will also not bring real results. It is a bottomless tank to work here, is so much waste of time and energy not to speak of ones health. And t one cannot sit ~~hands folded~~ arms folded. One must keep busy or lose ones mind.

Alright my dear bout Sasha book we will pay the Freie Arb. Stime 65 cents a copy. It will not leave us much especially as we have to pay postage if the book is ordered or send parcels to places where I speak. But it is alright. The unfortunate thing is that English workers do not read anything outside their partys press, and they buy precious little literature. The excuse is poverty. I do not believe this is the reason. It is lack of interest. That's all.

About Sashas Memoirs I am afraid if the Fr Arb. St will get out a new edition very little will be sold and it will certainly not be reviewed in the press. On the other hand I do not trust Covici Friede. As I forwanred Rudolf he has not yet had a penny for his book nor any accounting. They will do the same about the Memoirs. Besides that they do not advertise and without advertising ~~thux~~ no book sells. In any event it should be a dollar edition it will not sell otherwise. However you must decide as I do not know what changes the reading public in A. has undergone. I think a man like Prof. Beard or Dewey should be asked to write a Forword to the Memoirs, or somebody outstanding in the line of criminal psychology. Write to my nephew Mr Saxe Commins Random House Publishing and ask him for suggestions about the advance men in the line of criminal psychology. You can say I advised you to write to him. I really do not know how the great authority on the subject is. If none of these consent Rucker will I am sure. Of course an American would be better provided he is advanced and would understand the spirit of Sasha. I really believe Prof. Beard would be the man.

I am writing Secker and Warburg tomorrow to send you 25 copies of A.S. and to send me the bill. We will charge you with 1 as against our debt for the A.B.C and the Tragedy of Spain. ~~Byockkhar~~

With fraternal greetings

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 19, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
4 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Tuesday

17113

Emma dearest, First of all; Brian Howard writes to ask me if I think it would be alright if he read some poems on the 29th, poems on Spain, including one of his own; I have told him that I think this would be an excellent idea, but perhaps you should confirm this to him... because (forgive me) I confirmed to him that you didn't want Stephen Spender after all, because he hadn't answered, & because you said that if he came he'd only want to make a speech and would go and say all the wrong things, and then when you saw Brian H at the meeting you went back on that and said yes we did want SS after all, and then of course the poor young man naturally wondered what ~~he~~ did want. When you write Brian Howard you'd better say exactly what you want of Stephen Spender, because apparently he is inclined to make a speech.... My own view is that speeches are a mistake anyhow on such an occasion, even for people who can be relied on to say the right things; I feel that a meeting ~~should~~ is one thing, a literary and musical occasion quite another.

On the literary side you've got Herbert Read and Brian Howard both definitely pledged to read some poems; if you insist on my making some sort of a speech I can only suggest that I do so at the beginning, as a sort of introduction to the literary part of the program. I am sure Spender could be prevailed upon to read something instead of making a speech, then you will have three poets doing their stuff, and a novelist making a few literary observations my way of introduction. Perhaps the

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17114

literary part of the program could be sandwiched in the middle, between the music, preceded by my few remarks. If I don't precede the literary part of the program I don't see how my remarks will fit in. I mean I couldn't say my piece and then be followed by a pianoforte solo or a song, could I? It wouldn't be exactly 'apt'.

I am quite glad to be relieved of making the appeal, for I have done it so often its going stale on me, and people who come often to our affairs must be tired of seeing me in the role. I'll think up something on the lines you suggest — I won't be able to do it as Rebecca would have done it, and I don't suppose I can do it for more than ten minutes — though actually that's quite long enough on such an occasion, in my opinion.

You say you don't know how to get in touch with Howard and Spender. But you've been writing to the former, haven't you? And you can reach the latter through him. Howard asked me to thank you for your letter, as a matter of fact. He left writing you until he had consulted me about reading some poems. If you definitely don't want Spender to speak you had better tell him so quite definitely.

Howard says what about getting the Spanish Ambassador along? If we give out that the SIA is strictly non-political there can of course be no objection to anyone coming, since all that one asks of them is anti-fascist solidarity. My own feeling is against against the Ambassador. I don't see what he'd do (except say all the wrong things).

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17118

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though he could be trusted to keep to the simple anti-Fascist statement. Which is the danger about letting Spender speak, of course; as a Communist he would feel - I suspect - the need to link up his anti-Fascism with the Communist party line; I think it's hard to make people realise that we don't want any politics - not even our own! If the Spanish Ambassador could be relied upon merely to express his anti-Fascist solidarity I'd see some point in asking him, as it would give 'cachet', or whatever you like to call it, to the occasion; but anyhow even if he could be relied upon not to air political views it's too late - I mean the bills are printed, aren't they?)

By the way what do you think are the right clothes for such an occasion - will the men (on the platform) wear evening clothes - or please themselves? Musical artists seem to like to 'dress' their for their public performances - what about the poets? I suppose they have a poet's privilege of coming as they please?

Herewith the resolution.

About Sat. I really don't know what to do. I don't see any point in attending the mass meeting in the evening; I'd attend the Conf. if I thought any good purpose would be served by so doing...I could go down to Eastbourne in the evening. What I feel about the Conf. is that we shall be so out-numbered by the Communists and Lab-Party-ers that we shall be quite ineffective...and I so abominate futilities; time is so precious. If you

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insist to me that its valuable and important we should attend the Conference, that we can do any good by stating our opposing case, then you'll find me at yr side...I think I'd better send for a delegate's card in any case. If you are definitely going I don't think I could desert you - it wouldn't be comradely for one thing.

The Communists and Lab. Party people fill their halls because (a) they have money to play with and can afford to make a splash with their publicity & advertising (b) because they have a Popular Front appeal and we haven't. Also, don't forget we had that last meeting just before Easter, when people are all full of going away plans, and don't care about Spain and serious issues, and many of them would already have gone away.

Dearest Emma I think this must be all for now. If you would like me to come on Sat. and try to add my voice to yours, even if its no dam' good except inasmuch as there is always something to be said for protesting... I'll come, and probably get an evening train down to Eastbourne. I'm sending for the delegate's card today anyhow.

I could do with a few leaflets about the concert by the way.

My devoted love to you, my dear-

By the way if you think of any artists whose work has been destroyed in Fascist Germany & Italy tell me, so that I can use the note on the 29th

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 19 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].— 2 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.
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17993

5, RUE DELAIZEMENT - XVII^e
 TÉL. : ÉTOILE 33-77

19-4-38

Liebste Emma,

eigentlich hatten wir Ihren schon längst auf Ihren Brief antworten und Ihnen herzliche Ostergrüsse senden wollen, aber wir arbeiten so viel, dass es mich graust, die Schreibmaschine auch nur anzusehen. Aber jetzt ist auch der grösste Feil geschafft, wir hoffen, in vier Wochen das Manuskript endlich fertig zu haben, d.h. natürlich erst unkorrigiert. Wir haben es auch beide schon sehr eilig, uns dann ein bisschen auszuruhen, wir sind sehr müde und ruhebedürftig. Hier ist es dazu so eiskalt, dass wir nicht einmal die beiden Ostertage in unserm Garten verbringen konnten.

Wie es uns sonst geht? Das ist nicht sehr schwer vorstellbar, wenn man an all die ~~schönen~~ schönen Dinge denkt, die in der Welt vorgehen und an denen man leider, wenigstens augenblicklich, nichts ändern kann. Die Stimmung, aus der heraus Ihr Brief geschrieben war, fand bei uns lebhaften Widerhall, denn selbst mein (Anitas) Optimismus hat mich verlassen und auch ich sehe die schwarzer Dinge jetzt genau so schwarz wie sie sind.

Das Buch gegen Céline, von dem

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[Letter, 19]38 April 19 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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1799A

wir Ihnen noch ein zweites Exemplar geschickt haben, ist diesmal hoffentlich richtig bei Ihnen eingetroffen. Wie Sie sehen, haben wir es allein geschrieben, denn der Plan, eine Sammelband von verschiedenen Autoren zu machen, scheiterte daran, dass kurz vorher schon etwas Ähnliches erschienen war. Auf diese Weise haben wir zwischendurch ganz allein noch ein ganzes Buch geschrieben, wenn es auch nicht sehr umfangreich ist.

Der Bakounin wird auf alle Fälle erst im Herbst erscheinen, da der Verleger der Meinung ist, dass solch ein seriöses Buch sich nicht für die Sommersaison eignet. Ausserdem wäre es wirklich schade wenn es gerade zu den grossen Ferien erscheinen würde, während alles verreist ist. Jedenfalls hoffen wir sehr, dass Sie das Buch noch vor Ihrer Abreise nach Kana da bekommen werden, vorausgesetzt, dass Sie im Herbst überhaupt noch dieselben Projekte haben.

Von allem übrigen wollen wir lieber nicht sprechen. Wir haben jetzt alle oft Lust, nichts zu hören und nichts zu sehen. Da man das nicht kann, bleibt uns allen nur übrig, zu arbeiten und zu hoffen.

Wir wissen Ihnen auch nichts Besseres zu wünschen und verbleiben mit den allerherzlichsten ~~Wünschen~~ Grüssen

Ihre

Anita
Fuer

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[Letter, 19]38 April 19, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. — 2 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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18187

Crompond, N.Y. 4/19/38.

Liebste Emma:

Verzeihung, dass ich dir nicht früher schrieb. Schuld daran sind eine Menge Dinge, die ich dir hier nicht alle auseinanderzusetzen kann. Krankheit, die glücklicherweise jetzt überwunden ist, verhinderte mich daran, letzten Winter eine größere Tour zu unternehmen, wodurch unsere materielle Existenz schwer erschüttert wurde, denn die Vorträge sind meine einzige Einnahmequelle. Dazu muss ich schon jetzt wieder alle Hebel in Bewegung setzen, um eine neue Extension zu bekommen, denn unsere Zeit läuft in wenigen Monaten ab. Dieses Mal ist die Sache etwas komplizierter, denn am 2. September sind wir fünf Jahre hier, und dem Gesetze nach kann uns keine Extension mehr gewährt werden. Wir müssen daher einen anderen Ausweg suchen, sind uns aber jetzt noch nicht klar darüber, ob er gefunden werden kann. Dazu kamen die letzten Mietsnachrichten aus Spanien, die mich natürlich ebenso schwer getroffen haben wie dich.

Mein Buch über Anarcho-Syndicalismus habe ich erst letzte Woche erhalten. Bereits drei Wochen früher schickte mir Warburg die zweite Hälfte der kontraktlich festgestellten Summe; aber er zog mir von jedem Pfund fünf schillinge für englische Income Tax ab. Auf diese Weise erhielt ich im ganzen 90 Dollar (29 Pf.). Dem Übersetzer habe ich hundert Dollar bezahlt, so dass ich bis jetzt zehn Dollar aus meiner eigenen Tasche zulegen musste. Ich hatte die Absicht, Warburg eine neue Arbeit anzubieten, mit der ich jetzt beschäftigt bin, und zwar über "Sozialismus und Diktatur"; aber ich habe den Plan aufgegeben, denn es ist ganz zwecklos, unter diesen Umständen zu arbeiten und noch Geld zuzulegen. Von Covici-Friede habe ich bisher keinen Cent erhalten. Ich habe auf deinen Rat hin mit einem befreundeten Advokaten Rücksprache genommen, aber er sagte mir, dass ich vor dem 1. Juli (es wird dann ein Jahr, dass das Buch erschienen ist) nichts unternehmen kann, da im Kontrakt kein früheres Datum vorgesehen ist. Da bleibt halt nichts anderes übrig als abzuwarten.

Aber alle diese Dinge, wie schwer sie einem immer ankommen, spielen eine unbedeutende Rolle im Vergleich mit der grausigen Tragödie, die sich jetzt in Spanien zum letzten Kapitel einer ungeheuerlichen Katastrophe verdichtet. Ich bin seit den letzten Wochen fast arbeitsunfähig und kann auch nachts kaum noch Ruhe finden, so sehr haben mich die letzten Ereignisse mitgenommen. Wenn einer dir deinen jetzigen Zustand bis ins Kleinste nachfühlen kann, so bin ich es. Ich kann verstehen, dass unter den heutigen Zuständen das Leben jede Anziehungskraft verliert und man sich nach dem grossen Nichts sehnt, das zwar keine Anregungen mehr kennt, aber dafür auch keine neuen Enttäuschungen mehr für uns im Stock hat.

Aber auch dieser Gedanke ist zwecklos; solange man verdammt ist, in diesem Erdental der Tränen und gebrochener Hoffnungen seinen Weg zu wandeln, muss man das letzte tun, was überhaupt von unserer Seite getan werden kann. Vielleicht ist es uns beiden vorbehalten, die Geschichte jenes heroischen Kampfes in Worten festzuhalten zum Vermächtnis für spätere Geschlechter. Die braven Spanier besitzen leider niemand, der das tun könnte, wie es getan werden muss.

Ich hatte nie grosse Hoffnungen, dass sich unsere Genossen in Spanien wirklich durchsetzen konnten. Dazu waren mir die inneren Ursachen der grossen Katastrophe zu klar und zu eindringlich. Man kann auf die Dauer nicht gegen eine ganze Welt in Waffen stehen, besonders nicht bei dem heutigen Stand der modernen Kriegstechnik. Die Spanier wurden von allen ver-

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Kraft: von Demokraten, Fascisten, Sozialisten und anderen. Die Arbeiterbewegung blieb ihnen gegenüber vollständig gleichgültig. Das bisschen Geld, das gesammelt wurde, konnte die Situation nicht retten. Wir bedurften anderer Mittel, um den Herrschenden klar zu machen, dass sich die Arbeiter nicht widerstandslos alles bieten lassen.

England ist sicherlich mit Franco zu einem geheimen Abkommen gekommen. Die jetzige Verständigung mit Mussolini beweist das. Franco braucht England, um das zerstörte Land einigermaßen wieder aufzubauen. Hitler noch Mussolini können ihm dazu Geld pumpen. Das kann nur England. Frankreich, das auf dem Wege zum offenen Fascismus ist, wird sich diesem Pakte anschließen, um seine finanziellen Interessen in Spanien und seine strategische Position im Mitteländischen Meere zu behaupten. Vielleicht wird Hitler bei dem Handel sehr Geprüllte sein, oder man wird ihm die Gelegenheit geben, mit Russland anzubinden, um Deutschland und Russland gleichermassen zu schwächen. Es ist aber auch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass es zwischen Hitler und Stalin zu einer Verständigung kommt, um die Pläne der englisch-französischen Politik zu durchkreuzen. Jedenfalls stehen wir vor dem Anfang einer gigantischen Katastrophe, deren Tragweite sich jetzt noch gar nicht voll ermessen lässt.

Die liberal-demokratische Tradition ist tot in Europa; die Arbeiterbewegung führt nur ein Scheindasein; der heutige Sozialismus ist für den Abbruch fertig. Vielleicht wird es gar nicht erst zu einem Kriege kommen, denn die dunklen Mächte der Reaktion werden auch ohne ihn ihr Ziel erreichen, da niemand da ist, der ihnen Widerstand leistet. Spanien war das letzte Fokal in Europa. Wenn diese Flamme erst erstickt ist, schwindet jede Hoffnung für die nächste Zukunft. Ein neues Zeitalter des Absolutismus wird beginnen, schlimmer wie der Absolutismus im 17. 18. und teilweise im 19. Jahrhundert. Russland hat den Weg gezeigt; Italien und Deutschland waren gelehrige Schüler des Bolschewismus. England und Frankreich humpeln mit, um nicht unter die Räder zu kommen.

Du schreibst mir in deinem letzten Briefe, dass du eine Besprechung über mein Buch im Manchester Guardian beigestellt hättest, aber du hast vergessen, es zu tun. Ich wäre dir sehr dankbar für den Ausschnitt, überhaupt für alle anderen Besprechungen, die dir in die Hände kommen, denn ich selber erhalte keine englischen Zeitungen. Den dritten und letzten Band meines Buches über Nationalismus in Spätsprache habe ich diese Tage auf dem Umwege über Argentinien erhalten.

Und nun genug für heute. Mit aller Liebe von uns beiden

Rudolf

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[Letter] 1938 April 19, Mundesley [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / S[idney] V[ere] Pearson. — 1 p. ; 22 × 16 cm.

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17837

Billbank,
Mundesley,
Norfolk.

19th Apl. 1938.

Miss Emma Goldman,
21, Frith Street
Shaftesbury Ave, W.1.

My dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you for yours of 14th instant. It is indeed very harrowing to learn about the war in Spain and to find how callous most human beings have become to the carnage which is going on there.

I regret that I shall not be able to come up to Town for the concert on April 29th. If you will send me a dozen of the folders I will distribute them amongst people I hope may be able to support you.

I am enclosing herewith a cheque for £1. 0. 0 as my contribution to the expenses of this concert. I do hope you will have a very successful entertainment and that subscriptions will roll in.

I regret that our government is so hypocritical, but the average attitude of the British public is sad. This is due largely to the fact that they are badly led. The political parties of to-day are not guided by any particularly clear and sound principles as far as I can make out. Even our mutual friend Fenner Brockway is ~~not~~ clear in his vision now-a-days.

With best wishes,
I remain,
Yours very sincerely,

S. V. Pearson

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 19 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19th April 1938.

Dear Helmut,

I realise that you are hard worked and that the situation in Spain is not conducive to extensive correspondence; but on the other hand you and the other comrades stationed in Paris do not seem to realise that our misery is greater than yours because we are so far removed from the tragic Spanish scene. True you may not know more than we what is really going on and whether there is still any chance in a million of our people winning the ghostly war; but on the other hand you said that Escarrell is expected from Barcelona - has he come back and what has he got to say? I am asking comrade Sonia Edelman who will bring this letter to you to the bureau of the A.I.T. to have a talk with you. I think she understands enough German to get the message for me which I crave, or you can talk French to her. Anyway send me some kind of report. I am desperate beyond words over the betrayal of our people. They are still naive enough to appeal to the international proletariat. The proletariat that is licking the boots of the leaders of their parties. Our comrades sent me an appeal to the international proletariat. It made me want to weep - it is so childish; but I will print it in Spain & The World and make a throw away of it to be used on our 1st May demonstration - the 1st May, who knows what will have happened by then. This year it will be baptized in the blood of our people, a more bloody baptism than even the Paris Commune. Nothing seems to change in history. Never before has such a sacrifice taken place as never before were there such farces as the Popular Front and the Workers' Fatherland, for the sacrifice of the Spanish people taking place with this pseudo force is the most tragic of anything that ever happened in the world.

Please dear Helmut send me a message through Sonia or better write me as she is remaining in Paris for a week and I would like to hear from you as soon as possible.

Thank you for the two copies of the bulletin. I am asking Sonia to speak to you about it. She is helping our comrade of Spain & The World and knows the English language to perfection. She is certainly competent to tell you about the English in the bulletin.

Fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 20?] London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Thomas Burke. —
1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

100, Collier Road,
London, S.E.19.
Croy Hill area.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th.

I hope to look in one day this week to
see the children's drawings and (if you are there) to
pay my respects to your life's work.

And I'll be pleased to attend the
meeting at Friends House. Only - I am quite unable
to do anything in the platform way, reading or
speeches. I have no voice for public speaking, and
have never done it.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Burke

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 20 [London to Ethel Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17100

April 20th 38

My Dearest, Your letter reached me lastnight too late to write you from the house. And to day I only just reached the office it is nearly 2 o/c. I am getting old my darling. It seems I can no longer do much walking. Just the short distance from Piccadilly Circus to the office takes me about twenty minutes. I feel so faint I have to rest ever so often. But that is besides what I want to write you.

First about Brian Howard and Spender. Such a confusion. I am af aid you misunderstood me. I did not tell you I do not want Spender at all. What I said or wrote was that with all the fussing of Brian Howard I did not think we should put them on our programme at all. Especially did I say this in regard to Spender because we really did not know whether he would come or not. That's why I did not put them on our folder. It was after this that you told me again that Howard had positively assured you he would bring Spender along. Then when at the meeting he sax again said Spender would come I added his name to the programme which has gone to the printers to day. But it really does not matter whether he comes at the last minute or not. What matters is that we cannot have any speeches. Unless the most frightful thing will happen in Spain by the 29th of this month. Then the whole affair will have to be turned into a funeral affair. The very thought of it makes me want to scream. I cling with every fiber to the last straw that our people may yet come out of top. Anyhow there are to be no speeches especially from one Communistically infected. Any talk from them may just kill our affair. I really cannot risk that. Besides it is out of place. I am writing Howard once more though he has never once answered my letters, not even when I asked him for names to send out the folder. I will inclose a copy.

About you my dearest, of course you come in the beginning right after the STREET children. John told me this morning they did very well in Manchester. He even asked for 30 for them which I fear we will not be able to give them as the programme is made up. But we maybe able to squeeze them in for another ten minutes before the close of the affair. You see someone told me children cannot be kept up late so we put them on first. Here is the programme as given to the printer. First the children, then you, then Max Pirani who I understand is a very fine pianist. Then Stepehn Spender to read one or two poems. Then Freddie Woudho use, then a trio, then the appeal then

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 20 [London to Ethel Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17111

that closes first part. In the second part come May Harrison
Brian Howard also with one or two poems, then Sidonie Coosens, then
Herbert Read then perhaps the children again if there is time and
last a Sept. I think it is an interesting programme and that it will
hold the audience to the last.

Dearest if I could get at my notes on Hitler's ascendancy
on which I lectured all over the U.S. and Canada I could give you
individual authors whose works were burned on that infamous day.
But I simply do not remember anyone because there were so many.
But it is enough to refer to the works of Heine and Boerne
besides all the moderns in letters, poetry drama and scientific works.
Not only that but the graves of Heine and Boerne had been uprooted
and their monuments demolished. Enough material to talk hours and
as you want only ten minutes you will find it difficult to choose.
I am not sure that books were burned under Fascism. After all Mussolini
came from a different school than Hitler. But what he did in
stead is to have his writers and poets put under lock and key or
forced out of Italy like that marvelous writer Cilone and Prof
Salvemini. To this must be added the murder of Matteotti and
Carlo Rosselli and his brother. So far does Mussolini's arm reach
after the two men had been out of Italy for some time. I wish I had
the letter of Thomas Mann in the New York Times last year. There was
never more devastating indictment of Nazism and Fascism. It would
have helped you. But really dearest you should not worry about your
material. You are a writer and you can say what it would mean to
you to work under Nazism or Fascism, what it does mean to every real
creative sensitive artist. Oh yes, do not forget to refer to Toscanini
who was beaten up in Milan several years ago because he refused
to play the Fascist Anthem. This fact speaks louder than anything else
and the fact is that nothing great has come out from the country of
Goethe and Heine nor of the country of Cervantes and other supreme
artists.

I must have been gaga when I wrote you that I don't know
how to get in touch with Howard and Spender. I have written them so
I know. I cannot imagine what possessed me. Lately I have been in a
daze most of the time. That may account for it. Howard is a fool.
He has no conception what we stand for to ask if we invite the
Spanish Ambassador. I would do nothing of the kind. Moreover, I am
certain the man would not come if he saw my signature. The Communists
are the most disgusting trimmers in the world. They are like poor old
withered prostitutes, they sell themselves to any bidder for the
smallest price. No my dear with all my passionate desire to help
the heroic people in Spain I could not get myself to invite the
representative of the Government that has slammed thousand of real
revolutionists in prison and whose criminal inefficiency has
undermined the chances of winning the war. Yes, I know the mechanic
apppremacy of Franco has done its deadly job. But it was the Negrin
Pristo, Communist government by its reactionary stupidity and its
craven fear of the Spanish workers that insisted on keeping everything
in their own hands, and misingling everything. There is much more
which cannot now be made public. No Spanish Ambassador for us. However
I am sending the Embassy and the Consulate announcements. The Am

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 20 [London to Ethel Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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17110

Spanish Ambassador attended our concert last year. He took a box, for 5 guineas, contributed five pounds and then sent Stella Carehill another five pounds. I don't mind if he'll do as much this time. But that is no reason to ask him to speak which as I said he will most assuredly refuse with my name as secretary.

I have not the remotest idea what clothes the poets are to wear. I know the musician last year were all in evening clothes so was my best helper James Harrison and so were some of the women who attended. But really there are no fast rules. Let the poets come as they like. My gawd the people in Spain are being bothered by the tens of thousands and here the men worry what they should wear. Let them wear any damned thing. The main thing is that they do something moving, something that would make people act not only applaud or give a few measly coppers.

Dearest heart I never "insist" that my friends should do as I. Nor would I think them unfaithful to me if ~~as~~ they did what they consider right. For myself I can say I have no illusions about the Conference. I know who the prime movers are and that they will not give me a chance to have my say, or accept my suggestions. But Spain is giving me no peace or rest and is driving me to do things I never thought myself capable of doing. So I will attend the Conference and even attend the meeting in the evening. The latter I must do to be able to report to the CNT-FAI. They keep on begging me I should try to link up with the Labor Party Trade Unions, or anything undertaken for Spain no matter by whom. I have repeatedly replied that all these parties and groups are utterly hopeless. With their deep faith in humanity the Spanish comrades simply cannot credit this. I therefore want to be in a position to report what will actually be said and decided upon on Saturday. Well, darling if you really want to attend the Conference try the morning ~~maxx~~ session, if its interesting we will lunch together and come back for the afternoon. If it is not you could go home after luncheon. At any rate you do not have to attend the evening meeting. I am definitely going. But do not let this be the deciding factor in your going also. I will not consider it "desertion", never from young sweet Ethel.

Of course I am interested in your novel, in everything you write. So let me have the book by all means.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 20 [London to Ethel Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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17112

Leaflets have been mailed. The returns so far for tickets have been disheartening. I think it is due to the Easter week. I sort of feared this loss of time. But after so many changes of the affair it had to be the end of April or not at all. I still hope orders will come in soon. We only have a week. We are covering the West End Theatres and all the concerts as well as meetings. Nearly one thousand folders and letters went out. What more can we do. One thing is certain John Me and the others do not smart themselves any too much. First of a whole week was lost owing to everybody's going to the Conference. Then John took only fifty 1/6 and 25 2/6 tickets. All the more expensive seats were left to us to worry about. John said the I.L.P. was proletarian and had no backers of means. I do not think that is entirely so. Surely Marton, Mc Govern and Penner have friends outside of the Party who could be approached and who are able to buy a more expensive seat? I am somewhat disappointed especially as the affair is also for the children in STREET. But I must ask you my dear not so mention anything about this to John. Please don't.

I have not yet thanked you for your lovely concern in my health and the need of rest and your promise to invite me for a week end. Its all right my dearest. After all one cannot escape from oneself. And myself is in Spain in my waking and sleeping hours and nothing will give me rest knowing as I do that the horrible and in Spain is creeping nearer and nearer. And yet I should take heart for the courage of the GIT-FAL and the determination to fight on are almost superhuman. I too should have their burning faith, their glowing idealism, their complete and utter selflessness.

With all my love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 20 [London to] Frederic[k Woodhouse, London?] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17888

20th April 1938.

Dear Frederic,

While folder, letter and bulletin were sent you from our office about our forthcoming affair at Friends House on April 29th, I wish to make a personal appeal.

It is unnecessary to tell you that now more than ever the needs in Spain are desperate. Unfortunately we have no way of reaching the number of people that are being reached by duchesses and bishops and all other so called anti-fascists. We have to depend entirely upon the few who feel the tragedy of Spain and who are willing to help us in reaching people. It is for this reason I am asking you to attend the concert and induce some of your friends to attend it. Also to let me know by return mail whether you will send out folders as per enclosed to your circle of friends. If you care to give me a list of them we will send them out from here.

I see that Mr Gollanz knows what's good for his business. He is to be found everywhere. Why don't you follow his example and support those who represent your ideas of freedom. Anyway let me hear from you please.

You can call me up tomorrow Thursday until noon at Speedwell 7135 or all the afternoon at our office Gerrard 2636.

Yours sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 20 [London to Sidney Vere] Pearson, [Mundesley, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20th April 1938.

My dear Doctor Pearson,

Thank you so much for your letter of the 19th with cheque for £1-0-0 towards the expenses of the concert. I am sorry you are unable to be with us.

I have to-day sent you by separate post one dozen folders as requested.

I agree with the views you express in the last paragraph of your letter; but there, were political parties ever guided by any particular clear and sound principles? I am afraid that the very nature of all parties^{is} ~~is~~ to make concessions and compromise, and our mutual friend Renner Brockway is a politician and the General Secretary of a political party, and he like all others must follow their line.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 20 [London to Brian] Howard, [Paris?] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17979

April 20th 38.

Dear Mr Howard.

My friend Ethel Mannin writes me that you have kindly offered to read some poems on Spain at our affair April 29th and one of your own. I agree with her that this is an excellent suggestion. The only thing is this: not having heard from you to my two letters, the last one about names of your friends for our folders, and also not having heard from Mr Spender either in reply to my letter or Ethel's prepaid wire we had to work hard to fill our programme with musicians. That means that we had to re-arrange our programme now that you again assured us of your coming and also of bringing Mr Spender. In other words, we had to shorten the six time of each artist to be able to keep to the time granted us in Friends House.

Here is the proposed order of the evenings functions

- 1) Basque children from the STREET Colony maintained by the I.L.P.
- 2) Ethel Mannin in a ten minutes speech on creative art and Fascism. The Basque children will also have ten minutes in their first appearance and will be given a second chance if we can squeeze them in towards the end. After Ethel come Max Pirani, at least ten minutes if not 15. Then Mr Stephen Spender 10 minutes or a quarter of an hour. After him Mr Fredrick Woodhouse Bariton for ten minutes. Then a trio 15 minutes. Then the appeal and the interval. In the second part we have Miss May Harrison Yourself, Miss Sidonie Goussens, Mr Herbert Read, and a Sept to close the evening. As I said we do want to give the Basque children another chance and we mean to do so after Mr Herbert Read. In all 12 numbers not counting the appeal and the intermission. In as much as we must be out of the Hall about 10.45 You will see that all our artists will have to stick to time. Naturally it will not matter if each one take a minute or two more. Will you therefore arrange your reading accordingly and also notify Mr Spender about the arrangements. The programme is at the printers. We shall want them autographed by all the artists. I wonder if you will be in town next week, say next Wed. And would you please come up to the office of the SIA to sign some of the programmes as it will delay us very much to mail them to you.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 20 [London to Brian] Howard, [Paris?] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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17980

I understand from Ethel's letter that Mr Spender would like speak at our affair April 29th. Please believe me when I say that I am always loath to curtail anyones time or subject. But the undertaking the 29th is exclusively a literary and musical evening. We therefore must stick strictly to this. Besides Mr Spender is known primarily as a poet and it is as this that we want him. Please tell him this. I do not have to assure you that we do not hide our colors, or deny our belief. You have no doubt convinced yourself ~~at~~ that at our meeting last Weds. But it just happens that speeches of whatever nature unless it deals with the relation of literature to Fascism is out of place. Besides Ethel Mannin will cover the literary side. We want the poets to inspire our audience by their own work or poems of others dedicated to Spain. Since you yourself have suggested that I feel sure you will also prevail on your friend to do the same.

We have only one week more for our publicity. But if you still want some of our folders to mail to your circle of friends or you will send me their names and addresses we will do it from here. Please do not delay in writing or phoning me.

Sincerely

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 20 [London to] Elisabeth [Wilkinson, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 20th 38

Dear Elisabeth, It is good of you to consent to circularize some people you know, I am sending you a dozen folders and six bulletins, I am not sending more because I do not like to impose on you, But of course you can have more if you have use for them.

I see that there is a fee per delegate, I am sorry I did not see that before, I suppose it will be alright to pay the 1/ on Saturday when I will see you.

Fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 20, Beaconsfield [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read. — 1 p. ; 19 × 20 cm.

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BROOK HOUSE SEER GREEN BEACONSFIELD

JORDANS 2194

20.4.38

Dear Emma Goldman,

Thank you very much for your letter. I will distribute the folder among my friends and try to persuade them to come to the concert.

I will gladly let you have an article for the special issue of Spain and the World. Will you please let me know the date for receiving the manuscript.

Yours sincerely,

Herbert Read

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 20, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [McNair].—
1 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.
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18804

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman : J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer : F. W. JOWETT

Telephone : Central 3196
Telegrams : Iper, Lud, LondonSecretary : A. FENNER BROCKWAY,
35 St. Bride Street,
London, E.C.4.

20th April, 1938.

Emma Goldman,
21, Frith St.,
Shaftesbury Ave.,
W.1.

Dear Emma,

Your letter of the 20th was delivered this morning. I am going ahead immediately with this matter and shall do my very best to get all the I.L.P. comrades on the job. I have already sent one of your big bills to the National Basque Committee to be shown after their meeting on Friday at Wyndham's Theatre and the young comrades of the Guild of Youth will get round with the handbills to all the likely places. I am calling a meeting of the London Divisional Council to discuss this to-night and all your suggestions will be followed through.

So far as the advert. in the New Leader is concerned, this has not appeared this week, but if you send it on for next week it will be even more effective, as the New Leader is in the hands of our comrades on Thursday.

You can rely on me doing everything possible to back you up. I shall come along myself to the concert and introduce the children in a one-minute speech.

Yours fraternally,

Driescher

P.S. You will be very glad to learn that the Home Office, in answer to my urgent entreaties, together with those of James Maxton, have given authority for Comrade Lecher to come to Britain. I told Ralph Barr about this on the 'phone and he has done the necessary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 20, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —
1 p.; 27 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19084

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Barcelone, 20 avril 1938

Emma Goldmann
Consejo Nacional de SIA
21, Frith Street
Shaftesbury Avenue
L O N D R E S W. 1.

Chère Emma,

Nous avons bien reçu ta carte à laquelle nous reponderons dans quelques jours, c'est à dire, aussitôt nous aurons une minute de temps pour t'écrire avec tous les détails.

En attendant on va t'envoyer par le même courrier, mais à part par carte recommandée, trois feuilles avec paroles et musique de "Hijos del pueblo" et onze feuilles de "La Barricada".

C'est tout ce qu'on a pu trouver mais nous espérons que cela te suffira pour le moment.

Nous te prions d'agréer, chère camarade, nos plus fraternelles salutations.

pour le CONSEIL GENERAL de S. I. A.

P. Herrera - Secrétaire

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 21 [London to] Herbert Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 21st 38

Dear Herbert Read.

I received your letter after I phoned you. I am so glad you will write the article for our special number on War. I really called you to ask let you know that we need the article the latest Monday. I hope it is not going to rush you too much. We want SPAIN AND THE WORLD as a First of May issue dealing with War. That's why we are rather rushed.

Thanks for trying to persuade your friends to attend our affair. We need all the help we can get to fill the place. I think our programme will be interesting.

Yours sincerely

Burlington Magazine
16^a St James St
W. I.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 21 [London to M.] Joachim, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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18070

21st April, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Joachim.

Thank you for your letter of the 17th instant. You have not disturbed me. On the contrary, I am very glad to hear from you again. I admit I have been exceptionally busy owing to our affair on April 21st, but I am never so busy but I should not wish to lose in touch with those interested in the work we are doing for Spain and those so generous as you to help in the material way. Our efforts would be nothing so hard at times if more people would express their "indignation" against the frightfulness of German and Italian borders in Spain, as you have done.

I did not take your reference to Abyssinia as meaning that I should take up the cause of war. I can assure that I have never for a moment ceased to feel deeply about the crime of Mussolini against the Abyssinian people. In fact or fact I lectured all over England opposing the invasion of Abyssinia before the struggle in Spain began. If I have not continued it is merely because the work for Spain has been so difficult and often so disheartening that it was impossible for me to add more to the burden the few of us were carrying.

However, I am sorry to learn that my impression of the work done for the Ethiopian people was wrong. I suppose I got this impression from the announcements of meetings, films and the paper, The Ethiopian News. I am sorry to have been carried away by this idea. I can appreciate through the many difficulties and obstacles I have come across how hard must also be the work of a group of people on behalf of Abyssinia. You see, all my life was spent in the United States. It was my field of activity. I find it extremely painful to succeed here. Most people are so indifferent or, if they have a bit of concern in the great world tragedies, it is not deep enough to induce them to show their interest in deeds and not in words.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 21 [London to M.] Joachim, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

18071

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I do hope you will be in London and able to attend our
affair. You will find our programme most interesting.

Yours faithfully,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 21 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Frederick Woodhouse. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24012

FREDERICK WOODHOUSE

48, THURLOW PARK ROAD,
 DULWICH, S.E. 21.
 21st April 1938.

Telephone: STReatham 3827.

Dear Miss Goldman,

In reply to your letter I am often in Town and I think the best plan will be for me to call at Frith Street to do the autographing. Let me know at what times it will be convenient for me to call, and I shall no doubt be able to fit in.

I will telephone to Mrs. Selson and see what can be arranged. If it means a special journey to Hampstead I may after all bring one of my accompanists. I only raised the question because, of course, my pianists have to be paid — although I will deal with that.

Sincerely,

Frederick Woodhouse

Miss Emma Goldman,
 21, Frith Street, W.1.

P.S. I could call shortly after 2 o'clock on Monday

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 21 [London to] Bernard [Shane, Montreal] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10297

21st April, 1938.

Dear Bernard,

Our Comrade Desser sent me your letter to him of January 28th. Ever since it reached me I want to write you, but I have been frightfully busy trying to make the best in this country. I can't say that I have made much headway, although I have worked many hours a day in raising interest and active assistance for our comrades in Spain. I am enclosing some copies of recent letters I have written, which will give you an idea of the difficulties confronting me here and of the small achievement made. I am also enclosing a folder of our forthcoming affair for April 29th.

We did not use the Canadian addresses of the Trade Unions after all. I wrote to our very efficient comrade, Dorothy Olessecke, and have suggested that she should send out the material of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. which we have printed here. I am sending you copies of their structure as well as the negotiations of the pact between the C.N.T. and the U.C.T. I am sure they will interest you. We at this end have circularised about 6,000 Trade Union Councils and Trade Union Branches. The response has been very poor. Perhaps more than in the United States the workers who are organised are in the strait-jacket of their Trade Unions and their Parties. They do nothing without their leaders, and the leaders care more for advancement and titles than for the people on whose shoulders they have risen.

You have probably heard that I am contemplating to sail for Canada some time in the late fall. Of course it all depends on the outcome in Spain. As long as the comrades can keep on feet and insist on my doing the work for them in England, I will not be able to go to Canada. However, I have asked the comrades in

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 21 [London to] Bernard [Shane, Montreal] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18298

-2-

Toronto and in some cities in America to raise the necessary funds not only for my crossing, but also to enable me to make a tour through Canada as far as Vancouver. They are hard at work on this matter, and I feel confident that they will get to either the necessary amount.

What I want to know, my dear Bernard, is what you can do to help the comrades in their task. I have written Rose Bernstein long ago about this matter, but strangely enough have had no response. Will you see her and will you also see Max Zahler and talk the matter over with them? I understand that the Catholic Church has imposed its ban on everything dealing with the frightfulness of Franco. I wonder whether that means that it will be impossible to hold meetings in Montreal. If so, our gatherings could still be arranged in the form of dinners or "banquets". Or perhaps in some of your organizations. And what about meetings in the Jewish districts? Do you think they would be banned as well? I should like to hear from you at your convenience what you think about the matter.

Rose Penetta is trying hard to inter at some time in Washington in a visa for me that would enable me to get back to America once more, even if it should be only for six months. I am not banking too much on it, but I am glad that she is trying.

Well, my dear, now that I have broken the ice perhaps I will hear from you soon. Give my love to the lady of your heart and the children who must be all grown up by this time. Take some love for yourself.

Fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929080

[Letter] 1938 April 21 [London to Vanguard, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 24 x 18 cm.
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17657

21st April, 1938.

Dear Comrades,

To-day is the 21st and no sign of the Trotsky article which you want me to criticise for your issue of May. Unless it arrives by the end of the week I will not be able to do it in time for the 3rd of May, as there is no fast sailing until the 27th of this month. Fortunately it is the Normandie which is supposed to reach New York on 2nd May, but one must make allowance for the present weather, which sometimes delays even the fastest steamers.

I am really writing you to prepare you that I may not be able to get the article off in time unless I receive the Trotsky article. I am sending you for the present a copy of the preface I have written to the Collected Letters of our martyred comrade, Camilo Berneri. It will be very suitable because he was foully murdered between the 5th and 6th of May. I am also sending you a copy of a message sent by John Cowper Powys, probably better known in America than in his own country, to our meeting of last Thursday, April 13th. You can use these if you wish. I am also enclosing folders of the affair we have organised for the 29th. You will see that we are hard at work for our heroic comrades in Spain. I know that most of you may feel disheartened and discouraged because of the tragic events in that woebegotten country. I assure you that you would feel less so if you could read the letters I receive from our comrades. Their enthusiasm, their iron determination to fight to the last - no, dear comrades, whatever happens, as long as our own people are standing at the very heights in their sublime effort to conquer Fascism, none of us should despair.

With fraternal greetings,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 21, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
2 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Thursday

17099

Dearest Emma, yr letter to Howard seems to me admirable, and between us he cannot now say that he isn't clear what is expected of him & of Spender. I return it in case you want it for a record.

I have now got my Delegate's ticket for Sat. I take it you'll be there for the morning session? In that case we'll meet at the Queens Hall at ten? I suppose we'd find each other inside.

Checks returned herewith. Copy of Rose & Sylvie is ordered for you.

Let me have some tickets to offer at the Branch meeting next Mon. I should think a dozen of each of the 1/6 and 2/6 ones. I don't honestly think any ILP people could get rid of other than the cheap seats - the 'richest' people McMillan and the others know are Reg and me so far as I can make out! All the likely people I know (outside of the party) who might buy tickets I've given you on the list sent from Yugo-Slavia.

Mrs. Madge Bolton, by the way, should be specially written to; she is very rich, and she took a box at the concert. Her name is in the telephone book. Some tickets should also go to Mrs. Antoinette Boissevain, that woman who has a shop and to whom I wrote Parr that a poster should be sent; she knows a lot of wealthy anti-Fascist Austrians and Germans.

** There are only 6 or 7 active members. I don't feel they're getting rid of more.*

The Emma Goldman Papers

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17100

I suppose folders have gone to all the people on the lists ?

A notice should really go out to all London ILP branches about the concert asking members to buy and to try to sell tickets.

I will speak to McNair about this tomorrow - he is a dam' nuisance because he was to eat here tonight and all arrangements were made and Peter Addison had agreed to that day (McNair specially wanted to meet him here) and now he goes and forgets and can't come after all, so it must be tomorrow instead, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ about half a dozen people have to rearrange their plans.

You do need a rest, badly, my dear, but I know how impossible it is to rest when the spirit isn't, can't be, at rest; it makes it difficult even for the poor body to get the sleep and rest it needs to carry on.

I won't stop for more now, dear; perhaps we should lunch at that Spanish place on Sat. ? I will look for you at the Queens Hall at ten on Sat. unless I hear from you that you'd like us to meet elsewhere. I am sending this to the house as it would only arrive at the office after you'd gone, whereas sending it to the house you'll get it tonight. My devoted love dearest Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 21, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
1 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Were tickets sent to Allen Lane?
He sent a guinea a little while
ago...
Thursday night

17101
Dearest Emma, I wrote you this morning. Now I have yr letter tonight with the Stanley Richardson letter. I am writing to him tonight. I will also write to the Ambassador and the Consul as per the addresses received from Barr tonight. I will also write to Abel asking about tickets, also if he could have some of the leaflets on the table in the little entrance hall of his restaurant; but I doubt very much if he would display a poster; he would naturally (as proprietor of a smart restaurant) want to avoid any suggestion that he was pro one side or the other in Spain. I think so, anyhow, though I'll ask him. I will write to the Ambassador and the Consul on my own paper - I think it would be more effective, that the SIA paper would be likely to put them off - they must get inundated with this that and the other Spanish organisation.

I am glad you are having the Spanish poet - it seems just what we want. If necessary let us cut five minutes from Howard and Spender - as for me I am only too glad to cut down to five minutes. As to the children coming on twice, I think personally it would be an anti-climax, and much better they should do their stuff and win their applause and leave it at that; they ought to be allowed to see the rest of the show, or the first part of it, anyhow.

No more now if I'm to catch the post.
Much love

The Emma Goldman Papers

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19370

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 22

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 24
TELÉFONO 14721 - 41

TELÉFONOS:
CENTRALITA 1400

SECRETARIADO 41
EDICIONES 44-45
GUERRA DE CLASES 46
BOLETÍN ESPERANTO 46
BOLETÍN FRANCÉS 46
BOLETÍN ALEMÁN 47
BOLETÍN INGLÉS 48
BOLETÍN GUSCO 48
BOLETÍN GUSCO 48
BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS 48

Barcelona le 21 avril 1938.

Comarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère camarade,

J'ai reçu vos deux lettres du 24 et 29 mars
écoulées.

D'abord je dois vous communiquer que j'ai re-
çu un colis avec les suivantes imprimées:

- 1° - Le livre de Rudolph Rocker, "L'Anarcho-Syndicalisme"
- 2° - Des imprimés avec le programme C.N.T.-U.G.T.
- 3° - Un exemplaire de "Railway Review" avec les adresses de
toute les rayons des ouvriers de cette industrie.
- 4° - Un article de Eastman intitulé "La Russie et l'idée so-
cialiste".
- 5° - Un exemplaire du "Daily Telegraph"
- 6° - Deux bulletins "Labour Party Press".
- 7° - Deux numéros de "Postlenia Novosti".

Pour tout cela je vous remercie de tout mon
cœur.

Ce que je n'ai pas reçu encore c'est le li-
vre "En vivant ma vie". Je sais que ce livre est rentré en
Espagne - ainsi l'affirment les camarades de Perpignan - et
j'ai peur qu'il ait disparu; malgré tout, j'ai encore l'es-
poir de le recevoir, car les choses ici vont très lentement.
Il serait regrettable que ce livre se trouvait dans quelque
coin d'un comité, sans que personne puisse le lire, car en
Espagne existent très peu de camarades qui peuvent lire l'
anglais. Si j'aurais reçu ce livre, j'aurais fait tout le pos-
sible pour reproduire les paragraphes les plus intéressants
dans notre presse. Je vous assure que je ferais ces traductions
aussi tôt de le recevoir.

Je regrette qu'il revienne si chère l'organi-
sation en Angleterre de quelque acte qu'après ne donne pas au-
cun résultat satisfaisant; mais malgré cela, je ne crois pas
que l'on gaspille le temps inutilement, car si l'on ne
...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 21, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell]. —
2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.
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19371

peut me obtenir l'aide nécessaire pour les camarades espagnols, au moins l'en fait intéresser aux gens sur notre idée et notre mouvement. Je n'avais rendu compte que l'anglais d'un numéro ou deux de notre bulletin ne devait pas être très correct, parce qu'ils n'étaient pas corrigés par ce bon professeur. Ici nous avons un américain qui a été à night school et que nous supposons qu'il saurait l'anglais parfaitement, mais nous voyons qu'il ne le connaît pas le suffisant. J'espère que les derniers numéros que vous aurez reçus seront bien rédigés, car ils ont été corrigés par le même correcteur.

Vous suggérez que Profero pourrait venir en Espagne. Je la connais et j'ai très bonnes références d'elle, de la part des camarades du front où elle a été en qualité de médecin, mais je crains qu'il faudrait aussi corriger son anglais. Si j'avais la certitude qu'elle connaît parfaitement l'anglais, je lui demanderais venir tout de suite, car nous avons un camarade allemand, un autre français et il nous faut un autre anglais. D'autre part, je dois vous communiquer qu'elle ne reconnaîtrait plus l'Espagne, parce que même ce n'est plus la même Espagne qu'elle a laissée. Il y a une grande tristesse et en plus il manquait plusieurs articles.

Votre proposition de vous envoyer les textes pour les corriger, je crois que maintenant c'est impossible de le faire. Impossible, car avec cela il faudrait au moins un mois, et alors le bulletin n'aurait pas aucun valeur. Si j'ai besoin de la camarade Profero, je vous le communiquerai et je suppose qu'elle voudrait bien venir. En attendant et tandis que les choses soient ainsi, je crois que cette camarade peut nous aider mieux en Angleterre qu'ici en Espagne.

J'espère avec impatience le résultat de vos préparatifs pour le premier mai, en union du L.L.P.

Le film "Réveil en Espagne", est déjà fini et se trouve maintenant à la censure. A la fin de cette semaine le camarade Frank sortira, en portant le film, pour Paris et Londres. J'ai parlé avec les secrétaires des deux organisations et ils sont d'accord avec cela.

Je vais communiquer à Mercedes de vous envoyer du matériel pour l'exposition de "Mujeres Libres" et tout ce qu'elle vous a promis.

Presque toute les jours, à partir du 24 mars, nous vous expédions un colis avec 8 albums "¿España?". Jusqu'à ce jour nous vous avons adressé 23 colis qui font un total de 184 albums. Le prix de l'exemplaire est de 10 francs. Vous devez fixer le prix de vente en Angleterre et vous priez de nous communiquer cela.

Nous avons reçu une lettre du camarade Farrer et nous communiquons qu'il fera le nécessaire pour obtenir le matériel que nous l'avons adressé par indication de Bluestein et que pour cela est déjà d'accord avec vous.

Nous espérons que par votre prochaine vous allez nous communiquer la liste des livres publiés en anglais concernant la lutte en Espagne et le prix de chacun de ces livres, et il serait mieux pour vous et pour nous, de le faire le plus rapidement possible.

A vous lire, recevez, chère camarade, mes salutations bien fraternelles.

получаете ежедневно пакеты с газетами?

Ваша Мария

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 21, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —
2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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1938

Federación Anarquista Ibérica
vía duruti, 30, 6.º - teléfono 19573
comité peninsular
relaciones exteriores
n.º 1 103/38 barcelona, 21-4-38

Emma Goldman, 21 Frith street, LONDON W.1.

Dear Emma,

From your letter of march 28th, we extract the part of the visit payed to your offices by a certain Boyer, and answer to it apart from the questions which concern SIA.

We do not know this name and suppose that it must have been comrade Boer, delegate of the CNT in France and who recently visited England.

The attitude adopted by comrade Boer is very puzzling to us, because we know him, personally, to be completely in agreement with the existence of our Federation. May be he adopted this attitude which you described, before some lukewarm elements of other tendency with the stupid pretension not to shock them when speaking of the FAI. If this is so, its uningenuous position which is of no benefit and which puts him in a contradiction with our movement.

Answering your questions concretely, we like to tell you, that we have indicated to nobody that we are ready to renounce our signs and our colours. We ~~will~~ are not doing so and never will.

About the other question you put in the same letter, we answer also apart from the SIA, because we want to be more explicit.

Dont you understand that it would be very bad effect if you had to send funds to Paris in the name of CNT-FAI from England? Does it not seem a little strange, that we, who are only a few kilometers away from France, have to charge a delegation so much farther away with the help that corresponds to us? Do you really believe that we would abandon Comrades, worthy of being helped?

We are sure that you will yourself answer all these questions and be just with us.

Anyhow, you must keep in mind, that there are very few elements in France whom we consider Spanish refugees with a right to our and international help. The comrades, who where forced by certain circumstances to leave our country, can count on our help abroad and we are sure that their needs are covered. The fact is, that many, unfortunately very many, have voluntarily left our country or had to leave it because they did not proceed correctly while they were here with us. For neither of these our organizations can give official attention and consider them Spanish refugees. — We can not nor must we oppose comrades of other.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001005

[Letter, 19]38 April 21, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —
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19387
Federación Anarquista Ibérica
vía durruti, 30, 6.º - teléfono 19579
comité peninsular
relaciones exteriores
n.º 1 _____ **barcelona,** _____

-2-

countries, if they want to help them; but let them help them as any other people in need, as comrades, for solidarity, but not in any relation with the Spanish situation.

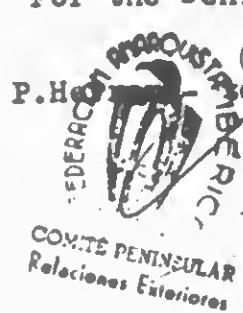
After all these explanations, which can be enlarged and documented if you think it necessary, you will understand our position.

There is not much I can say in answer to your anxious request for news. I can only say, that though the situation is very grave, it is not desperate, and that the Spanish people, first of all the Anarchists, are fighting with great courage to avoid the triumph of fascism. These last few days masses of our comrades have gone to the front, leaving everything for the imperative necessities of the war.

This is all for the moment. Fraternal greetings

For the Peninsular Committee of the PAI

P. Herrera, temporary secretary


P. Herrera
76

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 21, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —
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Barcelona Via Durruti 30,62,000
21-4-38

T. 459/38

National Council of the English Section of SIA
Emma Goldman
21 Frith street, LONDON W.1.

Dear Emma,

We also received your much appreciated letter of the 1st of which we hasten to answer.

We hope that the Concert will be a success after all the labour and labour you put into its preparation. Don't forget to inform about its results, so that we may let our other sections know.

We suppose that the music and words of the "HIGOS" and "A LAS BARRICADAS" have reached you meanwhile. We sent all we could get hold of. If you need more, you will have to reprint there, because for the time being it would not be easy to find here.

In a private letter we informed you about the organization in Paris which you wanted to help. We believe that we explained this fully.

I would like to know how the Meeting with the ILP went. It must have been quite a success and the audience should have been a nice contribution.

We trust that your reply to the request we made for the Section, asking for paperpads and pencils for the militias, will be generous. The comrades from the French section sent 1 000 books which produced great joy among the comrades of the Brigade when they were distributed.

Expecting your news soon, we greet you fraternally

For the General Council of the S.I.A.



secretary

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 21, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman], London / P[edro] Herrera. — 1 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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Barcelona, Via Durruti 30, 6^a 19081
21st of April 1938

T.458/38

**Solidaridad Internacional
Antifascista**

Consejo General

National Council of the
English Section of S.I.A.

21 Frith street, LONDON W.1

Dear Emma,

We received your letter of March 28th and are glad to learn that you received all our correspondence and propaganda material.

We are also glad to hear of your happy return from Scotland. This propagandatour of yours will surely have the best results for our cause and, in spite of the indifference and bourgeoisery of this people, your activity will have prepared the ground for our ideas to bear fruit one day. We hope for an report on your tour. to publish something about it in our papestin.

In all your letters you explain to us the situation in England, believing that we don't understand it and have illusions about the possibilities for our work over there. This is not so. We understand perfectly and know that one could not achieve more than you do, working and doing your utmost.

It is a consolation to know, that a little group of comrades exists, which works with enthusiasm to assist you. It will make your task a little easier and gives it more opportunity.

About what you suggest concerning a contribution of the S.I.A. to the Basque Childrens colony of the ILP, you can contribute something corresponding to your possibilities. You will see how you stand socially and contribute accordingly.

Dear Emma, very soon — probably already the next letter — we shall not be able to write to you in English any more. Ilse is going to leave us and as we can not carry on translations in English, we will have to have somebody to translate your letters for you. Or, if you consider it convenient, we might write in another language, easier to understand for you than Spanish: French or German.

Awaiting your news, we greet you fraternally

For the General Council of the S.I.A.

P. Herrera - Secretary

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 21, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / P[edro] Her-
rera. — 1 p. ; 16 × 22 cm.

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Barcelona, Via Durruti 36,
21-4-38

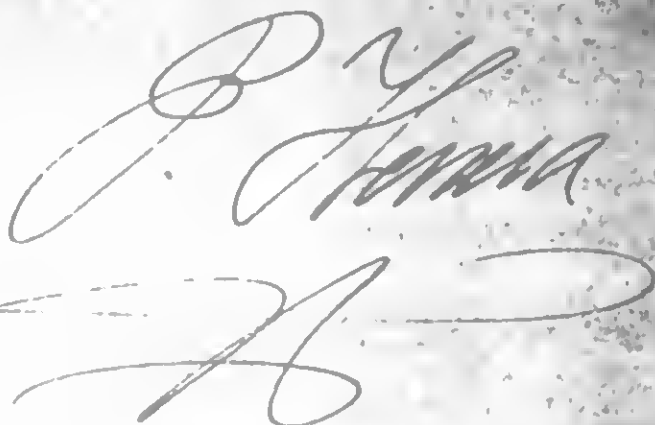
Dear Emma,

with all the promptitude and rapidity with which I attend to my request, I received the book by Kropotkin for which I asked you. Thank you very much for it. Thus I have been able to fulfill my promise to the friend who wants to edit the book in Spanish.

I am impatiently awaiting the preface you have written for the works of Berneri. The Editorial "TIERRA Y LIBERTAD", of which I am president, has undertaken steps in France for the publication of the works of comrade Camillo Berneri, which the Commission is collecting, in Spanish.

Faternally

Yours



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 22 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19694

April 22nd 38.

Dearest Jeanne. I got your letter of April 2th only this morning. Its rather long for a letter from Chicago isn't it? I happen to have a moment now so I decided to answer your letter right away. First you do not say in your letter if you followed up my suggestion in re the appeal to the Los Angeles comrades for the fund of my tour through Canada and if there was a response. I am naturally interested to know how the comrades feel about it. Do let me k now when you write again.

"Going around in a daze with all the unhappy events taking place all over the world". My dearest I have developed heart trouble as a result of the frightfulness in Spain. Not that I do not feel the horrors in Austria, China, Russia and the rest. But my absorption in the struggle of our comrades has sapped my energies to an alarming extent. A doctor friend tells me there is nothing the matter with my heart except over fatigue. I think he is right although the several spells I have had make me feel so faint and so weak as if there was more the matter than mere tiredness. I am sure it is all my worry and uneasiness about Spain. So you see darling I too have felt dazed for weeks now, and while I do not think my condition serious I go on with the work because I cannot stop and dare not stop but I do feel miserable all the time. Please dearie keep this to yourself. I do not want it heralded that I am getting "old". See the faint womanish conceit.

Yes, the Civil Liberties League has been doing some good work, more so than the similar organisation either in France or in England. They are both ultra middle class and do not show much interest or vigor to help persecuted people.

Dearest I cannot tell you details about Spain because the letters I get from our people are very short. But one thing I can tell you I have never in my life seen such demonstration of enthusiasm, flaming faith and iron will to fight to the last man as our heroic comrades display. I am certain as long as one member of the CNT-FAI remains alive Franco will not win. The tragic part is that it is mainly our comrades who continue the struggle and that they are being sacrificed to bolster up the others who claim the glory. Not that the CNT-FAI wants glory. But it makes me see red when I think that the reactionary Negrin Communist outfit have by their inefficiency and by the hatred ~~against~~ ^{for} our people mismanaged and misdirected the war. Like Franco would never have advanced so far. I tremble for our comrades should Franco conquer. It is unbelievable that he should and yet when you consider the treachery of the democratic countries, the Popular Front and Russia than you will realize the odds the CNT-FAI

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001165

[Letter, 19]38 April 22 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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19695

are confronted with. Never in the history of the world ~~did~~ the workers
~~have been so forsaken by their own and so betrayed~~
It is appalling. And yet I have not lost all hope yet, not so long
as the pure light of the idealism of our comrades in Spain continues
to shine in the darkest hours.

Darling I warned you and Rudolf against Covieli Friede
whom I knew to be a crook. Fancy so much money sunk into their pocket
and poor Rudolf not to receive a penny. A thousand times rather that
the Freie Arb. Stimme should get out the new edition. I wrote Freedman
of the Fr. Arb. St. in suggesting Prof. Beard or Dewey for a Preface. I
am sure Fitch could get them to do it. It would help the sale I am
certain. I will write Fitch next week about the approach to either of
the men.

Emmy's sister is a bitch like the rest of her family only
interested in their own insignificant self. Worse luck Emmy herself is
of the same cloth especially since Sasha's influence is gone. But she
is a poor, sick helpless creature while her sister is well and lives
in style. I hope you have luck with her, or at least that you told her
what you think of such relationship. Frankly I don't know what will
become of Emmy when my few francs give out. It is only that the world
is so full of collective tragedy one cannot think also of the individ-
ual one, one's own and that of other individuals especially of those who
have always taken and never given anything to the world.

With love to Jay, Julia and yourself.

Best greetings to Aaron. I wrote him as you suggested.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 22 [London to] Stella [Churchill, London] / [Emma Goldman]. --
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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17496

April 22nd-38.

Dearest Stella, I received your letter saying you liked our folder and to get in touch with you after the 25th. First I must tell you that I do not deserve the credit for the lay out of the folder. It was our good friend James Harrison who got us as an immense amount of advertising for our concert last year and is doing what he can (though no longer able to do so much) for this concert. He arranged the folder and he is also looking after our programme which will be ready early next week when I will have them autographed by all the artists and yourself my dear. James Harrison also looks after our advertising. Unfortunately he made a mistake in the ad in the NEW STATEMENT NATION. He left out your name. Not intentionally so I assure you. It will be rectified next week when your name will be added to the list.

Please my dear will you send a short letter to the NEW Statesman calling the attention of their readers to our affair. It will be in plenty of time if you will send it by the 26th, or even the 27th. You can stress with a good conscience that the needs of the women and children in Spain are more desperate than ever before. And urge people to attend. Also say we have a young Spaniard poet who has just come from Spain and will read some of Loreas poems. He was among the first victims of Franco brutally murdered by his hords.

Will you please call me up as I do not know when I might find you in. I am at home every forenoon until 10 o/c at Speedwell 7135. Every afternoon at Gerard 26 36. There are several things we will have to go over before Friday. Perhaps we can have tea together or anyway you care about meeting.

I hope you had a real rest and pleasant Easter.

Cordially.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 22 [London to Jack] White and Clara Freedman, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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17660

April 22nd 38

Dear Comrades White of the Vanguard Editorial Board
and Clara Freedman Sect. Vanguard Group.

I wrote you yesterday. To day I received two letters of the 11th inst from you, dear comrade Freedman and you comrade White. I should like to write you separately. But it is impossible. I am frightfully rushed with a thousand details for our literary and musical evening for a week from to day. You have no idea what it means to get anything done in this country, or rouse interest in anything the few of us undertake. Actually the strain is so great and the disappment so bitter the effort makes me physically ill. But there is unfortunately no one else to do anything for Spain, I mean not for the CNT-FAI. Leave it to the Communists to achieve wonders materially for their own ends, even if under all sorts of fancy names. Anyhow I cannot write you at length to day. I will soon after May First when I shall have more time for other matters than the grind here.

I have received the copies of the ~~Internationalist~~ New International containing the stuff on Kronstadt. I will read the articles to day and do my best to write a reply Sunday or Monday. I can do nothing tomorrow as I must attend an Emergency All Spain Conference. It will be the first time that I will attend anything organized by the Communists. Nor would I do it this time. I am only going to see what new comedy the gang is going to perform supposedly for Spain but in reality for their parties needs. Anyhow I cannot write tomorrow but I hope to have the Kronstadt response ready in time to send it off on next Weds sailing, the Normandie is a fast boat and it should reach you the latest the 3rd, the boat is due in New York the 2nd.

I inclose a short report about our "movement" in England. I wrote to the Secretariat of the I.W.M.A. It is not for publication. But you will be able to gather the true pathetic situation as regards any Anarchist movement, or individual Anarchists in this blood freezing country. I really could add nothing to this report.

For the present I can ask nothing from Herbert Read because I have just asked him to participate in our affair and to write an article for the Special First of May anti War issue of Spain and the world. Later I will try my luck. The trouble is the best of English is too absorbed in his own work and his own life to do anything outside of it. Still Herbert Read is among the nearest to us of all the British writers and he maybe willing to write one article. I will

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Our best informant comrade on Machno is Volin. I think he is in Nime now though I am not sure. The trouble is he does not know English, at least I do not think he does. The best way is to write to him o/o Mollie Steimer who goes under the name of Mollie Aleperine 23, rue des Volontaires. Inclose the letter to Volin open in an envelope addressed to Mollie and ask her to translate it into French and tell her just what you want in re Machno. He is most reliable has the facts at his fingers tips and writes well. You might let him know that he can write either Russian, French or German. He is master in all the three.

The only one in Paris who might send you a monthly report about the situation in France would be Helmut Rudiger, one of the secretaries of the I.W.M.A. Of course he is very busy. Still he might find time. He will have to write German of course. He also knows Spanish well. But that is probably more difficult for you. When I write comrade Helmut again I will urge him to send a monthly letter or something for the VANGUARD. Later I maybe able to do the same from here. The fact is I am completely shattered over the tragic events in Spain. Such glorious beginning and maybe such a tragic defeat. I say maybe because I still hold on for dear life to the slender threads that ~~the Spanish~~ our people in Spain will conquer in the end. Of course it will only mean a breathing spell to triumph over Franco. The real revolutionary battle will begin only after that. And what a battle it will have to be to hold a reckoning with the black reactionary Negrin Prieto Communist outfit and to undo the betrayal of the revolution by them. For the present our comrades are sworn to fight Fascism until the last. And they will be sacrificed the first. Only yesterday I had word that our comrade Germina best of the FAI one of the finest and best comrades has gone to the front voluntarily. And so will many of the others who have been holding responsible positions. I tremble when I think how many will lose their precious lives.

As far as the comrades of the CNT-FAI are concerned there never has been anything like it in courage, blazing idealism and will to face death with a song in their hearts. Every letter I receive puts me to shame for my faintheartedness. But then when one is in the thick of battle one is always carried away by ones enthusiasm but to work in England in the barren spiritual soil of the British leaders and parties that is another matter I can tell you.

I must close my dears for to day. If I have time on Tuesday I might write more to go with the article.

Fraterna greetings to all the comrades and yourselves.. You can bring the two letters of John Cowper Powys if you wish.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 22 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. -
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Am 22. April 1938

Liebe Emma,

vorerst muss ich Dich bitten mir nicht böse zu sein wegen meines Schweigens. Ich will nicht viel anführen um mich zu entschuldigen, denn ich finde es selbst unentschuldigbar - aber einer der sachlichen Gründe war, dass ich Dir auf Deine zwei letzten Briefe antworten wollte nachdem auch das Sekretariat offiziell zu dem einen Stellung genommen hätte - was immer noch nicht der Fall ist. Darüber später.

Gestern war die Genossin SE. hier und wir haben uns unterhalten - übrigens französisch, denn inzwischen habe ich meine Kenntnisse zu einer leidlichen Konversations-Fähigkeit entwickelt. Ich war sehr froh, jemand aus Deinem Kreise zu sehen.

Ich habe der Genossin einiges erzählt, was ich auch Dir schreiben will. Es ist leider nicht viel.

Mascarell kam nach circa sechs Wochen zurück. Sein Bericht hat keinen wirklichen Wert gehabt. Er erzählte nicht viel mehr als in den Zeitungen steht und ist wohl auch nicht der Mann dazu, wirklich gut fundiert Zustände zu schildern und objektiv zu urteilen. Später kamen andere Genossen, die interessanter berichteten.

M. berichtete u.a. vom Zusammenbruch an den Fronten. Neben den bekannten Ursachen war ein vollkommenes Versagen der Führung zu verbuchen. Es gab überhaupt keine Organisation mehr, die Führung (die ja im Kriege alles ist) existierte nicht. Nicht nur der General Pozas, sondern auch unsere Genossen Sanz und Vivancos sind verhaftet und abgesetzt. Aus diesem Grunde. Yoldi war verhaftet, aber sein Verhalten wurde als vorwurfsfrei festgestellt und er alsbald wieder entlassen.

Die Depression und die Panik müssen, auch im Hinterlande, ungeheuer gewesen sein. Die Nahrungsmittelnot ist unbeschreiblich, und leider existieren immer noch Privilegien. Die Genossen - Du weisst wie sie sind - glauben noch immer an die Möglichkeit des siegreichen Aushaltens, mindestens an die Notwendigkeit. Es ist eine gewisse Wiederaufrichtung festzustellen ohne Zweifel.

Allerdings täuscht da auch vieles. Vor kurzem veranstaltete die Regierung über Barcelona eine Demonstration von 200 Flugzeugen, die natürlich ungeheuren Eindruck hervorrief. "Die Leute weinten", sagt unser guter Mascarell. Vor Freude. Aber während man glauben machte dass das neuankommene Flugzeuge seien, versichert man mir glaubwürdig von anderer Seite, dass das nur der Bestand der Frontflugzeuge war, die zu diesem demonstrativen Zwecke zusammengezogen wurden. Nun aber wieder etwas typisches um Dir zu zeigen wie wenig wir uns auf Information unserer Spanier verlassen können: unser Mascarell beschreibt uns wirklich ergriffen die Taten der Leute und schwört Stein und Bein dass das 200 neue Flugzeuge ~~mit~~ gewesen seien. Er will es eben, und deshalb ist es so.

Übrigens gründet sich der ganze Widerstand der Genossen wieder einmal auf eine einzige Hoffnung (andere bestehen ja in der Tat nicht): es ist eine neue Abmachung mit Russland getroffen worden die in diesen Tagen oder Wochen in Gestalt einer grossen Flugzeugsendung Ausdruck finden soll. Ich

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bin nicht in der Lage dies zu beurteilen, auf M.s. Sicherheit gehe ich an sich nichts. Im Übrigen weißt Du, dass die informierten spanischen Genossen uns nie in die eigentlich wesentlichen Geheimnisse einweihen. Was ihnen selbst und uns allen schon viel geschadet hat.

In Alvarez del Vayo und dem Kommissar Jesus Hernandez für Zentralspanien darf man wohl den Ausdruck eines neuen russischen Interesses sehen, so scheint mir wenigstens. Das ist die Lage - tragisch und bitter, liebe Emma.

Nun hatte ich eine kleine und doch grosse Freude, indem die Genossen Doster, Kirschev, Hessentaler, Ilfeld und mein treuer Freund Michel aus Sorbó frei sind und die ersten drei sogar hier. Sie haben von den spanischen Behörden den Rat bekommen zu gehen, da die Tscheke schliesslich immer noch existiere und sie in persönlicher Gefahr seien. Das CN hat sich diesem Rat angeschlossen. Zwei sind noch dort, darunter Michel der sogar wieder zu den Soldaten gehen will, allerdings nicht zu den Int. Brigaden, sondern nur zu Spaniern. Er will oder muss sich zu diesem Zwecke nationalisieren lassen... ich bewundere diese Haltung und hätte doch den Wunsch, den Jungen hier zu sehen (obwohl das Elend der Emigranten hier furchtbarlich ist. Sie hungern, sie hungern buchstäblich. Es gibt nichts mehr).

Die Jungen haben furchtbar gelitten. Fünf volle Monate zum Beispiel kein Brot gesehen. Die CNT hat nichts, nichts, nichts für sie getan. In 9 Monaten haben sie sieben (s i e b e n) Zigaretten gehabt. Alle zusammen. Die Faschisten im Gefängnis - alles, alles, alles. Sie hatten keine Bücher keine Zeitungen. Total verlassen. Es ist unvorstellbar. Aber ich bewundere diese Kerls, die trotzdem sie alle krank geworden sind, sich dennoch im Zustande einer ausserordentlichen geistigen Ausgeglichenheit befinden und keineswegs schimpfen wozu sie ja durch die erlittenen Ungerechtigkeiten viel Grund hätten. Die Jungen sind ruhig und sachlich. Alle Achtung.

Innerpolitisch muss sich die Lage stark zugunsten der CNT verändert haben. Die Genossen tragen, dies nur als Beispiel, wieder ihre Revolver öffentlich. Tausende gehen neu an die Fronten - fast alle mit eigenen Waffen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit, sagten mir die deutschen Genossen, sah man deutlich, dass die CNT keineswegs entwaffnet war. Gefangen sind viele entlassen - doch wohl nicht alle. Massen werden neu verhaftet - viel Bürgerliche und diejenigen die nicht der Dienstpflicht nachkommen wollen. Diese letzteren werden sogar von der unserer eigenen Organisation verfolgt. Übrigens arbeiten die Genossen wieder in Investigation, Escorza zeigt sich wieder öffentlich.

Fredlich, das alles unter tragischen Umständen. Was bleibt von sozialen Gesichtspunkten, von Revolution, alles ist der Krieg. Es kann ja nun auch nicht mehr anders sein.

Die Kuberts usw. gehe ich den Genossen bzw. gehe sie weiter. Ich antworte Dir heute nicht zusammenhängend auf die letzten drei Briefe, liebe Emma, nur aus der Stimmung des Moments heraus. In wenigen Tagen mehr. Das mit dem Englisch ist schlimm. Mit unserem Pressedienst sind wir selbst nicht zufrieden. Aber die Hauptschuld haben unsere Spanier. Wir haben keine Information in detailliertem Sinne. Nur die Mitteilungen. Traurig aber wahr. Das ganze IAA-Sekretariat ist eine lächerliche Einrichtung. Roca kommt kaum zu den Sitzungen und dann nur um dumme Sachen zu äussern. M. hat bis jetzt seit ~~W~~ Institution vielleicht zwei Tage mit uns und für uns gearbeitet. Wir sehen ihn fast niem. Nun ist auch noch Galve ausgewiesen und ~~er~~ ist fast stets drüben in St. Denis 28. Ausserdem ist ~~er~~ er weiter

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hin Redakteur des demokratischen Wurstblattes der CNT, La Nouvelle Es-
pagne Antifasciste. Entschuldige den Ausdruck, aber so ist es doch.
Unser Portugiese arbeitet nur für portugiesische Sachen, und ich arbeite
praktisch nur mit Besnard der aber leider sehr krank ist. Seit zwei Tagen
liegt er sogar im Bett. Er gibt sich alle Mühe, aber er kann einfach nicht.
Die ganze IAA ist nichts halbes und nichts ganzes, ich bedaure mehr denn
je akzeptiert zu haben und freue mich auf die Zeit wo ich nicht mehr hier
sein werde, ich glaube dass ich als Einzelner besser für unsere Sache
leben kann als in diesem unsinnigen organisatorischen Betrieb. Natürlich,
die IAA könnte etwas sein, müsste etwas sein. Aber wenn die CNT nicht
zahlt und nicht einen Teil der Grosszügigkeit zeigt die sich in völlig
sinn- und zwecklosen Amerikareisen mit Normandie erster Klasse usw. usw.
so schön manifestiert, dann können wir nicht leben und nicht sterben, und
es ist dann schon besser zu sterben.

Ich las Deinen Brief an Rudolf. Dort gibt es einen Irrtum. Du sprichst von
deutschen Bulletin der IAA mit einem Artikel über die spanische Regierung
usw. Es muss sich um das Bulletin der CNT handeln! Übrigens kenne ich die-
ses garnicht. Daran siehst Du wieder, wie wir informiert sind!

In diesem Zusammenhang denke ich an Deine Idee, von der SIA die Erlaubnis
zu erwirken, etwas für das Comité de Solidarité Internationale (CGTSR-
AIT) zu geben. Du hast wahrscheinlich an die SIA geschrieben von einem
Aufruf Besnards oder Briefen Besnards für die deutschen u.a. Flüchtlinge
in Paris, denn dieser gibt ich bei den Spaniern von einem Briefe von Dir
an die SIA worin von Briefen Besnards die Rede sein soll. Ich habe nichts
dazu gesagt um nicht den Anschein zu geben, dass es sich um irgend etwas
handelt, was zwischen uns abgemacht ist. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich
um ein Rundschreiben der IAA - übrigens nicht von Besnard unterzeichnet,
sondern von mir, in dem gebeten wurde, das von der CGTSR mit ausdrückli-
cher Autorisierung gegründete Comité de Solidarité Internationale zu un-
terstützen. Es müsste also der Name dieses Comité angegeben werden. Mas-
carell und Roca haben sogar schon Besnard gefragt ob er an Dich geschrie-
ben habe, und er hat natürlich geantwortet dass er Dir überhaupt nicht ge-
schrieben hat. Es waren Rundschreiben der IAA die Du empfangen hast.

Nun, liebe Emma, ich will für heute schliessen. Ich habe Dir nicht viel
Positives schreiben können über Spanien... Leider wissen wir selbst viel
zu wenig. Ich wage nichts zu sagen darüber was ich über das spanischen
Möglichkeiten denke. Man glaubt immer gern an Wunder, aber die Realität
ist sehr schlimm. Es handelt sich um Flugzeuge... und selbst wenn diese
kommen sollten, sind auf die Dauer die anderen überlegen, fürchte ich.
Eine ernsthafte Wendung wäre nur möglich durch Ereignisse im Auslande.
Das ist das einzige, was für mich wirklich feststeht. Und allen Betrach-
tungen über die Frage, ob unsere spanischen Genossen richtig oder falsch
gehandelt haben, so nötig sie sind, vom Standpunkt unserer Ideen, muss im-
mer wieder die Tatsache zugrundegelegt werden, dass das Auslande nichts zu
Spanien getan und die Arbeiterbewegung vollständig Bankrott gemacht hat.
In dieser Zwangslage haben die Genossen den Versuch gemacht, einen Weg
zur Rettung aus eigener Kraft des spanischen Volkes zu finden. Dieser
Versuch ist eine grosse Sache auch wenn er scheitern sollte. Sehen wir von
allen Kleinigkeiten und Nebenerscheinungen ab, von all dem Unangenehmen
das wir als ausländische Anarchisten von unseren spanischen Kameraden er-
dulden mussten - aufs Ganze geschaut, glaube ich, muss anerkannt wer-
den dass der Haltung der Genossen eine freiheitliche Ethik zugrundeliegt.
Darauf komme ich immer wieder trotz aller Vorwürfe die ich den Genossen
mache...

Bald mehr, liebe Emma. Für heute viele herzliche
Grüsse.
Dein Helmut

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Federación Nacional del Trabajo

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Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Paris, el 22 de Abril 1938.

Delegación en Francia

EMMA GOLDMANN

37, Old Compton St. W.I.

LONDON

Querida Emma:

Hoy he recibido tu grata carta del 19 del corriente y, como puedes ver, la contesto a vuelta de correo.

Tu carta y, adjunto a ella, el pasquin, boletín de S.I.A. y el programa de la fiesta organizada a favor de España, me han sido entregados por RUDIGER.

La compañera Sonia EDELMANN, no he tenido ocasión de entrevistarme con ella. En cambio, sí se entrevistó con RUDIGER. Motivo para que yo no la haya podido informar de la situación político-guerrera de España, tal y como tú lo deseas vehemente.

Comprendo perfectamente, querida Emma, tu inquietud por las cosas de España. Y comprendiéndolo, voy a informarte a grandes rasgos para tranquilizar un poco tu espíritu y estado de ánimo.

Hace diez días, regresé de España y, en ella, viví todos los momentos más desesperantes que se han vivido durante los dos años aproximadamente que llevamos de guerra. La pérdida de Teruel y, luego más tarde, la de Belchite y todos los pueblos de Aragón hasta llegar en tierras de Cataluña, fué debido a dos factores: el uno de fuerza y potencia material del enemigo, y el otro: la pérdida absoluta de la moral y la falta de fe y entusiasmo para seguir combatiendo, protegidos por las defensas naturales del país. Nuestros soldados, presos de un pánico fantástico, abandonaron las armas y las posiciones, bajando hacia la retaguardia donde llegaron muchos — casi la mayoría — con los pies llenos de llagas de tanto andar. Los hubo que andaron 100 kilómetros sin hacer ningún alto en la marcha tanto fué el pánico que se apoderó de ellos. Y, como es natural, su pánico repercutió en la retaguardia en general, incluso entre los propios camaradas militantes.

Fuimos unos cuantos, quizás media docena, que, haciendo actos de contracción, superamos la situación de aquel angustioso momento, teniendo la virtud, nuestro optimismo, de influenciar y llegar a contagiar a los demás. Se celebraron varias reuniones entre los militantes y entre los propios representantes del Gobierno llegando a la conclusión entre ambos que era necesario ir inmediatamente al reajuste del gobierno y que de él salieran los cobardes y pesimistas que no tenían fe en la victoria y que sólo pensaban

.....

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19142

acabar la guerra por conducto de una mediación fuera como fuere.

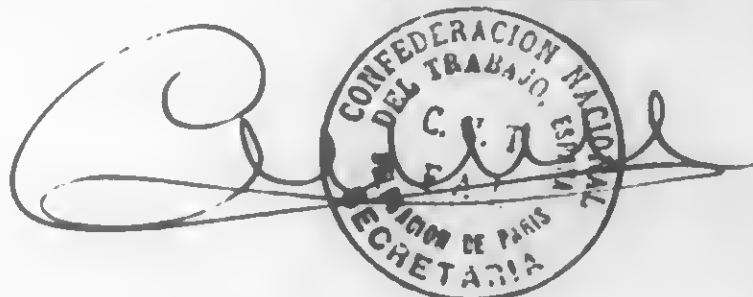
La situación internacional no era -y suenge lo es aún- muy favorable. Ni Francia ni Inglaterra, genuinos representantes de la democracia europea, no están dispuestas hacer nada para salvar a España del fascismo italo-alemán que la ha invadido. Sólo un país, querida Emma, ha prometido ayudarnos con más eficacia y desinterés que lo ha hecho hasta ahora.

Con la esperanza de que esta ayuda llegará, tal y como se nos ha prometido, es por lo que somos optimistas y tenemos fe inquebrantable en la victoria. Ahora bien, Si esta ayuda no llega o la que recibimos es deficiente, nos engañamos. Sabemos perfectamente que perderemos la guerra. Y la perderemos porque la inferioridad manifiesta de nuestros medios de lucha no puede ponerse al frente de lo que poseen los enemigos.

Esperando continuarás mandando todo cuanto hagas en esa relacionado con las actividades de S.I.A., recibe un fraternal abrazo de tu amigo y compañero

POR LA DELEGACION PERMANENTE DE LA C.N.T.-P.A.I. EN PARÍS.

M. MASCARELL.



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TRANSLATION

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of letter from M. MASCARELL, Paris, dated 22nd April, 1938.

Your letter of the 19th inst has been handed to me by RUDIGER, together with the enclosures mentioned therein.

So far I have not had the opportunity of meeting comrade Sonia Edelmann and I have been unable therefore to acquaint her with the situation in Spain, as it is your desire. However she has had an interview with RUDIGER.

I understand full well, dear Emma, the way you feel and your anxiety about our struggle in Spain, and I will try here to give you at length some details so that you may survey how things stand.

I have now been back from Spain about ten days and there I lived the most desperate moments of all yet experienced since the war. The loss of Teruel, and later on that of Belchite, together with all the towns in Aragon until the enemy reached the soil of Cataluña, was due to two factors: the overwhelming superiority of the enemy's material and the complete loss of morale coupled with the lack of faith and enthusiasm to carry on the struggle protected by the natural defenses of the Country. Our soldiers, seized by an uncontrollable fear, abandoned their arms and their positions, descending on the rearguard after tramping for many miles with bleeding feet. Such was the panic possessing them that many walked 100 kilometres without halting. As it was only natural, this fear spread to those behind the lines, including our own militant comrades. It was a few of us, perhaps half a dozen, who, making an act of contrition, succeeded in rallying together and with our

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example we managed to influence the rest with our optimism. Several meetings were held attended also by the own representatives of the Government and by unanimity it was decided that the time had arrived for immediately proceeding to readjust the formation of the Government, removing from it those cowards and pessimists who had no faith in victory and whose only thought was to end the war at any cost through mediation.

The international situation was not - and I presume is not still - very favourable. Neither France nor England, the genuine representatives of european democracy, are prepared to lift a finger to save Spain from the invasion of german-italian Fascism. One country alone, dear Emma, has promised to aid us more efficaciously and with less disinterestedness as hitherto.

In the hope that this help will arrive, as promised, is centred our optimism and our unshakeable faith in final victory. On the other hand, if this aid which has been promised us does not arrived or is deficient in any way, we do not deceive ourselves. We know perfectly well that we will loose the war. And it will be lost because of the manifest inferiority of our material which cannot compete with that at the disposal of the enemy.

Trusting that you will keep us informed of everything in connection with S.I.A.

Fraternally,

(Signed) M. Mascarell.

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TELEPHONE NUMBER 2000

17369

PHILIP BRADSHAW, MANAGER

Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers Union

REPRESENTING LOCALS 12, 22, 32, 42, 52, 72 AND 80

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

A. F. of L.

OFFICE: 28 LA GRANGE STREET
BOSTON, MASS.

April 23, 1938

R. G. Coulton
c/o Koldofsky
6 South Avenue
Golders Green
London N. W. 11

Dearest Russ:-

This is an answer to your s of April 12, so that it gets to you with an early boat.

Harold J. Lasky and Herbert Morrison were the Britishers who left these shores the other day for England. Lasky made a nasty attack upon all those who are Anti-War, on Sunday evening at an open forum in Ford Hall, Boston. He definitely lines up with the C.P. and advocates "collective security". Morrison spoke in New York at Mecca Temple before a crowd of the American Labor Party what wonders the British Labor Parties have done in England. He told the audience that the L.P. is eliminating the slums and urged us to do likewise. Then seem to take it for granted that Americans need the lectures on political and social security, I think otherwise.

A number of adventurers went to Spain under the auspices of the C. P. and after tasting the hardships sneaked out of there only to sell themselves body and soul to the yellow press of America. There is a nincompoop by the name of Alvin Halpern who is writing a series of articles in Hearsts American "I fought for Stalin in Spain," which is widely read by the fascists and jingoists who say "I Told you so, it's nothing but a Communist thing".

The ILGWU sent some money to Spain and is collecting a lot more through labor. We are very peculiarly situated in our own Union. The Italians are all fascists except a few and support Mussolini in all his ventures. After the support given to Franco these worthy have left their friends. They will not give a cent for the Loyalists.

You people noticed that we are having a new problem in the USA----- War Propaganda by the Navy and big Industrialists who got the fullest support from Stalin's henchman clamoring for war with Japan. I have therefore, joined with the KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR group.

Abe and a few others including myself got together and we are definitely launching a newspaper sometime the early part of May. Abe and the younger crowd seem to have gathered a number of intellectuals who hitherto clung to the skirts of the communists, they have lost faith in the Stalin movement and are now looking for an Intellectual outlet for their ideas. The F.A.S. and the others look askance at this new venture but I have encouraged the younger crowd

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not to give any heed and try to carry on.

Now a word about your visa: Bob Jackson, the Assistant Attorney General refused to favor a visa. We are trying some other groups who will try to do something for you.

You were right, there are several elements who are trying to break R. before the next campaign starts. There was a political trick to offer asylum for political refugees. With this he threw a bait to the upper-dogs and to some of the influential labor groups.

We have placed Senia's photos in the First International Photographic Exposition at Grand Central Palace. They have taken but a few, we expect some-time later to have a regular show of his works in some studio.

The hats my mother bought for you (her name is Mrs. Masia Pesotta, same as mine) I'll have my mother take them to him immediately.

Shall write you as soon as I have more news.

Fraternally,

Rose

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[Letter, 19]38 April 23, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Pedro? Herrera?].— 2 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

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18786

TRANSLATION.

Dear comrade,

We shall not expose anything new in this circular, but we have to insist once more on certain points. The National Councils that follow already our indications need not think that we refer to them, they just go on with their duties as before.

To make our propaganda more efficacious and to develop our organisation better beyond the frontiers it is necessary that the different National Sections fulfil our requests as quickly and as scrupulously as possible.

We think that our weekly bulletin could be the best exponent of the work of the S.I.A. It could serve to establish relations between the different sections and to stimulate efficiently their activities ;; What has been achieved in one country might serve for orientation for the other Sections, in accordance with the characteristics, circumstances and possibilities of the region where they work.

You have to consider that our publications are sent as well to the sympathizing press of the different countries; they repeat mostly the dates, notes and appeals we insert there. It is therefore necessary that all Sections inform us as broadly as possible of all happenings in their country, related to the antifascist struggle and the solidarity between the fighters for liberty; and specially about the activities of the Sections

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 23, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Pedro? Herrera?]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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18787

of the S.I.A. themselves.

We want you to send to us all the addresses of the antifascist press and ^{o/} specially of the press sympathizing with S.I.A. Further all the dates you have re persecutions and imprisonments that undergo the antifascist fighters in the different countries; informations referring to the international resonance against processes our comrades are subdued to; dates of the activities of our organisations, press outlines that refer to the SIA or that might interest us; report of the States & capitals where S.I.A. exists, the development of S.I.A. there, projects for the near future; graphic reports with the corresponding explications and as quickly as possible that the fotos do not loose their actuality.

All this is absolutely indispensable to organize our propaganda and to enlarge and popularize our organisation.

Hoping that you follow our requests

yours and the antifascist cause

Barcelona 23 April 38.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 25, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John McNair.—
1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.
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INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman : J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer : F. W. JOWETT

Telephone : Central 3196
Telegrams : Iper, Ltd, London



Secretary : A. FENNER BROCKWAY,
26 St. Bride Street,
London, E.C.4

25th April, 1938.

Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road,
W.14.

Dear Emma,

With reference to the conversation we had the other evening, I am enclosing a copy of a letter we are sending to M. Vazquez.

You know the position of the Home at Street and although we do not like to worry our Spanish comrades, it is essential that while our organisations are helping Spanish refugees, these children, who are absolutely dependent upon the I.L.P., should be helped also. We will continue to use the resources of our comrades in the country to keep the children but our members are all workers, many of whom are unemployed, and the situation is becoming serious.

Looking forward to seeing you on Friday night,

Yours fraternally,

John McNair

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1938 April 25, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [John McNair].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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18801

25th April, 1938.

M. Vasquez,
Comite Nacional,
C. N. T.,
Via Durruti,
Barcelona,
Spain.

Dear Comrade Vasquez,

There is a matter which we feel should be brought to the attention of the C.N.T.

The I.L.P., as you are no doubt aware, has been responsible during the last year for the entire keeping of fifty children from the Basque countries. The parents of these children are all members of the C.N.T., many of them have disappeared and have fallen, we fear, victims of Fascism. We have the tremendous problem of finding £100 per month to keep these children in health and comfort and we have been doing so for twelve months without asking help from any other organisation. This children's Home is the only home in Britain where Anarchist children are received and we are doing all the work ourselves. Is it possible for you either in Spain or your organisation in Britain to assist us in our task?

We feel it is only necessary to bring this matter to your attention in order that you will use your efforts to help us to maintain these young C.N.T. children.

With revolutionary greetings,

Yours fraternally,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 25, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel] Mannin. —
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Monday

17280

Dearest Emma, First, its 6.30. and I have just posted the articles off to SPAIN AND THE WORLD. I have been all day doing them, done not even a letter or postcard. I can never write these articles quickly. I am frightfully tired; we had a very good meeting at Eastbourne (Reg spoke as well) and got back here at 12.30 last night; by the time we had had something to eaten it was getting on for 3 before we got to bed, and I was up at seven, seeing to the baths and getting off of my three guests (McNair, Barbara, Reg) Now tonight I have a Branch meeting. Tomorrow I must work like hell to make up for all Sat. and all Sunday and all Monday taken off for political purposes. Those people whose political 'work' consists of witing out an occasional cheque for Spain or their political party don't know how lucky they are, I sometimes think!

I can't make out the writing on yr card, Emma. I don't think I said anything to you about Eastbourne except that I was chairing it and hoped to get Reg to speak, and that I'd heard the Communists had boycotted ILP meetings since yr visit, so that a small audience could be expected... actually the hall was full, and there were no CP interruptions. I spoke a lot - more than I've ever done at a meeting, and McNair said I did it very well indeed. Perhaps with this continual practice I am gradually improving! I wasn't at all nervous last night, for some strange reason, whereas Reg had a frightful fit of nerves.
I hope the articles are what you and Vecchioni want; I

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PS What about Reg & Barbara and Peter
 the 29th? Should they take tickets? Or can
 they be usefully used as stewards? Let me know
 as if they need tickets I must see about it
 for them.

will be.
 think ~~time~~ *one*, I took a lot of trouble with them, anyhow, and
 thought the way I treated the May Day (war) one a bit new. One
 gets tired of saying the same things in the same way year in and
 year out.

I enclose my cheque for guinea for two 10/6 tickets for the 29th
 to be sent to

Mr. F.R. Mannin, R.N.
 113, The Vale,
 Golders Green, N.W.11.

(They should be sent with my compliments. They re for my naval
 officer brother who says he'd like to come and who deserves the
 tickets from me as he has helped me tremendously with my new novel.)

I will ring up to find out if the programmes are ready for auto-
 graphing tomorrow, Tues. and if they are will come in and do some
 between 6 and 630. (I have an appt. at 7 at the Ivy) *But they look*
be done on the night Sunday

Dearest Emma, no more now as I am really exhausted and must go and
 get myself a brandy if I am to face up to two hours or more of
 branch meeting in an hour's time.

Take care of yourself, dear.
 My devoted love

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 26 [London to] John McNair, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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18802

26th April 1938.

John McNair,
Independent Labour Party,
35 St Bride Street,
E.C.4.

Dear John,

I could not possibly continue our conversation over the telephone because I had Dr Stella Churchill in my office and she was waiting to go over the programmes for Friday with me.

When I was talking to you I had not yet read two letters which I had received this morning from Herrera who is the Secretary of the Council of the S.I.A., and in that letter I find an answer to mine as regards a contribution for the children in Street. Here is what he says:-

"About what you say concerning a contribution of the S.I.A. to the Vasquez's childrens colony of the ILP, you can contribute something, corresponding to your possibilities. You will see how you stand economically and contribute accordingly".

I am not able to tell you at present just what we will be able to contribute. The S.I.A. funds are unfortunately very small, smaller than last year and outside of the appeal for money for arms at our meeting on the 13th I have made no appeals for the CNT-FAI, nor have I received one penny for the work we are doing here for them. So whatever will be contributed will be from the London Section of the S.I.A. according to our funds. I only hope that the concert will be a success and that your group will be able to benefit for the children a certain amount of money.

You will excuse when I say that it seemed out of place for you to write to Vasques. First because all the work for them goes through this office, and secondly you know yourself that the C.N.T. cannot send any money from Spain. I have no idea what their resources are in France- most like the amounts raised by the French comrades - and I am therefore very doubtful whether Vasques will be able to make some arrangement to contribute some money.

Next week when we have made up our accounts I will have to report to Herrera, and I will also write to Vasques and suggest that he should instruct the Paris Bureau, provided they have any money, to

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[Letter] 1938 April 26 [London to] John McNair, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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2.
also contribute something for the street children.
I am assure you that we are very anxious to remain in England; but we cannot do more than this, especially as we are only a hand full of people, and have no organization behind us.

From every angle considered a musical program is too much of a task for an audience. I therefore feel that groups of the children must be arranged to take lessons. It will be best to let the audience decide. I mean after some a few things, to see whether the audience is apt to want more.

Fraternally,

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[Letter] 1938 April 26 [London to Vanguard, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

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17688

26th April, 1938.

Dear Comrade,

I am terribly sorry not to be able to keep my word to send you the reply to Trotsky's article in to-morrow's sailing. I don't know what possessed me to write you so definitely that I would do the article. This is the week of our concert and there is still so much work to do that I find it impossible to buckle down to anything else. You see I merely looked at the material you sent me before I wrote last Thursday. I had no idea that Trotsky has written at length such a perversion of historic facts and that he has so conveniently silenced some of the most compelling issues which motivated the so-called mutiny on the part of the Kronstadt sailors. To write an adequate reply I will need a week. As you will agree, it would be utterly useless to do it in a hurried and in a haphazard manner. I have since read the material and I can assure you that the answer will be accordingly. In point of truth Trotsky damns himself with many of his statements regarding the situation of the workers in Petrograd which led up to the stand taken by the sailors. More damnable is his statement that there was no time to negotiate with the sailors. Actually the campaign of vilification of the Kronstadt men began directly after the resolution was passed at the meeting in Kronstadt on March 1st, whereas the attack on Kronstadt did not begin until March 7th. There was therefore nearly a week to approach the sailors had the Soviet Government really wanted to use humane means instead of machine guns and other war measures against the people who have put the Soviet Government in the saddle.

As I said, I want to do a real piece of work which, if I succeed, you may care to turn into a brochure and either give it away or sell it so as to reach the widest number of workers. As regards the article of Wright, I do not think I will bother about it, because it is evidently that this follower of Trotsky has gotten his material and his instructions from his master. I will, however, pay my respects to this zealot dealing with the reference to our comrade, Alexander Berkman. It is obvious that the man neither knew Berkman's life or work or that he ever read much of his writings, for even a Trotskyist would not charge a man who can no longer defend himself in such a contemptible manner.

Dear comrade, if you wish to use this letter instead of the article, please do so. I promise you again that I will write the latter next week and send it directly I find it satisfactory.

In great haste, with greetings to all the comrades,
Internationally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 27, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [McNair].—
2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.
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INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman: J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer: F. W. JOWETT

Telephone: Central 3196
Telegram: Iper, Ltd, London



Secretary: A. FEMMER BROCKWAY,
25 St. Bride Street,
London, E.C.4

27th April, 1938.

Emma Goldman,
21, Frith Street, W.1.

Dear Emma,

Thank you for your letter of the 26th. I quite understand it was difficult to carry on our conversation the other day.

I carefully note your remarks regarding the letter from Mr. Herrera who is also in correspondence with us, but not about this matter as, of course, we have not raised it and would raise nothing in connection with matters for Britain without sending you a copy. I am very pleased to see that Mr. Herrera, in reply to your letter, suggests that your contribution should be according to your possibilities and we are always too pleased to leave ourselves in your hands.

Regarding our letter to Vazquez, you will understand, Emma, that he is a personal friend of mine whom I met in Spain on several occasions and, indeed, I went from Valencia to Madrid with him. In addition to which, he has written us half a dozen letters recently, mostly during the Autumn and Winter, begging us to carry on with our magnificent work in connection with the children. The reason he is very warmly disposed towards the I.L.P. is because we were instrumental in breaking the blockade at Bilbao and he never forgot it. As you said, however, on the telephone that you did not think he would receive my letter, there seems to be no great harm done. The question, of course, in writing letters here and there is quite secondary. The vital problem is for the I.L.P. to keep these children in Britain and

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It is in your power to give us
the chance to have a chat about the
situation. I am sure we shall be able to arrange
it.

Yours fraternally,

John

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 April 27 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Rebecca West. —
1 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

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23441

FOR MISS GOLDMAN.

15, ORCHARD COURT,
PORTMAN SQUARE, W.1.
WILSON 1000.

April 27th, 1938.

" Spain was always known to us as
one of the most beautiful countries. It
stands now as much more than that ; as an
emblem of all that is decent in human life.

Let us learn then from its danger
that all of us who care for decency must
forget our differences and unite. Other-
wise the centre value of life is gone and
all our existence is futile.

(signed) REBECCA WEST.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28 [London to] Carlo [Tresca, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
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COPY.

28th April, 1938.

Dear Carlo,

It was good to hear from you after years of silence. I am glad, my dear, that you have come to see that our position against Soviet Russia in 1921 was not motivated by narrow, sectarian ideas, that they were the result of two years' sincere and careful study of the events in Russia during our stay. It probably will interest you to know that you are not the only one who has come to see the justice of our criticism. I was very touched when I was visited last year by Ludwig Lore, who also frankly admitted the change he had undergone. The difference between him and you is that while you continued to be friendly, Lore had viciously attacked me for my first articles that appeared in the New York World and afterwards for my book, My Disillusionment in Russia. It was inevitable that many should come to see the facts in Soviet Russia as time went on.

However, the trouble with many is that while they are clear-minded now on the abyss which exists between the Russian Revolution and the Communist State, they now embrace another superstition which blinds them as much as they were in the past. The new superstition is that Stalin is responsible for all the crimes and horrors that are going on in Russia. I do not think it is necessary for me to assure you that I hold no brief for Stalin, but I consider him merely an exaggerated dispenser of the evil legacy left him by Lenin, Trotsky and the other unfortunates who have been done to death at Stalin's behest. It is quite true that Lenin and his group did not eliminate party members by hideous trials and the most savage death, but they liquidated everybody else - the Left Social Revolutionists, the Anarchists, the intellectuals as well as workers and peasants - these were shut in the dreadful underground prison of the G.P.U.

Take for instance the case of Kronstadt. With all the tragic experiences that Trotsky had and with all the persecution he had undergone he has remained as much of a zealot as he had been when he was in power. Moreover he uses the identical method of attack, calumny and misrepresentation, as the man who has made a pariah of him. Of course he does not use the term "Trotskyist, Bucharinist, etc.". He calls the heroic Kronstadt sailors counter-revolutionists, Whites, Mensheviks and other such stupid names that signify nothing. No, it is not only Stalin who has finished the Russian Revolution by G.P.U. methods. He merely continued the traditions, only in a more savage and in a more despicable manner. I therefore think that it is not enough to blame Stalin. It is necessary to expose the entire ideology and jesuitical conception that the end justifies the lowest means. Only by this method will it enable all of us to bring clarity into the minds of the masses and to prove to the workers that dictatorship in whatever form and by whatever colour must needs lead to the same result as it has led in Russia and is doing in Germany and Italy.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28 [London to] Carlo [Tresca, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
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11818

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The notion that the end justifies the means has induced Stalin not only to betray the Russian Revolution and the Russian people, but also the people in Spain and those in China. You probably do not know that for many years millions of roubles were thrown over to China to build a formidable Chinese Communist army. Tens of thousands of young Chinese enthusiasts lost their lives unscrupulously butchered by Shiang Kai Shek. Since Stalin, for reasons of his foreign policy, has decided to hobnob with the Imperialist governments, the gallant Chinese Communist army was ordered to dissolve and to submit to the authority of the very man who has covered China's soil with the blood of Stalin's victims, and he has done the same in Spain. Only future historians will bring out the fact that in sending arms to Spain after the most critical 3½ months were lost, Stalin also sent his emissaries to destroy root and crop all the magnificent constructive achievements of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. That they did not succeed to the extent they had hoped is due to the fact that they had never gained a footing among the Spanish people, but they have done enough harm to make the advance of Franco easier than it would otherwise have been. More than that even - their power in the government made it possible for them to corrupt the militias, to give the usual preference to their comrades, to give them advantages merely because they were members of the Communist Party, though they were worthless as officers or leaders of the war. Believe me, it is not an exaggeration when I tell you that it is entirely due to the Communists that so many important places like Belciti, Teruel and other places were lost to Franco's German and Italian hordes. Unfortunately the situation in Spain is so grave and so disastrous that it is impossible now to put the damnable Communists and their master Stalin in the pillory where they belong. But history has its own way of making the truth known, even if it takes long.

Stella has sent me some clippings of your disclosures regarding Miss Poyntz. It is certainly a horrible affair. You say that she was murdered in the vicinity of New York. Was her body ever discovered? Of course I am not surprised by these tactics of Stalin's satraps. They have committed a number of such acts on their own former comrades in various parts of Europe. I hope you are taking precautions for your own safety, for they are capable of going to the limit when it comes to doing away with those who have looked into their cards.

Thank you, dear Carlo, that you want to help me to get back to the States. I want nothing better if it can be achieved without pledging me to any compromise of my ideas. I am afraid I am getting too old to begin denials of what I stand for. Yes, a committee of well-known people, men and women, is absolutely essential. The trouble is that I have no one in New York who can reach the right people. If my Stella were living in New York, she of course would be

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11517

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the person. But I do not know whether she and Teddy will move to New York this winter. Of course there is my dear old friend, Van, who goes under the name of Starrett, but unfortunately he has no access to the middle-class professionals who might be willing to serve on such a committee. At any rate, Stella has sent him the list of names of the sponsors of four years ago. They should be approached. It is too bad that our dear Fitzl feels so depressed. She would of course be marvellous for the necessary campaign to get the right people. Of course I want you to do what you can, but I would like you to get in touch with Van. Not for worlds would I want to hurt his feelings or those of my comrades of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. They are the ones who began the campaign for a fund to enable me to go to Canada. I think by consulting them they would give you all the help possible. Between you, you might decide on the proper person who could reach all sorts of well-known people in American middle intellectual ranks, as well as some of the Labour organisations. You say you saw Roger Baldwin and Mr. Ernst; some time ago Harry Kelly sent me a letter he had received from Ernst who assured him "that it is hopeless to try for a visa" and I understand that that was also Roger's opinion.

I am sure you know Rose Pesotta. Since her return to America she has canvassed a lot of people in Washington who all seem very favourable for the campaign to bring me back and who promised to help. But it is one thing to promise and another to act. Perhaps it would be well to get in touch with Rose. She is stationed in Boston now. Her address is:

It is necessary to do so in order not to duplicate the efforts made on behalf of a visa for me. By the way, I wish that you would also get in touch with my old comrade, Harry Kelly. He is not very strong and evidently is very much depressed over Spain, but I am sure that he will do whatever is expected of him, so please write him. His address is 25, Prospect Street, New Rochelle. I know you will get busy and you will keep me posted of the progress of your efforts.

The Spanish situation is the most tragic of the century. Never before has a Revolution and its people been so betrayed by their so-called friends more than their enemies. Think of it, it is the Non-Intervention Pact adhered to by the old Socialist, Blum, and the Popular Front, and it is Russia, who have consented to the Non-Intervention Pact, and as a result have given aid to Franco whilst starving the heroic Spanish people in everything they needed for a successful outcome of their anti-Fascist struggle. The treachery and the injustice cry from the very heavens and yet one is utterly unable to do anything to break this conspiracy. Especially is this the case in England. The most strenuous efforts of the last two years to

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break this sterile soil have availed me nothing. It is most discouraging, but of course I do not intend to give up as long as one of my comrades in Spain will keep up their gallant work.

Well, my dear, I must close. We have a concert tomorrow which has taken me nearly three months to organise, and there is still much to do. Later on, I will be freer and then we can keep in touch more often and regularly. Please give my kindest greetings to all the friends who still remember me, especially to my dear, saintly Angelica; I have not heard from her for a long time except in an indirect way. I mean to write her very soon. Please give her my love.

Fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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 LONDON, W.1.

Telephone : GERard 2636

28th April, 1938.

Dear H.W.

I received your letter of March 11th just at the time when I again attempted to defeat Fate. I again started an affair for my Spanish friends, and went through the same excruciating disappointments and failures as last year. That affair was finally rescued by Paul Robeson who consented to sing. I am afraid this year's affair, which takes place to-morrow evening, will go by the board. Paul Robeson now having joined his communist friends, will have none of his former anarchist friends. Of course I do not believe it is so much as it is Essie, who is the more practical of the two and who loves to be fussed over. And who is there among all the governments so generous to those who will serve them, as Stalin's hierarchy. Anyway I have written Paul three letters, one which was handed to him personally, and I talked to him at his last concert. He faithfully promised to reply. That was about three months ago. Not a word has come from him.

In years gone by when I used to nurse Dr. Foote's patients, I used to hear him repeat that "life is a process of elimination". No doubt that applies to one's friends much more frequently than to one's enemies. In point of truth one's enemies increase and one's friends diminish. But that is ~~not~~ neither here nor there. You will see by the enclosed programme of our affair that I have succeeded as far as the talent is concerned. I wish I was as sure of the material outcome to-morrow night. But sufficient unto the day...

One other reason for my neglect of your letter was the growing depression over the horrible betrayal of the Spanish people by the so-called democracies, by the Popular Front and by Stalin. Perhaps I should not feel quite so unhappy if I did not know that it is precisely this treachery that has enabled Franco and his German and Italian hordes to march from victory to victory. I am certain that if the Spanish people should in the end be defeated, their

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blood and their sacrifice will have to be laid at the feet of the so-called democratic countries, and even more so at the feet of the workers "Fatherland". For the present the Spanish people are far from being defeated. They are fighting with their backs to the wall, but their ~~flaming~~ flaming spirit and their wonderful enthusiasm continue. It is reasonably certain that they will fight to the last man, ~~and even after no peace will come to Spain~~ whether Fascist or any other government forms ~~will be imposed upon the people~~

*X and should
Franco
triumph
there will
be no peace
no matter*

I had a letter from Tresca expressing his desire to throw himself into a campaign for a visa for me. He writes that he will go ahead if I "authorise" him. I do not know exactly what he means by authorising him or what he means to do. I have written Harry to get in touch with him, and I want you to do the same. It is unfortunate that Stella will not be in New York this winter. At least I have not heard from her what her and Teddy's plans are for the winter. She would of course be the person to reach people of importance in radical and liberal ranks. I know no other woman in New York, so will have to be ~~in my~~ *in* my male friends, among whom, as you know, you hold the large place. Anyway, see Tresca and if possible also Harry Kelly, and let me know what the three of you think had best be done. It is so difficult to be able to suggest anything at this distance. Tresca seems to think that Roosevelt's gesture of asylum for political refugees may open up better opportunities for a visa for me. I do not know whether he is right or is merely carried by his usual Latin enthusiasm.

I had a very nice letter from Dewey copy of which I enclose. I have just dictated an answer to his letter, but I will not be able to send you a copy until next week. I will then also enclose my letter to Tresca, so that you shall know exactly what I wrote him about the campaign. I believe that the reason you have not heard from Rose Pesotta is that she was immediately on her arrival sent to Boston to do some organising for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. She has approached a lot of people in Washington who have promised to help in the campaign for a visa, but you and I know what promises are unless they are followed by immediate action. I will ask Rose when I write next week to give you an account of what she has achieved so far, but really it seems to me that the first step is a formidable committee. You know yourself how much such things count in the United States. There is at least one consolation that no titled people are necessary, as they are here. In England one can achieve nothing unless one has some ladies and lords born or made at the head of one's list.

I do not know what you mean by an "old envelope" which I am supposed to have used. It may not have been strong enough for the material enclosed, but it certainly was not old.

With my old affection,

*am having more
copies made for
Dewey letter will send it later*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28 [London to] Harry Kelly, [New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

COPY.

28th April, 1938.

Dear Harry,

 Roc

To-morrow is my ill-fated concert that I worked on for nearly three months. It does not look very promising for success as far as the advance sale of tickets is concerned. The outcome will depend on whether people will come to-morrow evening and get their tickets directly in Friends' House. I have come to the conclusion that I waste my time and my strength on such undertakings as the one to-morrow night. It will give our Spanish comrades nothing or very little and seems so very insignificant compared with their struggle and their needs. It is not necessary to repeat once again the utter sterility of the soil here for our ideas, but the more numerous the failures the more I cling to the thought that I must go on and try again. Would you believe it, I even attended the Emergency Conference that was called here to help Spain. I sat through the morning and afternoon, only to be convinced once more that the undertaking was, as everything else, started by the Communists, and that Spain was used as a peg to hang the Popular Front propositions on. It was announced from the platform that delegates who had something important to suggest - and I was a delegate representing the C.M.T. - should send up their names, which I promptly did. I suppose it must have affected the Committee like a red cloth does a bull. It goes without saying that I was not called upon to speak. Not that it matters. The majority of the delegates, real and pretended, do not care a hang for Spain. It is the Popular Front which is now the aim and purpose of Stalin's foreign policy. Nevertheless it was gratifying to hear a few Trade Unionists speak for industrial and direct action and some even to sponsor a General Strike. Unfortunately even they stressed the need of going through official channels, and not that the workers from the bottom should be urged to act on behalf of Spain. The irony of it is that when a committee from the Conference called on the T.U.C., Sir (?) Citron refused to see them. While the stand of the Trade Unionists at the Conference was very encouraging, it is nevertheless true that the boring from within by the C.P. has as usual brought the desired result. There is an immense amount of opinion on behalf of a Popular Front and this after the collapse of the Popular Front in France. Even if this should succeed in England, I fear me very much that our Spanish comrades will still be doomed under the Non-Intervention Pact.

I do not think I could continue the struggle if it were not for the marvellous letters I receive from our people. Nothing like it in enthusiasm and iron will to fight on has happened in our time. I do not know whether they were merely writing in this way to hold up my spirit or whether they really feel that way. More and more I feel that whatever may have been the concessions and compromises that our comrades have made, they are as nothing compared with their burning faith, their utter fearlessness of death, and their wonderful humanity regardless of all. A marvellous people, these Spaniards - here they are fighting with their backs to the wall without the necessary arms

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28 [London to] Harry Kelly, [New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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and half-starved from lack of food, and yet they go on printing beautiful books and papers with the finest illustrations and doing the rest of the work as if Franco were no longer infesting Spain. I was moved deeply yesterday by a letter by one of the comrades in which he told me the joy of the men at the front when they received a thousand fountain pens and writing paper from some organisation in France. You can see the child-like naiveté and sweetness along with their tremendous strength, how can it be that such people should be destroyed? Like you, I hang on to every shred of hope that in the end our people will conquer. But whether they conquer or are conquered, the constructive work that they have begun will not die, and as long as there is one Spanish anarchist left no system, whether Fascist or Capitalist or Republican will be safe in Spain. That is my only consolation and the one thought that keeps me going and makes me want to continue in my efforts.

I had a long letter from Carlo Tresca, the first I think since I was deported from America. Like so many other people, he now admits that Sacha and I were right in our critical attitude to the Soviet régime. He is very anxious to help with the campaign for a visa. He, too, agrees that it is essential to create a formidable committee of known people. He seems to think that it will not be difficult to organise such a committee and also to have the support of some Labour Unions. I doubt the latter, but I am certain that a committee is necessary. The question is who will organise it? It is my rotten luck that Stella is not in New York. She would be the person to do it. I know nobody else. Will you see Tresca the next time you are in New York and talk the matter over with him? See what he suggests. Van will have to be drawn into the effort, as he was among the first who offered to go ahead. The unfortunate thing about him is that he is not always very tactful. He often is like a bull in a china shop, but I naturally do not want him shoved aside or hurt in any way.

I cannot say at this writing when I will sail for Canada. It depends a great deal on the Spanish comrades. I have not yet mentioned my plan to them. They keep on writing me glowing appreciations of the work I am doing here. It really makes me want to weep when I know how little I achieve. At any rate I will have to submit my intentions to them, but I dare say that I will be able to sail the latter part of September. As I have already stated, the result of our work here is so infinitesimal that I can well leave the office with Comrade Barr and entrust Sonia to help him should important matters come up.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28 [London to] Harry Kelly, [New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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I am glad you again went to Florida. I hope it has done you much good and that you feel at least physically better than last winter. I myself am not up to the mark. It is nothing serious I am sure. It is due to over-exhaustion and to the knawing anxiety about our people in Spain. Besides I am getting on as you well know, and I must expect that my heart should no longer operate with the same strength as in my young days. When the concert is over I shall be able to take a rest. I need that more than any kind of doctor's medicine.

To-day I had a long letter from Abe, the first since he returned to America. He seems to have undergone a frightful inner struggle, but he has come out on top. He announces the publication of a weekly paper. He tells me that he already has a number of people who will co-operate, among them Anita Brenner. I am a little dubious about her because she has already gone through the grinding mill of Stalinism and the admiration for Trotsky. However, we must give everyone a chance to find themselves so long as they try seriously. I rather think it is a mistake to launch another publication when the Spanish Revolution and Vanguard can hardly keep themselves above water, but of course Abe and the others must decide that for themselves.

Good-bye, dear Harry. Write me again soon, especially after you have had a talk with Tresca and Van. Give my love to your family and take some for yourself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28 [London to] Anita [Karfunkel Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17995

28th April, 1938.

My dear Anita,

I was glad to hear from you again. I appreciate your depressed mood and your aversion to reading papers or anything else containing reference to the tragedy of tragedies which is Spain. I myself have been ill over the situation, but I cannot rest. I feel whipped by the furies to go on in the work although I know that very little is achieved by anything I have done. Our friends in Spain are so appreciative of the least help they are getting, they write enthusiastic letters about what is sure to come out from the seeds which I am sowing. I have not even the heart to tell them how mistaken they are. One cannot possibly add injury to injustice and tell people how little the rest of the world is willing to do for them or cares about their supreme sacrifice. Not that they need anybody to wave the flames of their enthusiasm that it may burn more powerfully, or to add to their iron will to fight to the last ditch. Every letter I receive is premeditated with that spirit and makes me feel ashamed of myself that I complain or that I do not try more to get them the necessary help and assistance. Whatever may have been or is the offence and the concessions of our Spanish comrades, their brave courage and their extraordinary faith make everything else appear as nothing. It is this which is sustaining me in the disheartening campaign in this country.

As you will see by the enclosed programme, my ill-fated effort is to take place to-morrow evening. It does not hold out much hope for great success. Perhaps I am mistaken. Perhaps people will flock to the hall at the last moment. They haven't so far. After that will be the 1st of May demonstration in which we are participating. That, too, will pass and then I do not know what else there is to do.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28 [London to] Anita [Karfunkel Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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17996

8

There is an immense amount of sympathy with the Spanish struggle, especially among the rank and file of the workers, but it is unfortunately being kept in check. Last Sunday I attended the Emergency Conference on Spain, but I soon discovered that the prime movers of that affair as of everything undertaken here, are the Communists. Actually Spain was used as a peg to hang on the Popular Front. - This in the face of the complete collapse of the Popular Front in France. It is maddening. The one consolation at that Conference were a few Trade Unionists, among them those in the aircraft, transport and the miners, and they have all without exception spoken for direct action including a general strike, but I fear that the leaders of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions will never permit the rank and file to translate their feelings into actions, and the rank and file have been kept in a straight jacket for so long that it is very doubtful whether it will find strength and initiative to force the Government by means of economic action to destroy the non-intervention Pact.

/and I am enclosing a review of Professor Carr's Bakunin which I know will interest you. You are quite right when you say that the spring is not an appropriate time for your and Mum's Bakunin biography, but it is too bad that we have to wait so long. Could you perhaps send me a synopsis. I might be able to interest Faber and Faber in this country, and Alfred Knopf in America. To be sure publishers do not care to give final decisions after reading a synopsis, but they can tell us approximately whether they are interested in undertaking the publication. I am sorry to say that I have still done nothing about your work in reply to Celine. I have been so frightfully busy with this blasted concert, but I shall be freer when this and the 1st of May demonstrations are over. I will then approach Becker/Warbrook, the publishers of Rudolph Rocker's Anarcho-Syndicalism. I rather think his objection will be that Celine's work itself has not appeared in England, and yet it may also be that he will decide that your book may whet the appetite of the readers and their curiosity. I will let you know in due time.

Give my kind greetings to Mum.

Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28 [London to] Fenner [Brockway, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 16 × 16 cm.

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17396

28th April, 1938.

Dear Fenner,

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter I have received from Comrade Herrera in regard to the repatriation of the Basque children. I have immediately written to the National Joint Committee sending them a similar copy and asking them to let me know whether they continue to send children back to Bilbao. They may be too busy to be prompt in their reply, or perhaps my name frightened them. Anyway I have received no answer. I wonder can you do anything in the matter. Also would you care to use the enclosed letter and comment on it in the next issue of the New Leader? Our people evidently realise what a cruel thing it is to send the children to Franco's stronghold. If you can get any information from the National Joint Committee, I wish you would let me know, as I intend writing Herrera and I would like to be able to give him some data on the repatriation.

hoping to see you at our concert to-morrow,

Yours fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 28, Barcelona to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19120

Dear comrade Emma Goldmann,

We acknowledge receipt of your letter from 28. March.

We are very content about the use you make with the material we send you on the U.G.T. alliance.

Re the statements you make on the Trade Unions, we have to state, that we understand their organisation and their working. But it is necessary not to be discouraged and to work intensively amongst the masses of the workers as well as amongst the leaders of the Syndicates. In spite of all there is arising a favorable mood towards our cause in England and therefore we have to work intensively to increase it.

We cannot consider all the work that is going on as absolutely sterile. If there is one part that is utile, we have to agree with it and cease it and not refuse it. Just now the Metal and Transport Union have decided to go to Chamberlain to say that, or he rectifies his policy with reference to Spain or they will revise their collaboration with his rearmament policy. This, as it is England, is of importance.

You must not wonder at the position of the I.L.P. They are not interested ~~that~~ in the pact U.G.T.-C.N.T., neither are they interested that we entered to form part of the government. The only thing they are interested in, is that the repression against the P.O.U.M. ceases.

At present there exists an excellent reason for propaganda and agitation with the signing of the Anglo-Italian pact. It is necessary to utilize the fact that England recognizes the Italian intervention in Spain, to make propaganda against the government and the policy of Chamberlain

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 28, Barcelona to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19121

It is not important for us that we coincide therein with other political parties, as at present a fall of Chamberlain is favorable for us. We hope that you understand it so and that you will proceed in accordance with this suggestion.

Re the films, we have at present made one, called "Dawn in Spain" and decided that Frank goes to England and is used in agreement ^{with} of this Office.

We examine at present the book of Voline. When we proceed at its publication we shall send the original to you for its reproduction. We advise you not to use any other original but that we send to you, after having revised it.

We accept the idea to purchase a copy of any book that appears there on our war. You can make an approximate calculation of the money necessary to invest to acquire such a collection and we inform then Paris to transfer the sum to you.

When we receive the list of expenses we shall revise what we assign to this office, in accordance with the necessities.

Re the sending of money to the Committees of France we have to tell you that it is not possible to agree with this.

We are not so ill-thinking to allow that comrades and revolutionaries die with hunger. But what we cannot do, is to open the cash for the first best who happens to arrive and takes away the money.

We do not want to extend too much on this special point. We limit ourselves to indicate what we said at the A.I.T. "The C.N.T. considers as inadequate ~~for~~ the existence of committees of solidarity created by the different sections. The A.I.T. has to fulfill the agreements of July 1937 and proceed to create a fund of solidarity to attend to

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 28, Barcelona to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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...of fascism. To this ...
...than any other section of ... I ...
...that the administrative items ...
...Therefore, the normal is, that, as ...
...has to attend the cases of persecuted ...
...Sections ask for money from all parts.
...doubt in our belief in the victory and do not ...
...be impressed by circumstantial military triumphs of ...
...win at the end, comrade.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

1938
Nº 517 E.

BARCELONA, a 28 de abril de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
L O N D R E S

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Acusame recibo a tu grata carta, de fecha 28 del pasado mes de marzo.

Estamos muy satisfechos de la utilización que hacéis del material que remitimos sobre el pacto con la U.G.T.

En relación con las manifestaciones que nos haces sobre las Trade-Unions, tenemos que manifestarte que comprendemos la organización y funcionamiento de la misma. Pero es preciso no desmayar y trabajar intensamente, lo mismo en la masa de los obreros que en los dirigentes de Sindicatos. A pesar de todo, en Inglaterra se forma un ambiente favorable hacia nuestras cosas y, por lo tanto, hay que trabajar intensamente para procurar acrecentarlo. No podemos considerar que el trabajo que se realice sea totalmente estéril. Con una parte que sea útil, tenemos que conformarnos y captarlo, no rechazarlo. Ahora mismo, el Sindicato Metalúrgico y el del Transporte, han decidido visitar a Chamberlain y decirle que, o rectifica su política con referencia a España, o ellos proceden a revisar su colaboración con la política de rsarme. Eso para lo que es Inglaterra, tiene importancia.

La posición del Labour Party, no debe extrañarte. A ellos no les interesa el pacto C.N.T.-U.G.T., ni les interesa que hayamos entrado a formar parte del Gobierno. A ellos lo que les interesa es que cese la represión contra el P.O.U.M.

Ahora hay excelente motivo de propaganda y agitación con la firma del pacto angloitaliano. Es preciso utilizar el reconocimiento que hace Inglaterra de la intervención italiana en España, para hacer propaganda contra el Gobierno y la política de Chamberlain, sin importarnos que con ello coincidamos con otros políticos, ya que momentaneamente, la caída de Chamberlain habría de favorecernos. Esperamos que así lo comprenderás y procedas de acuerdo con esta sugerencia.

Referente a películas, ahora hemos hecho una, titulada, "AMANECE EN ESPAÑA" decidiendo que Frank vaya a Inglaterra y, de acuerdo con esa Oficina, se explote.

Estamos examinando el libro de Voline. Cuando procedamos a su edición ya te mandaremos el original para su reproduc-

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.
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19172

Pág. 2.

oión. Te advertimos que no debes de utilizar ningún original que no sea el que mandemos, después de revisarlo.

Aceptamos la idea de comprar un volumen de cuanto haya aparecido ahí de nuestra guerra. Puedes hacer un cálculo aproximado de lo que se necesita invertir para adquirir esa colección y diremos a París qué se te remita.

Cuando recibamos la relación de gastos, veremos lo que destinamos a esa Oficina, con arreglo a sus necesidades.

En cuanto a mandar dinero a los Comités de Francia, tenemos que decirte que no es posible acceder a ello.

Puntualicemos que no es cierto que nadie se muera de hambre. No somos tan malvados para permitirlo, cuando se trata de compañeros y revolucionarios. Lo que no podemos, sin embargo, es abrir la caja para que el primero que llegue se lleve el dinero.

No queremos extendernos en consideraciones sobre este particular. Nos limitamos a indicarte lo que hemos dicho a la A.I.T.: "La C.N.T. considera inadecuada e improcedente la existencia de Comités de solidaridad creados por las Secciones. La A.I.T. tiene que cumplir los acuerdos de julio de 1937 y proceder a crear su fondo de solidaridad para atender a los perseguidos y víctimas anarcoindustrialistas del fascismo. A ese fondo, la C.N.T. aportará seguramente más que ninguna Sección de la A.I.T.". ¿Nos comprendes? Queremos que las cosas administrativas se hagan con regularidad y no al buen tunitun. Por ello, lo normal es que, teniendo una Internacional, sea ésta la que atienda los casos de perseguidos y no que las Secciones pidan dinero a todas partes.

Nada más. No dudes de nuestra fé en la victoria y no te desjes impresionar por circunstanciales triunfos militares del enemigo. Venceremos al fin, camarada.

Te saludamos fraternalmente

POR EL CTE PENINSULAR F.A.I. POR EL COMITE NACIONAL de LA C.N.T.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez

C. M. ...
 Relaciones Exteriores



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 28, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Olga Y. McClelland. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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NATIONAL JOINT COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH RELIEF

CHAIRMAN: THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, M.P.
VICE-CHAIRMAN: THE EARL OF LISTOWEL
MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.

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MR. WILFRED ROBERTS, M.P.

HON. TREASURER:
VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD, P.C., M.A.

HON. ADMINISTRATOR:
MR. G. T. GARRATT

ORGANISING SECRETARY (BASQUE CHILDREN):
MISS BETTY L. ARNE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY:
MISS OLGA Y. MCCLELLAND

53, MARSHAM STREET.

LONDON, S.W.1

TELEPHONE: VICTORIA 2100

AFTER APRIL 27th
TELEPHONE: ABBEY 2000

28th of April, 1938

Miss Emma Goldman,
S. I. A.
21, Frith Street,
Shaftesbury Avenue,
W. 1

Dear Miss Goldman:

As Mr. Garratt is away, I am replying to your letter addressed to him.

I can assure you that the Committee has considered the question of the repatriation of the Basque children extremely carefully; and the only ones who have, in fact, returned to Bilbao are children whose parents have actually asked for them, and children whose parents the Committee has definite proof are in Bilbao, at liberty, and able to take the children back.

A fact that is not generally realized is that there are still about 2000 Basque children in this country who cannot return to Spain as their parents are in many cases refugees themselves, living under conditions of extreme privation and danger; and there are a large number of these children whose parents our efforts have failed to trace, and who are quite homeless. If your organization can give us any help in the maintenance of these children, we should be indeed grateful.

We have a rather interesting scheme of "adoptions"; that is to say, the adopter pays 10 shillings a week to us towards the maintenance of a particular child and can keep up a personal contact with the child, exchanging letters and photos, sending it presents, going down to the home, and taking it out. This personal relationship does much to make the children forget the horrors they have been through, and which they know are still prevailing in Spain. It also gives to enthusiastic and sympathetic supporters an additional interest and that feeling that they are really doing something useful and practical to help in the cause of Spain.

I feel sure that many of your Committee members and your branches would be glad to cooperate in this way.

Yours sincerely,

Olga Y. McClelland

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 28, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
2 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Thursday

17256

Dearest Emma, I ~~first~~ telephoned yr house at 10 this morning but there was no reply, and I phoned the office at 11.30. you weren't there - god how I hate the phone; ~~xxxxxx~~ over and over again I find it quicker to write a postcard or a letter! I settled with Barr what I wanted to know, however, which was whether Stanley Richardson had a ticket for Friday.... as I had a very nice letter from the Ambassador this morning saying that he is sorry he cannot come himself as he has an engagement already, but is sending Stanley Richardson to 'represent' him. I wondered if SR should in that case have a complimentary ticket or tickets but apparently he has bought a 12/6 ticket and 3 half crown ones. I think the Spanish Ambassadors message should be read out - he writes me

'On behalf of the Spanish people, please accept my very grateful thanks for all the assistance you are giving them in their fight against the forces of Fascism'.

(The rest of the letter is irrelevant, but I'll bring the letter for you to see when I come. As we are not reading the whole of the Ambassador's letter there is no earthly reason why the whole of Housman's should be read - that final par. is anyhow not applicable, apart from our own feeling about it)

I will try to get you on the phone tomorrow in case any point arises you want to discuss with me, but in any case I shall be along at 7.30.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 28, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

172570

Reg says he is willing to help in any way if you can
use him. He has bought a ticket. by. will be around beforehand in
case there is anything he can usefully do.

I think I told you that the 18 Basque children are being lunched
at Cervantes on Sat. Can you come along ? McNair will be there and
Kumpan. Reg and I say go along, though not speaking Spanish I
feel a bit diffident about it. I wondered if it would help the
Basque home and the kids and the cause in general if Louise Morgan of
the News Chronicle was informed of this - she would come along and
get some pictures and a write up into the News Chronicle, Iu.
I don't know (a) if such publicity is desirable or (b) if it would
help. Perhaps its John McNair I should ask anyhow.

Haste to catch post.

Love as always my dear

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 29, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John McNair.—
2 p.; 26 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18794

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman: J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer: F. W. JOWETT

Telephone: Central 3196
Telegrams: Iper, Ltd, LondonSecretary: A. FENNER BROCKWAY,
25 St. Bride Street,
London, E.C.4

29th April, 1938.

Emma Goldman,
21, Frith Street,
W.1.

Dear Emma,

Your letter of the 28th addressed to Fenner has been handed to me for attention.

The position regarding the repatriation of the Basque children has been a continual source of anxiety during the past months. We have successfully opposed the repatriation of any of our children from Street and have even gone so far as to accept further six children from homes which had been broken up because other organisations were not so insistent in their opposition to repatriation as we.

I am in touch with the National Joint Committee and the position is as follows. Unless we receive a duly authenticated and bona fide letter from the parents insisting on their children being sent back to Spain we refuse to budge. Many letters have been received in Britain and many indeed in our Home, but with the exception of four cases we have been able to stand out. In these cases we had the documents checked up by our friends on the spot and there was no doubt of their authenticity. Legally, of course, we have no leg to stand on as we are simply guardians of the children and declarations were signed when they were handed over to us that in the event of their parents reclaiming them we would send them back.

I would suggest you communicate the contents of this letter to the people in Barcelona and explain to them that the

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 29, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John McNair. —
2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

The Church is carrying on a campaign
of the priests and Bishops
to destroy the Church.

I am pleased to give you my
views on the Church. I am
in your mind that the only
way to destroy the Church is
to destroy the Hall of the
Church.

Yours fraternally,

John McNair

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 29 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mark [Mratchny]. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20816

April 29, 1938

Dear Emma:

You are right...I am an old sinner. It isn't nice of me to neglect you this way. The feeling of hopelessness in face of the situation now in Europe is depressing me to such an extent that I really can't write, if it isn't absolutely necessary and I'm not accustomed to writing you strictly business letters.

I gave your article to the friends of the "Spanish Revolution". I wanted to have your article printed in English so that it would be read by more people. For instance, the 1st of May issue of the "Spanish Revolution" will be spread widely throughout New York. The friends of the "Sp. Rev." would not like the idea of my publishing the same article in the P.A.S. They have the ambition to publish first hand information, and I don't blame them.

As long as you refuse to read my bad handwriting and I have to bother a nice looking girl, even though she is more than willing to cooperate...it isn't very easy for me to dictate letters in English. You should start to read Jewish, then I promise you a letter a week at least. Then it would be a real heart to heart talk, but after all, it may be better that I have to dictate my letters, at least, then you have a chance to get decent letters, if not in spirit, then in style.

Your faithless,

Mark

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Greetings to Richfield

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? May? London to I. da] Camara [Pires, Marseille, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

20784

Dear Comrade Camara. Please forward the inclosed letter to comrade Lucia Sanchez and also the copies of our SIA Bulletin we are sending to your address. I am adding an extra copy for you which our young comrade Jesus will translate for you which contains my report on the activities of SIA in Spain. I am also inclosing an invitation to our meeting next Monday. I am sorry you will not be able to attend. I should be so happy to have you here as my guest.

Give my affectionate greetings to our young comrade and take part of the affection for yourself.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May? London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 18 x 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

COPY

Now listen, my dear, I did not want to decide on my sailing for Canada until I placed my plans before the comrades of the C.N.T. After all I had undertaken to plead their cause and while the result is very small, I did make a beginning, established an office and a lot of other things which cannot just be dropped. The unfortunate thing about England is that we have absolutely no one with initiative or ability for organisational and public work. Comrade Ralph Barr, who is the very essence of faithfulness and thoroughness, lacks initiative, and the others are even worse. It will mean therefore if I go away, to reduce the activities for Spain to mere correspondence or the printing of an occasional bulletin. I am very unhappy about it, and yet I feel that I must make the change if only for a short time. Anyway I have written the comrades in Barcelona and received their reply the other day approving my plan. With the usual Spanish exuberance and enthusiasm they wrote back that my tour would prove "of immense importance to their struggle in Spain". I was sorry to throw a cold shower on their heads to tell them that they must not expect miracles. The outcome of a Canadian tour will depend on whether I can get as far as British Columbia which, as you know, is the most industrial part and economically wide awake. But that is a thing which will be decided when I get to Canada.

Now as to the efforts in the United States. Some time ago I received a letter from Carlo Tresca. You will be able to judge by my reply, copy of which I enclose, that he declares his willingness to start a campaign for permission that will enable me to re-enter the States. Shortly after that I had a letter from Margaret De Silver, expressing deep interest in my return, whereupon I wrote her asking whether she would undertake to organize a committee. I have since heard from her that she would. You understand, dear Van, that in organizing a campaign, two different sections of people will have to be approached - our own comrades whom you, in co-operation with the Anarchist Federation, can easily look after, and the other consisting of whatever middle class friends I have got in America. I feel that Margaret De Silver can reach them better than you or any of the other comrades. I have written to ask her, however, to see you and possibly also Comrade Freedman. Together you might work out a plan of how best to go about. I have not yet had a word from Tresca in answer to my letter. I hope to hear from him soon.

There is, however, something which concerns Tresca and which I would like you to clear up. It is this - I see in a recent number of L'Adunata that this paper and group are still after Tresca and hurling the old charges against him. They have again

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May? London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 18 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

mixed my name up with this business. Now you understand, my dear, that I don't want to get into a mess with our Italian comrades. On the other hand I am not going to be influenced by the petty grievances that exist in all these groups. I have never seen a scrap of evidence to sustain the charges made against Carlo. I consider such a charge most outrageous unless there is absolute and positive proof to sustain it. I have always found people in radical ranks entirely too irresponsible in their attacks on those with whom they did not agree or who did not live up to their conception of propriety and consistency. I simply cannot be mixed up with it at this late day in my life, when I have always fought it in the past. Nevertheless I want to have your opinion in the matter, so do sit you down and write.

I have written the Spanish comrades that I would like to go back to Spain for several weeks for new impressions and authentic material on the situation. It were better if I could say that I am coming straight from Spain to Canada. I hate in a way to add to their almost insurmountable burdens of scarcity of food supply and all the other hardships and difficulties, but it is very essential that I should be able to speak firsthand. If they consent, I will leave in August and sail for Canada the latter part of September. I hope they will consent. If not, I will meet some of the comrades in Paris for a conference.

My dear Van, our comrades are going through the most crucial period of the whole struggle. They are fighting with their backs to the wall. They are sacrificing their lives one by one. It is therefore not a time to go into extensive analyses of whether their actions are consistent with their traditions and their ideas. Our comrades are quite frank about the concessions and compromises they have made and are making, but they justly say they are not fighting a civil war but world imperialism, that they have been betrayed by the so-called democracies and forsaken by the international proletariat — all this is a fact which we have to face. Under the circumstances our comrades had but one of two things to do, to fold their arms and permit France to infest Spain, thereby destroying everything that our comrades have built up, or use whatever means they had at their immediate command to continue the battle to the last man.

It is not a question whether I agree or approve of the compromises of our comrades. As a matter of fact I do not. I have gone through and still am in an inner conflict that has undermined my health, but for the life of me I could not set myself up as a judge over the actions of the C.N.T. and the P.A.I. Knowing as I do the desperate straits in which the Spanish people find themselves. That is all I can tell you. Now that it looks as if I am really going to sail for Canada, we will meet and we will talk over the whole situation as one cannot do in a letter.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May? London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 18 x 15 cm.

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I believe I sent you a copy of my address at the Conference in Paris last December. I am not sure. If I have an extra copy I will enclose it here. I can only say that I have tried my damndest to explain our Spanish comrades and their actions to their opponents at the Conference, and the attitude of the latter to our Spanish comrades. Life has taught me that there are many springs of human action. Perhaps it is due to growing age that I have grown rallow, but I certainly cannot be so dictatorial and better-than-thou as I might have been in my youth.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May? London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18220

3

I see by the announcement of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH RELIEF Communist managed that there is to be an International Congress in Paris the 24th of July. I wonder what the Spanish Delegation will do, and the SIA? I see that the C.G.T. is going to participate. Will the Combat take part? Perhaps because there is after all some kind of ~~anarchist~~ an Anarchist movement in France the International Conference may reckon with it. Here we tried to get a hearing at the ~~Emergency~~ Emergency Conference But the Communists simply silenced the fact that two delegates from the C.G.T. Bureau and the SIA were in the Hall and had demanded to speak. Frankly I am not sorry because I loath the jesuitic gang and do not trust them for a moment.

I don't know whether I wrote you in my last letter about a brochure called the Drama of Spain by a Spanish Marxist which is the worst historic forgery I have read. I am sending you a copy. I am also sending one to Vozquez. It ought to be exposed because the whole brochure is silent on the part of the CNT-FAI and makes it appear that the Socialists and Communists had saved Catalonia and aragon from the military and Fascist conspiracy. The conspiracy of silence about the CNT-FAI is wide spread. Yesterday I attended a gathering of a hundred people not one of them knew anything about the CNT-FAI, collectivization or anything about their contribution to the struggle. It is heart breaking to me.

Goodby dear Helmut. Kind greetings to Dora.

Affectionately

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120

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May? London to] The Northern Transport Agency Ltd., London / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18249

The Northern Transport Agency (London) Ltd.,
7, Gerrard Street,
W. 1.

Gentlemen,

Below are particulars of a shipment which we would be glad if you would kindly arrange to release from Customs on our behalf. The shipment is now at Croydon Air Port and is for charitable purposes only, as per the above organisation.

1st package Positive Film in 5 reels.

2nd package 5 rolls of Lavender.

3rd package 2 rolls negative; 3 rolls sound.

1,400 metres in each package.

The shipment is addressed to me.

Yours faithfully,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May?] Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John C[owper] Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 15 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17786

of Cae Coed
 Corwen
 Merionethshire
 N. Wales
 Emma Goldman
 Here is
 article you asked
 for for
 "Spain and the World"
 like yourself, I suspect,
 I am too conscientious
 about "piling it up" to
 make a good propagandist!
 But I wrote it for your
 sake & if it doesn't
 serve the purpose don't see
 be afraid my feelings will
 be hurt — for they won't!
 Thank you for the
 a priority — The

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May?] Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John C[owper] Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 × 15 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17787

meandering
 an elderly body-worm
 completely out of
 the running —

But good luck
 to you ever; &
 may some arrival be
 from behind your
 friends over there;
 even if it is only
 the Dutch Republic's
 against the old shain
 their own spirit.

Yps
 J. C. Powys

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1938 May?] Oxford [England to Emma? Goldman?, London] / B.K. Soper. —
2 p.; 17 × 11 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17752

TRINITY COLLEGE,
TEL. 3116. OXFORD.

Dear Comrade

Thanks for the propaganda — it
has nearly all gone already. No
"Span & the World's" yet. The
publishers are damned slack; will
you hurry them, please?

Have you a short pamphlet
dealing with the aims & methods
of Anarcho-Syndicalism? The U.G.T. —
C.N.T. proposals are rather too
weighty to begin propagating with,
& the C.N.T. constitution does not
say enough. If you have, I could
dispose of 200 of them. I'm
using the machinery of the Labour
Club here for distributing anarchist
propaganda. (with the approval of
the reformist executive committee!)

Is there an English Anarcho-S.
party or federation that one can
join? I want to be able to speak
officially here. Also anything on

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May?] Oxford [England to Emma? Goldman?, London] / B.K. Soper. —
 2 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

The constructive work of the C.N.T. -
 F.A.I. would be very useful, 17753

Fraternally yours

B.K. Soper.

P.S. Could you send me a letter (on
 C.N.T. - F.A.I. notepaper) on sheet only,
 on the importance & the aims of
 Marcho-S. suitable for putting
 up on the O.V.L.C. notice-board?
 Preferably (if you don't mind) signed
 by Emma Goldman herself. It
 would certainly have a very good
 effect.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May [1?] Faringdon [England to Emma Goldman, London] / Amador Gomes. — 2 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17432

Basque House
Eaton Hastings
Faringdon
Berks.

Faringdon May 1938.

Dear comrade: I hope when this letter arrives to you; you will be keeping as well as I am here in company of the boys.

I am writing to send you the address that you asked me for.

The address is as follows:

Amador Gomes
Basque House
Eaton Hastings
Faringdon
Berks.

I hope to send you within some days, a little sum, that I am collecting from our little comrades, for the S.I.A.

I also want to ask you, for some numbers of your newspaper, and if you can please send it to me.

I hope that you did write in your news

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May [1?] Faringdon [England to Emma Goldman, London] / Amador Gomes. — 2 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

paper, about our comrades die, ¹⁷⁴⁵³ José Roberto,
and please send me the paper, in which you
did write it.

Have you any news from Spain?
We don't receive very often news from Spain.

Well, I have not any more to tell you now,
and with un abrazo amigo,

Amador Gomes

Salud!!!

Mrs N. Hanger
5 rue Claudea
Nice a M
Dance

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 1 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Ethel Mannin

17254

Oak Cottage,
Burgley Road,
Wimbledon Common, S.W.15

P.S. Hope you will

May 1st 1938

be able to use these
concert tickets; its a lovely pro-
gram. I'd go myself only I must
make a drive to get my new book
done, alas.

Dearest Emma,

I thought you'd like to see the enclosed letter from Peter Chalmers Mitchell; please return. Thought you'd like to see letter from Spanish ~~make~~ Ambassador. As Storm Jameson sent Chalmers Mitchell a copy of the paper it sounds as though he didn't have a copy sent him the office? I have sent him a copy of the issue containing the report of the Conf. with the reference to himself, and have written him. I wonder why we didn't get him as a sponsor for the SIA? Did he refuse? I can't remember what happened about him. He's politically confused, of course, but a spiritual anarchist, I feel.

went

to see George Orwell y/day and told him about the concert. Poor man, he has to be in the sanatorium another 2 months yet.

I felt sad leaving you y/day, you seemed so downhearted. I can only hope the nett profits have worked out better than we had hoped, and that at least the collection is clear for the SIA. It was

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 1 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. —
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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My love to you, dear ? Can you use the enclosed
night. It should be very good. Take

a good thing. However, didn't come, you know, my dear, but if he had heard you calling for arms for S. J., he'd have run out in
fright and closed his cheque book against us for ever!

I sympathise with the spirit which compelled you to make that speech but it was a dangerous one to make on that occasion - to an audience drawn by its interest in the SIA refugee work - having announced the SIA as nonpolitical and humanitarian. Dangerous to make, I mean, from the point of view of frightening away pacifist money. There may even have been people in the audience dubious about handing over any money for fear it should not be used for refugees but for arms. There must have been many Quakers in the house, to begin with. I should think the ghosts of all the pacifist Quakers shuddered in the hall when you spoke....

Well, my dear, let me know what is the next thing I can do to help. And I mean this. I must keep the SIA waiting yet longer for that promised money, as though I got the balance of the money on my new novel a few days ago, having paid off my overdraft (£74) and set aside £175 for my income tax for July, and paid £87 arrears of income tax, and a few small bills. I am left with only £200 to see me through till I bring out another book, which I am nowhere near ready to do; and £200 barely covers my commitments for 6 months - my commitments which I must meet before I take a penny for myself, for housekeeping and general living expenses. I really don't know what to do, but I mustn't worry you with my worries.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

37260

May 2nd 30

Ethel, my Dearest, I received your letter with tickets for concert and programme inclosed. But not the letter of the Ambassador or G. Chalmers Mitchell. I suppose you forgot to inclose them. Send the in your next letter. I want to know what these people had to say. My dear SPAIN AND THE WORLD was sent to Chalmers Mitchell but c/o Faber and Faber. As I was not in the office when Macchioni sent it and he did not know his private address, I certainly asked the man to ~~Macchioni~~ give his name as sponsor. His reply was that he was running for the presidency of the Scottish University. I believe that is what he was running for, and he felt if elected, he could do more ~~for~~ in the House of Commons for Spain. Later when I asked him to participate in the affair at Friends House, he wrote back he had an engagement in Edinburgh to fill. Both were evasions to get out of being mixed up with the Anarchists in this country never mind what he felt about the Anarchists in Malaga. And his talk at the morning session of the Conference in Queens Hall was ~~another~~ another proof of his cautiousness. Yes, I dare say he is a "spiritual" Anarchist. But that costs nothing these days and it does not help either the comrades in Spain or in this country. I feel about this "spiritual" Anarchism as I used to in the States about the "philosophic" Anarchists. It was nothing but a cloak of respectability. I confess I prefer out and out enemies of Anarchism to these soft and easy going sympathisers. One can fight the former. One can do nothing against the latter because one cannot find fault with people who are spineless.

Ethel, my dearest I admit my memory is not so good as it used to be especially since the strenuous campaign for Spain began. It is for this reason that I did not rely on my own memory as to the gist of my talk on Friday and your contention that I appealed for ~~xxx~~ money for arms for Spain. I therefore called up Marion Seathinger who got us the talent and who is outside of our ranks, and also Stella Churchill who is also far removed from my work except the SIA. And both were astounded to hear that I am supposed to have made an appeal for arms. What they remembered very distinctly was that I said "I WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO MAKE AN APPEAL FOR MONEY FOR ARMS. ~~THEY WOULD NOT~~ ^{THEY WOULD NOT} THE PURPOSE OF OF THE SIA I WOULD REFRAIN FROM DOING SO

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 2 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17262

have sort of taken the guts out of me. At least for the present. Before I decided on our last venture I thought of a book bazaar. But that has already been undertaken by the Medical Aid people. I hardly think it would bring anything to repeat it. The fact of the matter is Ethel my dear we are boycotted by all the Spanish Aid people, the Labor Party and Trade Unions and of course the Communists. Not but by no means least also by the entire press. I have just begun to read Orwell's book. He certainly sees clearly why the aims of the CNT-FAI are being silenced in the press. With all the odds against us and especially against everything my name and the names of the Spanish comrades are connected with ~~with~~ I fear our ventures are doomed to small returns. I wish the CNT FAI could have someone also less "tainted" with my reputation in the Anarchist movement and able and willing to go with the Popular Front. I do them more harm than good I fear.

Thanks my dear for the concert seats. I know you won't mind my giving them to Vero Recchioni and his lovely sweet heart. I feel too rotten to go out after the office work. Besides that I must do an article for ~~the~~ Vanguard the Anarchist Monthly in New York. It is to be an answer to the renewed contemptible attack on the Kronstadt sailors by Trotsky. Not enough that he murdered them he must needs do as Stalin besmirch their memory. As I am one of the few left who went through the frightful ten days in Petrograd when Kronstadt was being "liquidated" the comrades in New York wired me for a reply.

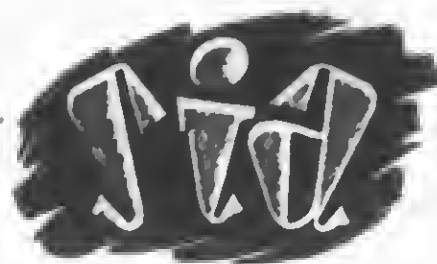
Dearie we cannot make out whether the signat re of the inclosed letter is that of a man or a woman. Do you know the party. Do you care to answer it? In any event please return the letter.

With love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 2, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / P[edro] Herrera. —
2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.
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19074



Solidaridad Internacional
Antifascista

Consejo General

Barcelona, den 2. Mai 1938.

An den Nationalrat der englischen Sektion

London W. 1

Werte Genossen!

Mit grosser Begeisterung habt Ihr eure Sektion erweitert und vergrössert. Im Laufe der Schriftwechsel haben sich zwischen Euch und mir enge Bande der bruederlichkeit geknüpft, die mehr als herzlich, familiär sind; so fuehle ich ausser der offiziellen Mitteilung, die wir Euch im naechsten Zirkular uebermitteln werden, die Notwendigkeit, mich persoenlich von Euch zu verabschieden.

Die mannigfaltigen Aufgaben, die mir in diesen Augenblicken obliegen, machen es mir unmoeglich, weiterhin an der Spitze des Generalrats der S.I.A. zu verbleiben, selbst wenn dies mein Wunsch gewesen waere, da ich die Aktivitaeten, welche dieser Tuetigkeit innewohnen, denen vorziehe, welche ich in Zukunft zu verwirklichen habe. Aber in diesen Augenblicken, da der Feind seine Attacken verstaerkt, muessen wir dort sein, wo unsere Mitarbeit interessiert. Der Zeitpunkt ist nicht gegeben, um andere Aktivitaeten auszuwaehlen, und wir muessen mit Eifer und Begeisterung jene ausfuehren, die die Organisation uns zuweist.

Die Tatsache, dass ich nicht mehr als Generalsekretaer der S.I.A. fungiere, bedeutet nicht, dass ich nicht mehr das Leben und die Orientierung unserer jungen und geliebten Internationale verfolge. Ich stehe den Kameraden, welche an meiner Stelle arbeiten werden, in jeder Hinsicht zur Verfuegung, um ihnen die Erfahrung zu uebermitteln, die ich in einem Jahr bruederlicher Verbindung mit Euch und denn Genossen anderer Sektionen sammelte.

Mir wird in meinem Amt die Genossin Lucia Sanchez Saornil folgen. Eine inteelligente, lebhafte Frau, grosse Idealistin, und wenn dies wenig waere, eine hervorragende revolutionaere Poetin. Seele der freiheitlichen spanischen Frauenbewegung "Mujeres Libres", verfuegt sie ueber eine grosse organisatorische Erfahrung und wird die ideale Sekretuerin fuer S.I.A. sein.

Ich vertraue, liebe Genossen, dass sie mit all' Eurer Hilfe und Euren Vertrauen rechnen kann und dass dadurch ihre Arbeit fruchtbar fuer die S.I.A. und die antifaschistische Sache, die wir verteidigen, sein kann.

Durch den Generalrat der S.I.A. koennt Ihr Euch weiterhin an

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 2, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / P[edro] Herrera.—
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Solidaridad Internacional
Antifascista

Consejo General

-2-

mich wenden, wenn Ihr es fuer notwendig erachtet. Ihr werdet
mich immer zu Eurer Verfuegung und fuer den Dienst an der Sache
finden. Euer Genosse



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 3, London [to] Herbert Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.
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S · I · A

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(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

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Hon. Secretary

London Office

21 FRITH STREET,
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,
LONDON, W.1.

Telephone GERard 2656

3rd May, 1938.

Dear Herbert Read,

I cannot tell you how much it has meant to me personally to have you read your poems and Berneri's Credo, and I am sure that the audience has enjoyed both the meaning of the poems and your reading. You were good enough to say that you would let me have one of the poems for Spain and the World. I want the one you have written specially for the occasion, and I would also like to have your translation of Berneri's Credo. I have a translation made from the French. It is not anything like yours. I would very much like to have it for Spain and the World. Please send both things as soon as possible.

A letter from the comrades who are publishing Vanguard, a monthly magazine, begs me to ask you to write something for them, and only the other day I had a letter from another group of university boys young men who are about to launch a weekly publication which they will call "Challenge". They already have a number of outstanding people as contributors, and they commissioned me to act as the go-between, whether you would not also like to give them something. You see you have yourself to blame, if my friends in America are now wanting ~~you~~ to bring before the American readers some of your contributions. First they have read your article on The Need of Anarchism, and secondly I have written them of the miracle of miracles I have discovered among the British intelligentsia - a real honest-to-God Anarchist. I hope to hear from you about my American friends.

Thank you again for your co-operation, for your splendid article on War and the beautiful poems you have read at the concert.

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 3, London [to] John Dewey, [New York] / Emma Goldman. —
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3rd May, 1938.

Dear John Dewey,

I am sorry to have neglected answering your letter of February 21st, but I have been so obsessed with Spain and the struggle for the Spanish people that I have had little time for aught else. I was very glad to get your letter and to read what you have to say about the changes that have taken place in the minds of many of the intelligentsia in the United States regarding the Soviet régime and the activities of the C.P. in America. The trouble with most of these good people is that they have emancipated themselves from one superstition and are again in the throes of another. They are now blaming everything on Stalin, as if he had come to the fore out of nothing, as if he were not merely the dispenser of the legacy left him by Lenin, Trotsky and the unfortunate group that have been savagely murdered in the last two years. Nothing amuses me so much as the contention that all was well in Russia while Lenin, Zinoviev and Trotsky were at the helm of State. Actually the same process of elimination or, to use the C.P. term, "liquidation", begun by Lenin and his group, took place from the very beginning of the Communist ascendancy to power. Already in the early part of 1918, it was Trotsky who liquidated the Anarchist headquarters in Moscow by means of machine guns, and it was during that same year that the peasant Soviet, consisting of 500 delegates with Maria Spiridonova had been liquidated by sending many of them, including Maria, to the Chokla. Also it was under the régime of Lenin and Trotsky that thousands of people of the intelligentsia, workers and peasants were liquidated by fire and sword. In other words, it is the Communist ideology which has spread the poisonous ideas in the world, first, that the Communist Party has been called upon by history to guide "the social revolution", and secondly that the end justifies the means. These notions have created all the evils, including Stalin, that have followed Lenin's death.

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-2-

As regards Trotsky, I do not know whether you have seen the New International of February, March and April, especially of this month. If you have, you will see that the saying about the leopard changing his spots, but not his nature, applies forcibly to Leon Trotsky. He has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. The usual Bolshevik calumny, falsehoods and misrepresentation have again been dug out from the family closet and hurled at the memory of the Kronstadt sailors. More than that, neither the dead nor the living are exempt from their venomous and scurrilous attacks. The new bête-noir for Trotsky are the Spanish Anarchists of the C.N.T. and the P.A.I. Just think of it, at a time when they are fighting with their backs to the wall, when they have been betrayed by the Blum Popular Front Government, by the National Government and by Stalin's régime, Leon Trotsky, who has roused the whole world in his defence, is attacking the heroic people in Spain. This more than anything else merely proves that Trotsky is woven from the same cloth as his arch-enemy Stalin, and that he hardly deserves the compassion in his present plight which most people entertain for him. Yes, the C.P. in and out of Russia have done so much harm to the labour and revolutionary movement in the world that it may well take a hundred years to undo. As to the harm they have done in Spain, it is simply incalculable. One thing is already too apparent - Stalin's satraps in Spain, by their methods of undermining the revolutionary achievements of the Spanish people and of keeping up a system of Communist favouritism among officers and other military authorities, have worked right into the hands of Franco. I am not exaggerating when I say that the thousands of lives and the rivers of blood shed by Franco's German and Italian hordes must be laid at the feet of Soviet Russia. I realise that the truth will out some day, but the last twenty-odd years have proved that it takes longer to slay a lie.

I am hoping to go to Canada in the late fall, and of course am hoping against hope that a visa to America may again be obtained for me. Strangely enough I received a letter yesterday from our mutual friend, Carlo Tresca. He kindly offered to help with the campaign for a strong committee of outstanding men and women in the States who might have bearing on the decision in favour of a visa. Should such a committee be launched, I feel sure that you will not refuse to join the others. Thanking you again for your kind letter,
Sincerely,

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[Letter, 19]38 May 3, London [to] Milly [Witcop Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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London, May 3rd 38

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Please tell Rudolf I must have the review as soon as possible. Get him word of in December.

Milly Darling. I have not written you in a long time. But then Rudolf has I am sure shared my letters to him with you. So you know all there is to know about me and my bitter struggle. To day I had hoped to find time to answer Rudolf's letter of the 19th of last month. But I cannot do it after all. I have my secretary coming to do a lot of letters to people in England itself, people who have given us their talent and their help for our ill fated concert last Friday. I am sure Polly will have written you all about. It was a beautiful affair from an artistic angle considered. But financially it was a failure. That after three months daily drudgery. It just took the guts out of me. I had set my heart on raising some funds for our people in Spain, I slaved until I became positively ill. And then barely to make expenses. Well, no use lamenting what cannot be helped. ^{Only} there will be no more literary or artistic undertakings for Spain. It is not worth the heartache and worry.

Polly will no doubt also write you about our part in the First of May and our meeting in Hyde Park. Also I am sending copies of letters to Herrera and Vasquez so you and Rudolf will get quite an impression of everything. We had a social after the demonstration at our place. About fifty people attended, the biggest attendance in my recollection in this city. Blessed Polly and Maria Goldberg were the waitresses, Marie has contributed refreshments, sandwiches and cakes. And so did Mrs Schneidermann. Also I raised ten pounds by raffles for our unfortunate German refugee comrades in Paris who are in such a deplorable state.

Darling I am sending you and Rudolf a book, "WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTION" by Ethel Mannin. Of all the English people I have met who has been the most devoted helper in my work. I know Rudolf is busy yet I must ask him to review the book for SPAIN AND THE WORLD. He is the only one who knows the revolutionary background of the women Ethel discusses. And also I want Rudolf's name kept before the British reading public. Please my dearest get after ~~an~~ Rudolf and tell him he must take time to do the review. It is important. Tell him also that I got Herbert Read a brilliant writer and critic who is an Anarchist to read Rudolf's great work. He has written a review of it for one of the most important English literary reviews which comes out quarterly. The next issue is June. Just as soon as the review appears I will go after some advanced publishers to induce them to get out a British edition of the work. And believe me it will not be such a crook as Coville Friede. It is criminal that Rudolf should have received nothing from his years labors.

I will write again on next sailings.

Love to
you
and
Rudolf

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London, 3rd May, 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dearest Rose,

You are in luck. To-day I have my very efficient secretary. I can therefore answer your letter of April 23rd which reached me only this morning, without any delay. My dear, I could have told you all about Laski and Herbert Morrison. I have met Laski, in fact had considerable dealings with him fifteen years ago when I came to England to plead for the political prisoners in Soviet prisons. At that time he was opposed to Soviet Russia and he promised all sorts of things he was going to do. With the exception of a tea attended by about 60 or 70 people, which he and Mrs. Laski gave me, he did absolutely nothing. Two years ago when I came back from Spain and began the work here, I wrote him, but he soon replied that he is more than ever opposed to my attitude to the Soviet Government and therefore could not possibly help me for Spain. That showed the man for what he is - a climber and suffering from an exaggerated conception of his importance. As to Herbert Morrison, while I have never met him personally, I have heard him speak. He is the same smooth politician as most of the others in the Labour Party. Yes it is amusing for these men to go to America to tell the people the wonders performed by the Labour Party in this country. In point of fact the Party has become so reactionary and so self-satisfied that it is more of a menace to the interests of the workers than the good it is doing. Actually it was the Labour Party who by its support of the National Government in regard to the Non-Intervention Pact which has betrayed the Spanish people as much as Chamberlain. It is sheer cant on the part of these officials to scream that Chamberlain must go. It is clear to anyone who knows their caliber and who has been long enough in the country to know how reactionary the Labour Party has become, that this indignation over Chamberlain's betrayal of Spain is merely an excuse to take the place of the National Government.

Now you know me well enough to know that I hold no brief for Chamberlain or for the National Government. Its crime against Spain is the blackest spot on British diplomacy, but I am as convinced as I can possibly be that the Morrison, the Attlees and the rest, if in power would be just as fettered by predatory interests and wealth as

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the present Government is, for in the last analysis the Government, whatever its name, is merely the handmaiden of the capitalist class. It is therefore nothing but hypocrisy on the part of these Labour gentlemen to wax so hot against Chamberlain and the present Government.

I am very glad that International Ladies Garment Workers Union is collecting a lot of money for labour for Spain. I only hope that Barcelona and the C.N.T. will not be so shamefully passed by as they have been in the past, especially now when Catalonia is cut off from the rest of Spain and is exposed to such harrowing attacks from Franco's bombs as well as to the dreadful need and scarcity which they are suffering. I am afraid that if the money collected in America goes through the hands of the Second International the C.N.T. will not benefit by even a small part of it. The discrimination against the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. cries to the very heavens. The conspiracy of silence in this country against them is unbelievable. Fortunately the truth will out sometimes. Thus George Orwell, one of the young writers, has just had his book published on his experience in Spain. He was at the front eight months. His book, aside of being of great dramatic and literary value, exposes the conspiracy against our people and the dreadful sabotage carried on by the Communists in last May. I wish that book could circulate in tens of thousands of copies. At least it would show the calibre and the quality of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and expose the conspiracy against them to the world. I have not yet finished it, but already I was impressed with the deep sincerity of the author and with his desire to do justice to our comrades. It cannot but help contribute to the knowledge of people in general about the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. their courage and their tremendous capacity for sacrifice. I am hoping the book will also be published in America. Perhaps then the wretched Communists will be exposed in all their mean and contemptible characteristics.

I had a letter from Abe. I was glad to see that he had gotten a hold on himself and delighted to read his enthusiasm between the lines for the venture of a new paper. I am doubly glad now that I know that you are also interested in it and that you are going to help to the best of your ability. There are only two things that worry me in Abe's letter, first that people like Anita Brenner are to be contributors while I am glad that she has seen the light at last, I am not so ready to have too much confidence in her because of her deliberate misrepresentation of our people when she was still enamoured with Communism and Trotskyism. People who change their ideas so easily will also change their new ideas, whatever they are. But of course we must

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give people a chance to redeem themselves. I hope therefore that Anita will make good. The second news from Abe that worries me is that the paper is to carry "criticisms of our comrades". I assure you that I am not opposed to criticism. My opposition to our friends in Paris and their attitude towards Spain was not that they were critical, but that they were blindly condemnatory, which, as you will agree, is quite a different thing; especially at this crucial time of the struggle in Spain one should weigh and measure every word written about the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. I hope you will impress this on Abe. I will write him myself just as soon as I have cleared away some of my accumulated important correspondence.

In any way I cannot blame our friends of the F.R. Abr. and St. that they are not enthusiastic about the new paper. The Spanish Revolution is having a desperate time and so has Vanguard. It is particularly to be regretted that Vanguard, which is one of the best papers we have had, must struggle so desperately. Under the circumstances it is natural that some of the comrades should feel uneasy about the advent of a new paper. I feel that way myself, but I would not for worlds want to discourage young comrades in any venture they are planning.

Abe asked me to send him a copy of Rucker's book. That is unnecessary now, as twenty-five copies have been sent to Freedman only a few days ago. He can get a copy from him. As to importing copies of the book, it will be best if he will get in touch with Secker and Warbrook, whose address is Essex Street. He will get a discount of course. I am not sure what arrangements the publishers will make with him about payment. When he writes Secker and Warbrook, let him say that I suggested that he should get in touch with them direct. For the rest, I will answer Abe's letter in all particulars.

Dearest Rose, I am not surprised about Bob Jackson, the Assistant Attorney General, refusing to favour a visa for me. In the first place I think it a mistake to approach any of the people in authority unless you have a committee to back you. I think I have written you that several times, and I have written it to everybody else. I am sure that you will agree with me when I say that there is a great difference between an individual approach to officials and an approach

Emma

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backed by a formidable committee of outstanding men and women in different walks of life who are known through the length and breadth of the country. Not that I am very sanguine about success in re a visa even with a committee, but I am quite certain that you will achieve nothing without it. I wish to goodness I could think of an efficient woman known by all the Labour and Social groups who would undertake the organisation of this committee. It is rotten that Stella is not in New York. She is the person who should throw herself in the breach, and I know she would, were she living in New York. I have just written to Margaret De Silver from whom I had a lovely letter with 50 dollars enclosed for Spain and the World and for Spain itself. I have asked her whether she would undertake to launch the committee. A few days before I heard from her, I had a letter from Tresca offering to undertake a campaign if I will authorise him to go ahead. You will see by the enclosed copy of the letter what my answer is. I am also enclosing a copy of my letter to Harry Kelly, and some copies of letters from John Comper Powys. Please, dear Rose, get in touch with Tresca by letter without delay and arrange to see him when you get back to New York. I cannot repeat it too often, that the first thing to do is to organise a committee and then proceed to interview those in authority. That does not mean, however, that your work in approaching all kinds of people who might have influence in Washington should discontinue by no means. I want you to go on as you have so far, but I strongly advise against interviewing men like the assistant Attorney General or anyone in authority, until you have the committee whose names will carry weight. I know America well enough to assure you that officials pay more attention to important committees than they do to anyone who will whisper appeals in their ears; so please, my dear, do what you can in getting in touch with Tresca and with Harry and also with Harry Weinberger. Between all of you devoted friends of mine, you will surely create something worth while.

~~xxxxxx~~ I am so glad that you a few photos of Senia have been placed at the photographic exposition at Grand Central Palace. I will write him and Mollie before the week is over and I will tell them of what you have done and what you intend to do. I have written your mother and I have asked her to rinse the stockings and when they are dry take them to Mr. Seachinger. If she has done so he will surely bring them along. He sails this week for England and will

With love,

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(My son, David Ballantine)

Darling David. The years go but not my love and my heart felt wishes for your birthday. I hope you will have a grand time. May the coming year bring you the best of health and lots of joy and happiness. Perhaps next year I maybe near enough to you to help celebrate your birthday. Perhaps I can then make it as gay and exciting as it was 7 years ago in Bon Marit. If not and I am still in Canada then mother must bring you to me. It would indeed be a great feast and joy to me to see you again my beloved David.

Give mother the inclosures. Tell her I received her letter of April 28th this morning. But that I cannot reply until next week. Give her and daddy my love and of course also to Ian.

I embrace you tenderly and again wish you the very best for this years birthday. Buy yourself some little gift for the inclosed.

With love.

Love, Emma

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3rd May 1938.

M Mascarell,
Secretariat,
A.I.T. Paris.

Dear Comrade,

I am sending you comrade Barr's cheque for £11-0-0 which consists of £2-13-0 which we raised at a small 1st May social at our office by means of a raffle of several books, the rest up to £10-0-0 was made up by comrade Ralph Barr. The other £1-0-0 is a contribution on the enclosed list sent us some time back by the Comite de Solidarite Internationale.

Please be good enough to send me receipt on the enclosed list No 311. We still have three lists which we have given out to friends who will try to raise more money. Just as soon as we get them back we will forward them together with the amount collected.

Dear comrade, I have received your letter in Spanish and will answer it separately as soon as get time. Just now there is a lot to do to answer a number of letters from comrades Herrera and Vasquez as well as Martin Ondell.

Here I can only say that we had a very satisfactory 1st May in spite of the dull and gloom of the weather. Our contingent with expressive banners and slogans, though not very numerous, made a very good showing, and the crowd who came to hear our speakers

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the list of the next of
unfortunately, it is a very
difficult to find out, since we should provide
information, because the situation was very stirred by

Remember me to all the comrades.

Fraternally,

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3rd May, 1938.

Dear Margaret De Silver,

I wrote Carlo last week and asked him to tell you that I had received your letter with the cheque for 50 dollars enclosed. Thank you very much for both. At the time of writing to Carlo I thought I would divide the amount between Spain and the World and 30 dollars to the fund for arms for Spain. But I have since reconsidered the letter. You see, our comrades from Barcelona wrote me to make appeals for paper and pencils for our heroic militias at the front. We have done that, but unfortunately with very little response. I therefore decided to send 30 dollars to Marseilles where paper and pencils will be brought for this amount and shipped to Barcelona. Of course not many of the men will be supplied, for one cannot get such a large quantity of paper and pencils for 900 francs, but it will gladden the heart of the few, and that is worth something. The child-likeness of the Spanish people is among the many outstanding lovable traits. Imagine men exposed to terrible suffering in the trenches, badly clad and poorly fed and in constant danger of death, rejoicing over a fountain pen. The French Section of the S.I.A. shipped 1,000 fountain pens to Barcelona for the militias. The comrades wrote me that there was a regular feast among the men who were fortunate to covet a fountain pen. Yes, they are a marvellous people. The deeper the tragedy that they should be sacrificed and forsaken by the democracies and to a large extent by the international proletariat. I know you will not mind my arrangement of dividing the money which you so kindly sent. By the way, while I am keenly interested in Spain and the World and in helping it in every possible way, the paper is not mine. It is being published by a young comrade, English born of Italian descent, a very able and intensely sincere chap.

Carlo will of course let you read my letter, so you will see how deeply I appreciate his offer to work for a visa for me. He

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agrees with me that a strong committee of women and men known in the various radical ranks is essential. I wonder whether you could undertake to start such a committee. Stella, my niece, would do everything in her power, were she living in New York, but it is of no use to attempt anything from Bearville. It is too far removed, besides one can hope for very little from correspondence. It is necessary to see people personally and to interview them on the subject of my return. Of course I do not know how you are situated, whether your time is your own, and how you feel about undertaking such a job: but I would be eternally grateful if you really could be the moving spirit. What with Carlo to help you with suggestions, and all other methods, I think that a committee could be organized. Anyway write me how you feel about the matter.

I have promised Carlo to send him copies of my letter to Professor John Dewey in answer to his. I had written him some time ago, complimenting him on his frank and outspoken attitude to the frightfulness in Russia. His letter, copy of which I enclose, was in answer to mine. I have since written him again, also copy of which is enclosed. In addition I am sending for both you and Carlo, copies of two letters I have recently received from John Gwyer Dewey. Perhaps you could use a paragraph from the latter, for any correspondence you may send out to people in re the committee.

Last Friday we had a literary and musical evening intended for the refugee women and children in Catalonia. It was a great success as far as quality is concerned. The artists were all first class and so were those who spoke about the effects of Fascism on literature and who read some poems. But though I devoted three months and worked day and night for success, the affair was financially a failure. You cannot imagine how difficult it is to rouse people in this country, especially on things I undertake. You see, in the United States ~~my~~ my name had become an institution whether the authorities like it or not. In this country I am still unknown, and those who do know me dread the ideas I represent. In short it is a bitter struggle. This, added to my longing to go back to my erstwhile country and to see my people and my friends, is an additional reason for asking you and Carlo to do your best in bringing it about.

When you see Evelyn give her my love. I will write her very soon. I am glad you sent me her address, although Stella has forwarded a letter which Evelyn had written her, and that also contained her address.

With cordial greetings,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 3, London [to I. da] Camara [Pires, Marseille, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18788

London May 3rd 38

Dear comrade Camara. I have often wanted to write you but have been crowded with so much work for the SIA and the CNT-FAI I simply had no time left to carry out my good intentions to let you know that I have not forgotten your kind solidarity and comradeship you showed me when I passed through Marseille. So much has changed in our beloved Spain since last November one finds any work we do here for the struggle of our comrades seem insignificant. Especially in this country where it is almost impossible to rouse the British masses. They have been in the official Labor Party and Trade Union straight jacket so long they have lost the capacity ~~tax~~ for initiative action even if they feel a great wrong deeply. I convinced myself once more of this on Sunday at our first of MAY demonstration. We had a very large and attentive audience who seemed deeply stirred by our talks about the betrayal of Spain by the so called ~~tax~~ democracies and the frightful sacrifices our comrades in Spain are making. But yet they will hardly act decisively for Spain. The leaders hold the workers under their thumb, and the leaders will not permit their dupes to do anything "illegal" As if anything the masses have ever done was legal. Yes dear comrade it is most trying and painful to have to work for our ideas in this blood freezing country. That is why I tried so hard to remain in Spain. But our dear comrades of the SIA and the CNT-FAI still have the child-like faith that something can be achieved for them in this country. I wish they were right.

Dear comrade comrade Herrera wrote me to make appeals for writing pads and pencils for our brave militia and to send whatever we collect to you for transmission to Barcelona. I did appeal many times but we have had no response except just a small quantity of paper and pencils hardly worth sending. The other day I received a gift from an American friend of mine with the ~~instr~~ instruction of using the money as I think best. So I am sending you to day a check on a Paris bank for 900 francs thirty dollars, I believe that is the rate of exchange, thirty or thirty odd francs to the dollar. Please buy writing pads and pencils for that amount and send it to Herrera. I am writing him to day and will tell him that you will carry out my request. I realize that you will not be able to supply many of the heroic boys at the front with paper and pencils. But it will be better than nothing and it may cheer them to know that the money for it comes all the way from New York to me.

I wish you would write me dear comrade and give me your view of the actual situation in Spain. You are near to it than I. Please write French.

With fond remembrance of the pleasant evening in Paris and your most charming thoughtfulness of my comforts.

Fraternally

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 3 [London to] Eli[s]abeth [Wilkinson, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24016

3rd May, 1938.

Dear Elizabeth,

Enclosed please find a cheque for 2/- to pay for the delegate card for Ethel Mannin and myself. You were good enough to mark my card as consultative delegate. I wonder why? Surely you must have known that my name will affect your comrades as a red cloth does a bull. In point of fact they were thus affected and not only they, but all the others in the committee, whether they were members of your party or merely sympathisers.

It is nothing for Communists to be intolerant to any opinion or anyone who does not coincide with their ideas, but I expected some courtesy from the other members on the committee. Since they pretended broadness by their announcement from the platform that delegates who wanted the floor might send up their names, they should at least have had the decency to honour the name and permit a "consultative delegate" to be heard in the Conference. After all the National Confederation of Labour is an organisation not to sneeze at, and as the accredited delegate of that organisation I certainly had the right to claim the floor especially as the Chair made it appear that those whose names were sent up would be given a chance to speak. It is unnecessary to say that I was not concerned about speaking, but I was concerned in the Conference or I would not have asked you for a delegate card. But I suppose the voice of an Anarchist representing the Anarcho-Syndicalists of Spain might have brought discord into the "harmony" of the Conference. However, that is the usual habit of your comrades. I was therefore not surprised at the disgraceful lack of hospitality to the right of free speech.

Yours sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 3 [London to] Eileen Blair, [Wallington, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24017

3rd May, 1938.

Dear Eileen Blair,

First let me thank you and your husband for your thoughtfulness in sending a telegram to our Literary and Musical Evening. It was very kind of both of you indeed.

Mr. Warbrook was good enough to send me your husband's book which he published. I have been reading it the last few nights. I wish I could put into many words my gratitude and that of all of my comrades for the frank and deeply sincere descriptions of the whole situation in Spain. I cannot tell you what it means to me to see the truth represented by someone out of the anarchist ranks about the part of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. in the heroic struggle in Spain; especially am I grateful for the exposure of the conspiracy of silence in England on the part of the Press and the different elements who are working on behalf of Spain. Verily the conspiracy against the C.N.T. in this country rises to the very heavens. Even so liberal paper as the Manchester Guardian has recently joined the cavalcade of scribes who deliberately misrepresent the actual situation in Spain, if they write at all anything about it. Some months ago I had occasion to call the attention of the Manchester Guardian to the charges made against the anarchists by its correspondents of having run away from the front and of playing no part whatever in the anti-Fascist struggle. According to that man, the Communists alone have saved the situation and are the heroes everywhere. The Guardian refused to print the letter on the grounds that it could not expose its correspondent. As for the Chronicle and the Daily Herald, on the very rare occasions when they have mentioned the names of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. it was always sneeringly and with contempt. No need mentioning

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 3 [London to] Eileen Blair, [Wallington, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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24018

-2-

the Daily Worker. I have therefore felt all along that I am crying in the wilderness and that I achieve little for my heroic Spanish comrades and for the Spanish people in general by my efforts in this country. You and Mr. Orwell will therefore appreciate my joy in finding such a sincere and deeply-felt statement of the actual facts, especially the disruptive and destructive part played by the Communists from the moment Stalin sent arms to the Spanish Government. I am particularly delighted that the truth regarding the criminal sabotage of the Aragon front is out at last. I do not know whether your husband saw the English papers while he was at the front. The scurrilous attacks on the C.N.T.-F.A.I. because they refused to send arms to the militias at the Aragon front, and the equally scurrilous charges that Barcelona did nothing to aid Madrid.

But it is not only the array of facts that the work contains. It is the beautiful and moving portrayal of the experiences your husband has undergone and also of the events in the first week of May. Of course we will review the book for Spain and the World. I only wish it could have the widest possible circulation both here and in America. It would help much to throw light on the true character of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and on their continued sacrifice they have made since July, 1936.

My dear friend, Ethel Mannin, told me that she was going to visit your husband in the sanatorium. That was last Saturday. I have not seen her since, and so do not know how she found him. I would very much like to pay him a visit, provided he is able and permitted to receive visitors. Will you let me know? Some of my friends have a car and they would take me out, preferably on Sunday afternoon.

Please remember me kindly to your husband and give him my deep-felt gratitude for his beautiful work.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 3 [London to Frederick] Woodhouse, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3rd May, 1938.

Dear Mr. Woodhouse,

Only to-day am I able to drop you a line and tell you how much everybody has enjoyed your singing, myself included. I was sorry that the audience was not bigger to hear you and the other artists, but while the affair has not been a financial success, I know my friends in Spain will be glad to learn that it has been a success in point of quality and the beautiful music chosen.

I thank you heartily in their name and in mine.

Yours sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 3 [London to] James [Harrison, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24020

3rd May, 1938.

Dear James,

I am sure that you have long ago put me down as an ingrate and everlasting grout. You have all reasons to believe that. The effort in this country for our Spanish friends is really corroding my whole being, so that at the end of an undertaking I am not only a physical wreck but all my nerves feel as if they were on fire. That is why I had not the energy or the strength to tell on Friday that thought the financial result of the affair was heartbreaking I was nevertheless deeply appreciative of your help and co-operation. I do want you to know that, my dear, and I also want you to understand that whatever you have given added to my work since we first met has meant a great deal more to me than if it came from someone directly in the ranks who had time at his disposal and means to give. Knowing how you are situated I am doubly grateful to you for your solidaristic help.

Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726328

[Letter] 1938 May 3 [London to] Sidonie [Goosens, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24021

3rd May, 1938.

Dear Sidonie,

I was so worn out and distressed over the poor attendance of the concert we have worked for so many months and so ardently that I did not find time or energy to talk to you at Friends' House; lest I seem an ingrate and an unappreciable being I want to assure you that nothing but my fatigue was responsible for it. I appreciated deeply your own playing and that of your colleagues and the splendid contribution you made to the artistic quality and success of the concert. I am only deeply sorry that you had to play before a small house.

There is one thing, however - the audience was very appreciative, as it demonstrated every time you and the other musicians played. Our comrades in Spain are so elated over even small results that I feel certain ~~they will~~ that the financial of the evening will not mean anything so much to them as the quality of the affair. I have already written them about it.

With kind greetings to Comrade Greenbaum and yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 3 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Miles Malleson. —
1 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23436

27, BELSIZE SQUARE,

N.W.3.

PRIMROSE BOSS.

3.5. 38

Dear Emma Goldman,

I am so very sorry I
wasn't after all at the Meeting.
I had to go down to the Theatre
that evening and there I was kept
till nearly the end of the Show.

I hope it went off
successfully.

Yours very sincerely,

Miles Malleson

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May? 5?] London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ver[non Richards].— 1 p.; 28 x 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24356

37, Old Compton Street
London W.1.

Thursday.

P.S. Will you kindly let me have back all the
enclosed copy when you will have finished with it.
Also, to save time, you can send your Preface direct
to France: Madame Jeanne Berneri
20 rue de Terre Neuve. PARIS XI. FRANCE

My dear Emma,

I am sorry that we are a little late in sending you the Berneri copy, only I thought it as well to translate (though very hurriedly and unsatisfactorily) as much as possible, taking several interesting extracts.

The general line of the book is not political, in that it is made up of letters to his family and friends. Naturally it is inevitable that the ideas should come into them because these letters were generally written when he found himself in prison or in exile far from his family and friends.

But, what I feel most in these letters is his great love for his family, especially for his wife whom he looks up to in so many things, and for whom his admiration and affection never wavered. In spite of this affection, the cause had to come first, and this sacrifice must have cost him a great deal more so as he was so fond of them.

Besides the translations of the matter which appears in the book, I am sending you a copy of CRAPOUILLOT which dedicates a section to Berneri and which may be of some use to you. I am also sending Souchy's article, ~~which~~ besides a copy of the interview he had with SPAIN & THE WORLD and which was reproduced in newspapers and magazines, in France, Spain and U.S.A., and which I think will give you an idea as to his position with regard to the Spanish question at that time.

I do not want to hurry you in your work of writing the preface, but please try and write it as soon as possible, as they write from France that they are expecting it about the 14th of this month so as to get it translated into Italian, set up in type and included with the remainder of the copy which is all ready and just waiting for the preface.

Marie-Louise sends you all her love.

Very sincerely yours,



P.S. I should like to have your opinion on the last issue of SPAIN & THE WORLD.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930331

[Letter] 1938 May 5 [London to] Mari[a]no [R.] V[á]zque[z, Barcelona] / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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5th May 1938.

19125

Marino Vasques. C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Dear Comr. de Vasques,

As far as the S.I.A. work is concerned I have written at length to comrade Herrera which no doubt he will let you read.

I now want to report to you several things that have bearing on the C.N.T.

in Spain
You will remember dear comrade last year you wrote me via Paris that I should attend the conference of the Second International which took place in this city. Your letter arrived too late and even if it had arrived in time it would have found me unable to attend as I was ill - besides that I was convinced that my attempt would be useless as I would never be given a chance by the Second International to take any part in their conference. Well this year with the growing tragic situation I was willing to set aside my misgivings and attend anything that I thought would be of consequence for your struggle - so when I saw an announcement of an emergency conference on Spain, I immediately wrote to the secretary sending a copy of my Spanish credential you sent me and asked for a delegate ticket as representing the C.N.T. I received a card which I enclosed herewith and naturally attended the sessions that were held in one of the largest halls in this city on April 23rd. It did not take me long to realise that the conference was to a large extent packed by the communists (bona fide) delegates or by those whom they sent and who did not represent anyone, and that the main purpose of the conference was to use Spain as the peg on which to hang the call for a popular front. True there were a number of Trade Union delegates and some from the Co-Operatives. All honor to them. They were the only people interested in direct action - even of a general strike, to force the reversal of the Non-Intervention pact. All the others talked of the necessity of replacing Chamberlain and the National Government - which is all right as far as it goes. It was announced from the platform that delegates who had something to suggest should send up their names. Naturally I was one among others; but it goes without saying that I was not called upon to make suggestions. In fact the C.N.T. was not mentioned or referred to even once. In the report which I sent with someone who has left for Barcelona and who will give it over to Herrera or Martin Gudell, the C.N.T. is mentioned with a membership of 1,750,000 as against 1,900,000 members of the U.G.T.; but when one of the presiding officers of the conference read the report he referred to the C.N.T. in a manner that no one in the hall would for certain know what he was taking about. In other words I have achieved nothing by my presence in the conference. The communists have no doubt seen to that. However it is gratifying to see that there is a tremendous awakening among the British working class, the members of the Trades and Labour Councils and also the Trade Union Branches in their demand for immediate direct action for Spain. The pioneers in this decisive stand are the Amalgamated Engineers Union who refused to negotiate regarding British re-arm-

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 5 [London to] Mari[a]no [R.] V[á]zquez, Barcelona / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19126

ament. The South Wales Miners, the workers in the aircraft industry and the transport workers are quite determined to act quickly by direct action and a possible general strike.. So far the leaders of both the Labour Party and the Trade Unions are holding aloof. They even refused to see a delegation that the conference and the trade unions organised to see them. It is therefore very difficult at this stage to say what will come of the whole thing. The spirit of the rank and file is ready but the question is whether their leaders will have enough guts to proceed to action. It would need only a match to light the conflagration among the rank and file of the workers.

Yesterday at the 1st of May demonstration our comrades made a very fine showing with C.N.T. banners and slogans and with the banner of our small anarcho-syndicalist Union. They caused considerable attention. This year we had our own platform from which several comrades spoke (including myself) to a very large crowd of people. It was very unfortunate that collections in Hyde Park are not permitted; because we succeeded to arouse the audience sufficient to contribute had we been able to make practical use of the meeting and the feeling of the people at our platform.

You will be glad to know that I went to Liverpool and addressed a very large meeting which had been arranged by the ILP. You will be amused with the enclosed handbill which our communist friends gave out to every one who entered the hall, charging all of us with all kinds of terrible crimes because we are not very enthusiastic over a popular front in England, which would betray Spain just as easily as the popular front in France. I do not know whether you ever see Spain & The World; but I am sending you the last two issues which will show you the splendid work it is doing for Spain.

Dear comrade I wish I could tell you that the results of our efforts since I returned from my second visit to Spain quite measure up with the amount of work we have done. I really feel that the work could go on without me without the results being less. I have for a long time planned to go to Canada on tour. Comrades and personal friends of mine in the United States are trying to get a visa for me for the to go to the States for 6 months. If they were to succeed I could accomplish more in one month in the United States of America than in six months in England. I am writing this because I would like to know what you think of my plan. I really feel I must get away from England for a time. It were different if the two years efforts in this country would have been of greater help to you; but with the small contribution my efforts have made I do not believe it is necessary for me to continue here. Anyway I want to go to Canada and the comrades in America and Canada have already made the necessary fund for my expenses. Of course this is not to be until the Autumn and also my decision will depend upon what is going to happen to you my dear comrades and to your struggle but you will believe me when I say that I have no other thought or desire than to serve my Spanish comrades; but in the last analysis I must be able to decide where I can serve them best.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 5 [London to] Mari[a]no [R.] V[á]zquez, Barcelona / E[mma] Goldman. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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3.

19127

Please write me what you think of my plan and please let
Herrera read this letter as I want to hear what he has to say regard-
ing my desire and intention of going away for some months and leave
the work here with comrade Ralph Barr.

SALUD.

4
one

P.S. I forgot 2 things. First a quick
public meeting me held in London
April 13th. Secondly the response
to the appeal to buy arms for
Spain gave us \$34. a miserable
sum. In addition some one sent
me \$16 pounds which I wish
to add to the highly valued. Since
it was specially for arms I
would like you to let me know
where it is to be sent. Is it to
be Camara in Marseille or
to some one in Paris. Please
be sure to write me.
You can write me in French

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May 5, London to Mariano R. Vázquez, Barcelona (enclosure)] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 9 × 8 cm.

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Nº 96
NATIONAL EMERGENCY
CONFERENCE ON SPAIN
Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.1

APRIL 23rd, 1938

Morning Session : 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.
Afternoon Session : 2.30 p.m. to 5 p.m.

Delegate's Credential

Name Emma Goldman

Organisation CONSULTATIVE

This portion to be retained by Delegate.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930328

[Letter] 1938 May 5 [London to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19187

5 de Mayo de 1938.

Estimado compañero Vazquez. Salud:

En lo que se refiere al trabajo de la S.I.A. he escrito detalladamente al compañero Herrera, de todo lo cual te enterarás cuando él te enseñe mi carta.

Por medio de la presente deseo ponerte al corriente de varias cosas relacionadas con la C.N.T.

Recordarás que el año pasado no escribistes desde París, interesándome que acudiera a la conferencia que la Segunda Internacional celebraba en esta plaza. Tu carta no llegó a tiempo y aunque hubiera llegado no me habría sido posible ir porque a la sazón me encontraba enferma. Por otra parte, tenía la convicción de que nada se sacaría, puesto que la Segunda Internacional no permitiría que yo tomase parte en su conferencia. Pues bien, este año, con motivo de los trágicos momentos en España, estaba dispuesta a poner a un lado mis temores y escrúpulos y asistir a cualquier acto que yo estimara podría rendir beneficio a vuestra lucha. Así que cuando vi que se anunciaba una conferencia urgente sobre España escribí al secretario, acompañándole una copia de la credencial que tu me tienes enviada y solicitando un pase como delegada en representación de la C.N.T. Recibí la tarjeta que te mando adjunta, y, desde luego, asistí a la sesión que fue celebrada en uno de los principales locales de Londres el 22 de Abril ppdo. No tardé mucho en realizar que la conferencia estaba integrada en gran parte por el elemento comunista o por aquellos delegados mandados por ellos y que no representaban a nadie, y que el objeto principal de la conferencia era usar a España como incentivo para pedir la formación del Frente Popular. Verdad es que asistieron también algunos delegados de las "Trade Unions" y de las Cooperativas, en cuyo honor hay que dejar sentado que fueron los únicos que estaban interesados en la acción directa, incluyendo la huelga general, al objeto de forzar a que fuese abandonado el pacto de la "No Intervención". Los demás sólo hablaron de la necesidad de reemplazar a Chamberlain y su Gobierno Nacional - lo que hasta cierto punto no está tampoco del todo mal. Se anunció desde la mesa que aquellos delegados que tuviesen algo que sugerir diesen sus nombres y yo envíe el mío; pero ni que decir tiene que no fui llamada a hablar. En el informe que he enviado con una persona que ha salido para Barcelona y que se lo entregará a Herrera, veras que a la C.N.T. se le asignan 1.750.000 afiliados y a la U.G.T. 1.900.000. Pero cuando uno de los que presidían la conferencia se levantó a leer el citado informe

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 May 5 [London to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19110

se refirió a la C.N.T. en términos tan ambiguos que nadie en el local pudo haberse enterado de lo que estaba hablando. En resumidas cuentas, que mi presencia allí de poco sirvió. Sin embargo, es grato ver como se empieza a despertar una gran demanda entre la masa obrera de Inglaterra y organismos oficiales de los Trade Unions por la acción directa en favor de España. Los que marchan a la cabeza en este movimiento son los Metalúrgicos, quienes hasta ahora se han negado a negociar con la Patronal para llegar a un acuerdo sobre el plan que debe seguirse con motivo del rearme de este país. Los mineros del Sur de Gales, los trabajadores en las fábricas de aviación y los obreros del ramo de transportes están dispuestos para actuar inmediatamente mediante la acción directa, y, hasta si necesario, ir a la huelga general. Hasta ahora los dirigentes de la Labour Party ~~en~~ y de las Trade Unions se han mantenido al margen, llegando hasta el extremo de haber rehusado entrevistarse con una delegación que la conferencia y las Trade Unions envió a parlamentar con ellos. Así, pues, es muy difícil presagiar todavía lo que podrá salir de todo esto. La masa proletaria parece estar dispuesta a todo. Ahora lo que falta saber es si sus dirigentes poseen el coraje suficiente para secundar estos deseos y obrar en consonancia.

Lo mismo que el pasado año, nuestro núcleo tomó parte en la manifestación del 1º de Mayo el domingo último, portando pancartas y carteles alusivos a la C.N.T. y la bandera de nuestra pequeña organización anarco-sindicalista. Este año tuvimos nuestra propia plataforma, desde donde hablaron varios compañeros, incluso yo, a un largo contingente de personas.

Hace unas semanas estuve en Liverpool, en donde hablé en un mitin organizado por la Independent Labour Party. Te incluyo una hojilla que nuestros "amigos" del P.C. se entretuvieron en repartir entre los que acudieron al mitin, en la que se nos acusa de toda clase de crímenes porque no somos partidarios, o no nos seduce mucho, la idea acerca del Frente Popular en Inglaterra, que traicionaría a España lo mismo que el Frente Popular en Francia.

No se si tu acostumbrabas repasar SPAIN AND THE WORLD; pero te acompaño los dos últimos números para que veas el trabajo que desarrolla en favor de España.

Mis deseos serian poderle decir que los resultados de nuestras actividades desde mi regreso de España se equiparan a la cantidad de trabajo desarrollado; pero lo que si creo es que dicho trabajo podría seguir adelante sin mi aquí, y sin que con ello disminuyesen los resultados. Hace mucho tiempo que tengo planeada una gira por el Canadá, y ciertos camaradas y amigos míos personales están gestionando conseguirme un permiso de firma que pueda al mismo tiempo visitar los Estados Unidos, en donde me pasaría unos 6 meses. Si me procuran ese permiso podría obtener mas resultados en los Estados Unidos en un mes que durante seis en Inglaterra. Te digo esto porque me gustaría saber tu opinión acerca de este plan mío. Si te soy franca, ya tengo ganas

./...

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 5 [London to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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de salir de aquí, aunque sea por un poco de tiempo. Sería diferente si los esfuerzos en los dos años que llevo en Inglaterra hubiesen sido de más ayuda para vosotros; pero con la pequeña contribución que mis actividades han aportado, no creo que sea imprescindible que yo continúe aquí. Por ello me afirmo en mis deseos de marchar al Canadá, para lo cual mis los compañeros allí y en los Estados Unidos han constituido ya un fondo destinado a sufragar mis gastos. Por supuesto, que mi partida no será hasta el Otoño, y ello también dependerá de lo que se pueda ocurrir a vosotros y a vuestra lucha en el entretanto, pero ante todo y sobre todo está mi deseo de servir a mis compañeros en España. Ruégote, pues, me digas lo que piensas acerca de esto. Envíale esta carta a Herrera para que él también me de su opinión. Durante mi ausencia el trabajo quedaría en manos del camarada Ralph Barr.

Se me olvidaban dos cosas: El 13 de Abril celebramos en Londres un mitin que resultó muy concurrido e interesante. En cuanto a nuestra petición de fondos para la compra de armas para España, sólo realizó la suma de £34.- más £16.- que me han enviado después. Como quiera que estos fondos fueron solicitados especialmente para armamento, desearía me incases a dónde tengo que mandarlos, si a la Cámara en Marsella o a París. Espero tus noticias. Puedes escribirme en Francés.

Tuya y de la Causa te saluda fraternalmente,

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SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA

5 de Mayo de 1938

Estimado compañero Herrera:

He recibido tus circulares nrs. 439/38, 103/38, T.458/38 y T.459/38, cuyos principales puntos que requieren atención paso a contestar.

Con referencia a la circular en la que me interesas que me ponga en contacto con las personas que aquí cuidan de los niños vascos, al objeto de evitar, si es posible, que sean repatriados, te adjunto a la presente una traducción de la carta que sobre el particular he recibido de la organización encargada de dichos niños, en contestación a la que yo les envié trasladándoles los deseos expresados en la referida circular. Como podrás ver, ya han sido repatriados algunos de estos niños, acto éste que yo juzgo criminal, si bien, en honor a la justicia, tengo que hacer constar que el Comité batalló tenazmente contra su regreso; pero al fin no tuvieron más remedio que consentir ante la presentación de los que — al parecer — eran cartas auténticas de los padres, pidiendo el regreso de sus hijos.

Como, podrás observar, en su carta nos solicita el Comité nuestra ayuda para el sostenimiento de los niños aquí. Por supuesto que nada podré hacer en este sentido, pues carezco de los fondos suficientes para ello, además de que de esto se ocupa por completo SPAIN AND THE WORLD y demás ~~de que~~ camaradas que contribuyen al sostenimiento de la colonia infantil en España.

En cuanto al camarada Boer y lo que por él fué recomendado al compañero Barr, casi no vale la pena volver a tratar del asunto. Seguramente que los consejos de dicho camarada fueron dados con la mejor intención; nos encontramos en mejor situación para determinar lo que ~~convenga~~ hacer, y solo podemos asegurarte que no es necesario postergar nuestros queridos colores de la F.A.I., sino más bien enarbolarlos bien alto con el orgullo que nos merecen.

Nota No. T.458/38. Mucho me complace, amigo Herrera, que tanto tu como los demás compañeros piensen que el trabajo desarrollado por nosotros aquí, aunque no satisfactorio del todo, producirá, sin embargo, algún resultado. Esto es el único consuelo que nos anima, pues de otra forma no podríamos continuar con nuestras actividades en este árido ambiente, en donde todo cuesta abrirse camino. Ejemplo de ello es el resultado pobre de la velada literaria y musical celebrada el viernes pasado. Mirándolo desde el punto de vista de calidad y efecto moral, nuestra función fué una de las más brillantes que se han celebrado aquí en relación con los diferentes grupos de ayuda a España.

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Como ya te hemos ~~aviso~~ el programa por conducto de una persona amiga que regresa a España, no es necesario entrar aquí en pormenores sobre el valor artístico y musical de la función; pero en cuanto al resultado económico no podemos decir lo mismo. Aún no hemos liquidado todas las cuentas y hasta dentro de una semana no nos será posible mandarte detalles de la suma líquida ~~recaudada~~ recaudada, después de descontados todos los gastos, si bien podemos adelantar que no será de importancia.

Por segunda vez no nos ^{ha} satisfecho la colaboración con la "Independent Labor Party". Se convino en que cooperarian con nosotros en la organización del concierto sobre la base del 20%, bien resultase beneficio o pérdida, y todo lo que hicieron fué vender seis localidades de 10.1.6. cada una. Pasó lo mismo que el año pasado con el mitin en Friend House, en que dejaron que cargásemos nosotros con todos los detalles y trabajo de organización. Esta experiencia casi me ha convencido que no se ganara nada cooperando con la I.L.P.

Me parece que tanto tu como los otros compañeros estáis bajo la impresión de que la I.L.P. ejerce mucha influencia o cuenta con bastante poder; pero en realidad no es así. Lo que si ocurre es que varios de sus miembros, excelentes personas que sienten de todo, corazón la tragedia de España, han contrabuido su ayuda individual, hablando con nosotros en la misma plataforma y en general prestando su apoyo en varios otros sentidos. De todas formas me place que esteis conforme con que contribuyamos en la medida de lo posible y según lo permitan los fondos de la S.I.A. tan pronto como queden saldadas las cuentas del concierto y sepamos el resultado final, fijaremos el conativo que habremos de hacer a la colonia de niños en Street, Inglaterra, bajo la protección de la I.L.P. 18 de los niños que pertenecen a esta colonia tomaron parte en el concierto, ejecutando varios bailes típicos y cantos que gustaron mucho. Encontre que muchos de ellos habían crecido y desarrollado ~~mucha~~ grandemente desde que yo visité la colonia el año pasado.

Puedes escribir bien en alemán o en francés y de esta forma ahorraremos trabajo al camarada español que hace las traducciones, ya que así solo tendrá que traducir las cartas que yo os escriba, mientras que las de vosotros las podré leer directamente si vienen en francés o alemán. Si ello, sin embargo, te causa trastorno o te es imposible, puedes, desde luego, escribir en español, que ya nos apañaremos como podamos pues puedo asegurarte que el compañero español que con nosotros colabora en los asuntos de S.I.A. y C.N.T.-F.A.I., pondrá todo su empeño en sacar adelante su trabajo. Tanto él como los demás que aquí estamos siempre os tenemos en el pensamiento y puedo, asegurarte que la ayuda que vuestro ejemplo nos inspira - aunque poca cosa en la balanza de vuestra titanica lucha - es dada con el fervor nacido del ideal que a todos nos une.

Estimado compañero, me parece que no vale la pena discutir acerca de los camaradas refugiados en París, quienes se encuentran en situación deplorable, y si se les ha de ayudar o no. Por supuesto que no tocaré los fondos que se recaudan en nombre de S.I.A. o, para comprar armas

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para España; pero me perdonarás que no concuerde contigo en que varios de los camaradas que se han marchado de España no son dignos de nuestra ayuda. Después de todo, ellos se apresuraron a marchar a España después del 19 de Julio, 1936, sumándose a la corriente revolucionaria de sus camaradas españoles. Conozco personalmente a varios de los compañeros alemanes, y puedo asegurarte que estos ahora se encuentran en condiciones angustiosas. A algunos de ellos los conocí durante mi visita a Alemania en 1932, y sé que cada uno de ellos es un camarada consecuente, que ha dedicado toda su vida a la lucha por nuestra causa en Alemania, y de veras siento que se les tache como inmerecedores de ser atendidos. Muchos de ellos se han pasado meses en la cárcel en Madrid, Valencia y Barcelona. Cuando estuve en Valencia procuré cuanto pude por ver al compañero Gustel Dorster, cosa que no pude conseguir. Sin embargo, me consta que Dorster es un viejo y probado revolucionario ~~xxxxxx~~ del anarco-sindicalismo. He de confesar que celebré mucho el saber que estaba ya en libertad y fuera de España, ya que no puede ser de ningún servicio para la C.N.T. o la S.I.A. el que nuestros camaradas sean hechos prisioneros por vuestro Gobierno o sus aliados los comunistas. Te hago estas reflexiones a título de observación únicamente, sin que ello pueda afectar en manera alguna nuestras relaciones, como tampoco afectará en nada mis actividades aquí por nuestra lucha.

Tengo que darte las gracias por la letra y música Hijos del Pueblo y A las Barricadas, que cantaron en el concierto los niños vascos, terminando con la Internacional.

El compañero que publica SPAIN AND THE WORLD me ha preguntado acerca de los niños de la colonia que dicho periódico se comprometió a soportar. Me dice que ordenó un envío de comestibles a Camara; pero que no ha tenido noticias de este ni de vosotros y no, sabe si han llegado o no, por lo que te ruego me informes sobre el particular, de forma que yo se lo, pueda decir a él.

De momento no sabemos que programa preparar en nuestra campaña por la S.I.A. Si la película que se nos tiene anunciada hace tanto tiempo llegara, podríamos a'un hacer algo durante dos meses. Es una lástima que no haya llegado ya, pues se han perdido muchas oportunidades de llevar a cabo varios actos, no solo en nombre de la S.I.A. sino también en nombre de la C.N.T.

Tengo idea de que ya te envíe mi prefacio a las cartas de Berneri. Al parecer, el compañero de SPAIN AND THE WORLD, cuya compañera es Maria Luisa, la hija de Berneri, no sabe nada de vuestras intenciones de publicar todos los trabajos de nuestro malogrado camarada. El está en contacto con los amigos italianos ocupados en la publicación de las cartas de Berneri.

Por la carta adjunta para Vazquez verás como marchan los asuntos de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Con cordiales saludos para todos los compañeros, Fraternalmente
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5th May 1938.

P. Herrera. S.I.C.

Dear Comrade,

I have received from you the following circulars -
No. 439/38. 103/38. T.458/38. and T.459/38.

I will try to answer them in rotation, though it may be difficult because several of your circulars deal with the same matter.

Your circular asking to get hold of the people in charge of the Basque children and to prevent if possible the repatriation of the latter. I enclose translation of the letter I immediately wrote to the organization and also their reply. It seems that two thousand children were already repatriated and sent back, which to my mind was a criminal thing to do; but I must say on behalf of the National Committee for the Basque children that they fought strenuously against having to send them back; but they were forced to do so by what purported to be authentic letters from parents of the Basque children and they could not possibly overlook that. All this is explained in their answer. We were rather amused with your request that we should help them maintain the children here. In point of fact this is well as all other organizations aiding Spain have adopted every step we have taken for the S.I.C. and our general efforts on behalf of your struggle; but there I have already written on this several times so it is no good repeating. Of course we have not the money to help this organization nor can we do anything about setting up the scheme of contributing to the education of children; because whatever is being done in that line is being done entirely by Spain & The world and the community supporting the *care of the children colony in Spain*.

Regarding comrade Boer. It is hardly worth while going into the good advice he gave to comrade Barr. He probably meant for the best; but not knowing England or its people. He really was not in a position to give advice. I am certain however that you dear comrades do not deny your colours and because we were so sure we thought it rather an imposition to be told that we should not have the S.I.C. so conspicuous on any of our C.N.T. material; but as I have said this is long past and is insignificant compared with your present desperate situation.

Your T.458/38. I am very grateful dear comrade Herrera that you and the others feel that the work we are doing, though by far from satisfactory, will nevertheless bring fruit. It is the only consolation we have, or we could not continue. ~~It is also this.~~ It is also this hope that helps us to bear the poor result of the literary and musical event we had last Friday. From the point of view of quality and the moral effect our affair was certainly one of the most outstanding undertakings by the various Spanish Relief

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Societies in this city. As we have sent you our programme through a friend who is returning to Spain tomorrow Tuesday the 3rd April there is no need to enlarge on the real artistic and musical nature of the affair; but financially we can not be at all optimistic of the outcome. We have not yet made up all our accounts and also there are tickets outstanding so we must wait at least another week before we can send you a report on the exact amount of money made above the expenses; but we know that it is not going to be very much.

Our experience this time in co-operating with the Independent Labour Party was again disappointing. We agreed to have them co-operate with us in the venture on the basis of 20% of either profit or deficit. You will smile if we tell you that the I.L.P. sold just six tickets at the price of about 1/6d. They were quite willing to co-operate and to leave all the work, the anxiety and details to us. We had a similar experience with them last year when we undertook a big meeting in Friends House. However we have pledged ourselves to give them 20% so we will naturally keep our promise; but I must say that there is absolutely nothing to be gained from co-operation with the I.L.P.

I am afraid that you and the other comrades are under the impression that this party wield a lot of influence or has great power. I am sorry to say that is not the case. The only thing about the I.L.P. is that some of its members who are very decent and deeply feel the tragedy of Spain have as individuals been helpful in the way of speaking on the same platform as us, and in a number of other ways. Just the same I am glad that you are willing that we should contribute from the S.I.A. funds according to our means and possibilities. We will know after the account of the concert have been cleared exactly how we stand and we will then decide how much to contribute to the children's colony at Street under the protection of the I.L.P.

I wish to say here that we had 18 of the children at the concert and they did remarkably well in songs and dancing. They moved everybody by their presence. Some of them had grown and developed a great deal since I visited the colony last year.

It will be quite satisfactory if you write me in German or French. It will save the comrades who do the translations from the Spanish and from English into Spanish considerable time. He will then only have to translate my letters whereas yours I can read myself if written in German or French. If that however causes you a lot of trouble then write in Spanish. It is the least any one of us can do is to translate some letters. I can assure you that our Spanish comrades here and all of us who work together with the S.I.A. and the C.N.T.-F. I. would gladly do a great deal more if only we knew what would help you most.

We have supplied for pads and pencils and I also told the audience at the concert of the effect the thousand fountain pens have had on the brave militia at the front; but I am deeply sorry to say that no one has sent us pads, pencils or fountain pens, except one comrade sent us a few pads and pencils. However there may still

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be some people who will do so this week. In any event I am sending comrade Camara a cheque for 30 dollars which was sent me by a friend in New York to do with whatever I considered best for Spain, and I am asking him to buy paper and encils for that amount and send them to you. It seems to be more practical than getting the paper and encils here which would be more extensive and besides perhaps would also require duty to be paid.

Dear comrade, it is no use arguing about the refugee comrades in Paris who are in a most deplorable condition and whether they should be helped or not. Naturally I am not taking any liberties with the funds I collect for the S.I.A. or for arms for Spain; but I am sorry not to be able to agree with you that some of the comrades who have left Spain are unworthy of your help. After all all of them rushed to Spain after the 19th July 36 and threw themselves into the revolutionary stream that could be of help to the Spanish comrades. I happen to know quite a number of the German comrades themselves who are no in such a terrible state. I met some of them during my tours through Germany in 1935 and I know every one of them to be ardent comrades who have given their whole lives to our struggle in Germany. It is too regrettable that they should be called "unworthy". Some of them have spent months in prison in Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona. I tried hard while I was in Valencia to see comrade Gustel or Peter. I was not given that opportunity - yet I know that Peter is an old tried revolutionist and anarcho-syndicalist. I confess I was delighted to hear that he was finally out of prison, for it cannot be of any service to the C.N.T. or the S.I.A. for our comrades to be imprisoned by your government and their communist allies; but we need not discuss the matter any further. We have a different opinion which I hope will not in any way affect our continued comradeship and certainly will not affect the work I am doing in this country for your struggle.

Thank you for sending on the music of Hijos del Pueblo and A las Barricadas. The children sang the former and ended with the Internacional.

Dear comrade I would like you to let me know whether we are to continue with the publication of the S.I.A. bulletin. Its rather an expensive venture. The last issue cost £7-0-0. Inasmuch as we cannot sell it and have to give it away I do not know whether it is effect quite justifies the expense. Let me know what you think about it. Of course it is the only way of keeping up whatever interest we can raise for the S.I.A. I want your opinion before we proceed with another issue. The expense in this country for printing and other steps one takes are enormous.

I have just been asked by the comrade who publishes Spain & The World regarding the children in the colony that that paper undertook to maintain. He tells me that he sent an order for food-stuffs to Camara; but has had no answer from him or from you. Naturally he is anxious about the matter and he would like to have an answer as soon as possible whether the colony is still functioning and whether Camara has sent the food as ordered by our comrade.

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Just at present we do not know what step next we will take in our campaign for the S.I.A. If only that film that we ordered since last year would arrive we might be able to do something in a few months. True the summer is on the way although actually the weather is miserable and it is cold; but we are something with the film during May, June and also July. It is disappointing that it has taken all this time to let us have something that would have enabled us to launch out on a large scale only for the S.I.A. but also to show the constructive work done by the C.H.T. - so please, if there is still a possibility, rush the film. We may also try some other things; but just now we don't say what it will be.

I have an idea that I sent you a copy of my preface to the Bernadette letters. It seems that the comrade of Spain & The Girl is the companion of Marie Louise the daughter of Bernadette and her connection with the Italian comrades who are publishing the letters. I know nothing about your intention to get out all our martyred comrade's works.

by
Dear comrade the enclosed to comrade Vasquez you will see the number of things we have for the C.H.T.-P.A.I. bureau.

That is all for the present in answer to your circular.

With kindest greetings to all the comrades.

S. LUD.

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1938

5th May 1938.

Helmut Rüdiger.

Dear Helmut,

I was glad to hear from you at last. I cannot tell you how I have worried and fret about our comrades in Spain and about all of you who live in constant danger of expulsion from France. Nothing so tragic in the world is the uncertain position of the political refugees, no matter in what country, so you must not keep me waiting so long.

The news you sent me about the situation in Spain is certainly heartbreaking. Somethings I cannot quite make out. Why Livadovs under arrest. He was the hero of Belchite and to a large extent of Teruel. What could have possibly have induced the government to put him under arrest and to remove him. Is it just the contemptible methods employed by the communists in the government or what can it possibly be.

You say that the fronts collapsed and that the cause of it was the complete ineptness of the communists. I cannot quite understand the whole thing. I wish you would write me in more detail. Anyway I am not surprised about the collapse. As long as our people at the front and in the rear felt that they were continuing the war to defend the revolution they were moved by enthusiasm and their mission, but gradually it must have dawned on them that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is losing ground in its stand and in its strength and that the anti-fascist war has dwindled to an ordinary war. I cannot imagine what else could have caused the decline of such a grand beginning. No doubt there is a limit to human endurance. The continued bombardments from the air and artillery tanks would wear the nerves of the strongest people. Anyway the whole thing is very tragic—more so because none of us are in a position to help. It is indeed sad that the comrades are clinging to the hope that help will again come to them from Russia. Do they not realize that if such help will come they will be crushed, for certainly Russia is not going again to send arms unless it can make even greater inroads among the workers of Spain and thereby destroy utterly the C.N.T.-F.A.I. On the other hand it seems doubtful to me whether Russia really will be sending anything. She is bound hand and foot to France and now that France has is on its belly to get favours from Mussolini, Russia too will be fettered to the capstails of the French imperialists who have betrayed Spain. Altogether it is a situation the world has never seen before, and we can only grit teeth and clench our fists.

Actually the things we do seem indefatigable in the results compared with the dreadful and hopeless situation.

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Understand my dear although I am writing you in this strain I am not permitting my own depression to effect my letter to Herrera and Vasques. I am enclosing a copy of each letter to them to show you what I have written them. You will also see the desperate attempts we are making for the S.I.A. and the C.N.T. Our meeting on the 13th April, while not attended by a large number of people, nevertheless was interesting because of the effect the communists had on the audience when they attempted to interfere with the speakers. At that meeting we appealed for arms for Spain. Only £45 was collected after allowing for the expenses of the meeting, which is of course a miserly sum for such a purpose. We have also received an addition of £20 from someone of which we are taking £7/6 to make up £50 for arms. I suppose only a few cartridges can be bought with that, certainly not anything of importance.

I had a big meeting in Liverpool early last month under the auspices of the Independent Labour Party. The communists were there in full force and tried their best to break up the meeting; but we succeeded to keep on going to the end.

I have repeatedly written to you about our literary and musical enterainment. Well after nearly three months delay it has finally taken place last Friday. Financially it was not a success as it was attended by a small audience; but the collection was rather remarkable for the size of the audience; but here again it was saved by a large contribution from comrade Barr. Don't imagine that he is a capitalist. He simply spends as much as he can muster up in contributions to our work for Spain. We had the affair together with the I.L.P. on a 20% basis; but we have come to the conclusion that it is useless to have their assistance because they never do anything for the work. However we are probably going to have a few pounds over the actual expenses; but it was very disappointing to me because I had set my heart on raising the same amount of money as last year £235.

The 1st May was certainly a great success for us although the groups combining were small, it was the first time that all the anarchists, or at least those who go by this name and never do anything. Our banners, flags and slogans were the most striking in the whole procession and caused a very favourable impression. Also this year we had our own van from which comrade Ralph Barr and an old comrade named Kavanagh and I spoke. It is certain that there is considerable awakening and awareness on the part of the workers to the dispicable betrayal of Spain by the National Government and the Labour Party. If they were not so paralysed by the straight jacket of their organisations I am sure that they would break loose and strike as well as use direct action to help the people of Spain. Unfortunately the leaders hold them in check. This was only too apparent at the conference on Spain that took place in this city on the 23rd April. I went there as a consultative delegate for the C.N.T.; but it did not take me long to see that the conference was really a packed house by communists and that Spain was to be used as a peg on which to hang the demand for a popular front. You will have gotten Spain & The World and you will have seen the report of our friend Ethel Mannin. One consolation was the militant and determined stand of some of the representatives of the Trades & Labour Councils and the Trade Union branches. They insisted on the

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necessity of a general strike. It was very gratifying to see this come from the Engineers, Aircraft-workers, Transport workers and many other industries. Perhaps our labours the last five months have not been in vain. Perhaps the structure of the C.N.T. and the programmes of the C.N.T. & U.G.T. with the agreement arrived at which we sent out in thousands of copies have had some effect on the organized workers. I certainly would like to believe that, otherwise it would seem so much effort and expense wasted.

Well my dear this is about all as far as our work is concerned. I don't know what really to undertake next. While it is still beastly cold and dreary the summer is not far off, and nothing but out of door speaking can be done, for which I am not much good, and everything else seems futile.

The other day I had a short note from Elsie saying that she is. It was contained in a letter from Herrera in which he told me that they will no longer be able to read English, or to write in English. Also Elsie writes that Frank is to come out at last and bring the film which we had been promised last November would be ready in a few months. At least if we really get the film we might be able to do something with it during this month and June & July. Otherwise it will mean our summer wasted for nothing.

I have written Vasques and Herrera that I plan to go to Canada as you will see by the enclosed letters. I too was happy to read that some of our comrades including Gustel Dorster have finally been released and are out of Spain.

We have sent to the Secretariat comrade Barr's cheque for £11 made up by £2-13-0 which was raised by the raffle of some books at our May Day social, £7-6-0 contribution by comrade Barr to make it £10 and £1 contributed by an Italian comrade. It is a drop in the ocean; but it will help for a little while. We have also issued the three lists of the four which was sent us some time ago.

I am sorry to say that Herrera refused to let me contribute money from the S.I.A. for the needs of the comrades in Paris. Evidently this is in agreement with Vasques, so I cannot do any more than try to collect whatever possible say a few extra pounds outside of the Bureau and S.I.A. work.

Yes my dear I realise only too well that Spain is betrayed not only by the democracies; but also by the international proletariat the wide world. Then the poison from Russia has undermined the revolutionary spirit and the revolutionary stamina of the workers of the world. I have no hope any more for the international proletariat will come to the rescue of Spain and I dare not think of what will become of our people.

I had a heartbreaking letter from Rudolf. He is as unhappy and depressed as we all are. He writes that perhaps it is left to us, him and me, to write the history of the struggle of our people and their wonton betrayal. That is small consolation to me.

Write me again soon and give me any news. You probably can about matters on the other side.

Oh yes, why was Galve expelled.

Fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 5 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.—
2 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Ethel Mannin

Oak Cottage,
Burgley Road,
Waltham Common, S.W.

17092

May 5th 1938

I sent Barr my cheque
for tickets sold y/day.
Do hope nett results show
that we at least have the
collection clear?

Dearest Emma,

I know that you did not appeal for arms for Spain at the concert, and I am sorry to have given this impression; perhaps in my hurry I expressed myself clumsily; but I strongly contend and am far from alone in the contention that the militant note of yr speech must have been very shocking to the many Quakers and Pacifists I know to have been in the hall! (Freddie Woodhouse, to begin with, is a Quaker and a Pacifist; Jimmy Whittle and his entire family was there - they are all Pacifists) Several completely non-political friends of mine said to me that they thought yr speech, taking the note it did, was 'out of place'. And the ILP-ers were annoyed because it had been stressed that there were to be no speeches, & you had been so sympathetic about the Basque children not appearing more than once because of lack of time - and then take up 20 mins of the time yourself with a far from 'strictly humanitarian' speech!.... I didn't intend to detail all this, but merely to make

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17093
the passing observation that it was a good thing Housman wasn't there (not to mention Howard and Spender to whom we had been so insistent that there were to be no speeches) and that many people must have been startled.... My sympathies are entirely with you, dear Emma, and its over now anyhow; its merely that, as I say, it was against what was planned and was definitely 'risky'.

I was told that you were very good in the park Sunday; one of our people here last night told me that only the Anarchists had anything to say that wasn't hackneyed.

I don't know whether the letter from Allinson is from a man or woman; I will write a postcard of thanks addressed merely S. Allinson.

The enclosed is for the SIA from a young friend of mine. I have written her.

Of course it was right to give the tickets to Recchioni and his girl. I hope they enjoy the concert. I'd like to have gone myself and taken you but I must get this book done by the end of July if I am ever to right myself financially.

I omitted Chambers Mitchell's letter from my last & send it now. Spanish Embassy letter not worth sending; you had the only interesting part of it.

I must work. My love as always, dear Emma. We will meet on the 11th. Ethel

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 5 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella [Churchill].—
1 p.; 22 x 14 cm.

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23748

14 Park Village East
Regent's Park, N.W.1
Euston 1314

5th May, 1938.

Dear Emma,

I enclose herewith the
telegrams and letters which I took
from the Meeting. I really think
it was a very successful affair,
though some of those who sent
greetings might have sent money
instead or as well!

Yours with love,

Stella

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 5, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Elisabeth Wilkin-
son. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SPAIN

Save Spain . . . Save Britain . . . Save Peace

Queen's Hall

Saturday, April 23rd, 10 a.m.

CONFERENCED BY

Richard Adair, M.P.
Duchess of Atholl, M.P.
David Graham, M.P.
Hogan Lloyd George, M.P.
Geoffrey Hender, M.P.
Hon. Harold G. Mackay, M.P.
Philip Noel-Baker, M.P.
Glanville Roberts, M.P.
Wilfrid Roberts, M.P.
Elisabeth Wilkin-
son, M.P.

CONFERENCE SECRETARY

Elisabeth C. Wilkin-
son
125 New Bond Street
London, W.1

TELEPHONE No. MAYOR 897

May 5th, 1938.

Miss Emma Goldman.
C.N.T., 21 Frith St., W.1.

Dear Emma

Thank you for your cheque for 2/- for your delegates' fees. I am sure that you, with your wide experience of conferences, will realise that the Standing Orders Committee had to refuse numbers of names that were sent in as speakers. They were especially anxious to have a really representative collection of rank-and-file Trade Union speakers, who could voice the opinion of significant bodies of workers.

I am sorry that you did not have an opportunity of speaking, but I assure you that you were one of a galaxy who were disappointed!

Thank you for the copy of "Spain and the World," in which I noted Ethel Mannin's notice of the Conference.

Yours sincerely,

*Elisabeth C. Wilkin-
son*

CONFERENCE SECRETARY

SAVE SPAIN . . . SAVE BRITAIN . . . SAVE PEACE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 6, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

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AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

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21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London,

6.5.38

TELEPHONE: GERARD 2636

Dearest Rudolf,

I wrote Millie the other day and sent her Ethel Mannin's book on WOMEN & REVOLUTION. I begged her to use her persuasive powers over you to write a review. It is very important for SPAIN & THE WORLD and our English papers in America to boost this work, not only because of its own value but also because I am very keen on getting your name before the English reading public. I also wrote Millie that your great work NATIONALISM & CULTURE has been reviewed by Herbert Read, who has a reputation of being a fine poet, art critic and literary critic, and that the review is to be published in a literary quarterly review. I am impatiently waiting for its appearance because I will then canvass some of the publishers in this city with a view of getting them to publish an English edition. I do not know whether I will succeed, but at any rate it is worth trying, so you will see my reason for wanting you to review Ethel Mannin's book.

To-day I received a letter returned, which I wrote to you on the 5th of April. It is my fault. I stupidly addressed it to Compton instead of Compound. I enclose it herewith. I am disgusted at my negligence especially because I enclosed a copy of a letter I received from Aldous Huxley wherein he refers me to two writers who are supposed to have an all inclusive method of bringing about fundamental Social and Political changes. You will see that I confess, much as I hated to do, that my ignorance of these gentlemen or their work makes me refer to you; but you being a walking encyclopedia, will surely know what their methods consist of. Please answer this by return mail. I have not written Huxley because of my ignorance of the men referred to.

The letters I receive from Spain, and I have recently received four or five, dated the same date, 21st April, do not give any idea what is going on there, but from a letter of Helmut Rudiger, and also M. Mascarell, who recently returned from Barcelona, it looks terribly black to me. Helmut no doubt has written you about the demoralisation that had taken place at the front some weeks ago. I was shocked to hear that Vivanco who was the hero of Belchite and who heroically helped to capture Teruel should now be under arrest. Neither Helmut or Mascarell have given the reasons for it. Another of the comrades Jyoldi who was arrested was released. I dread to think ~~that~~ of what is going on in the rear. I do not have to assure you that now less than ever do I sit in judgement of our comrades of the CNT-FAI; but there is no getting away from the fact that they

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-2-



~~that~~ have lost tremendous ground by the compromises and that they have either nothing to say or keep silent at the present critical moment against the crimes that are being perpetrated by the Negrin-Communist Government. I understand that young people are picked up on the street and forced into military clothes and driven by force to the front. Dear Rudolf, I cannot reconcile myself to this. It seems to me that nothing can justify such a price. Anyway I am torn into a thousand directions. I want to help our comrades and yet I feel that my silence is a sign of consent of all the dreadful and useless compromises our comrades are making.

While

nothing

The VANGUARD comrades have asked me for an article replying to the renewed scurrilous attack on the Kronstadt sailor, Makhno and the Anarchists in Spain ~~and~~ by Leon Trotsky. I have commenced a rough draft of my reply which I hope to get into perfect shape by next Tuesday. ~~But~~ it is true that Leon Trotsky is the last man in the world to condemn the actions of the Spanish Anarchists, I nevertheless feel that what he says is not far from the truth. It is very hard and painful not to be able to demonstrate that our comrades have remained consistent, or at least what they have done has brought beneficial results to the CNT-FAI and to the struggle. To point out that two wrongs do not make one right, that the compromises and concessions do not justify him to condemn the compromises of the C.N.T. is not very satisfactory. But what is one to do with the actual facts staring me in the face. Like you I did not expect super human results for our people from the anti-fascist struggle. I know that whichever side wins our people will pay the price. If Franco should be defeated the Negrin Stalin government will certainly be on top and will use every method to prevent the C.N.T. from reviving the Spanish revolution. If Franco should be the winner our people will be condemned for all times and will be torn into shreds by the pack of hounds in and outside of Spain. Still if the CNT had not given up so much of its strategic position at least it could have strengthened the constructive work in the industrial and land collectives; but what is the use of talking about what might have been. The future looks black enough to me to speak of anything that has happened in the past.

Thank you my dear for thinking that I would be able to do justice to the heroic struggle of our comrades and leave it as a legacy for the future generations. I am sure that you are the most competent to write such a history in our entire movement. Much more competent than I am. Besides as for myself that would be a very small consolation.

I had hoped and I am still hoping that I might stand and fall with the comrades in Spain. In fact even at this late hour if they would only let me, I would go back to Spain to help them in whatever capacity in their crucial hours. I have really come to the conclusion that I can accomplish nothing here. Every day proves that I am right. Besides one should do what gives inner peace. I have none now; but it is hopeless to make the comrades see that there is a conspiracy of silence against them and against us and everything we do.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 6, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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3

Roc

However there is a glimmer of light in the form of a book just published by George Orwell, one of the able young writers, which is called a "Ho mage to Catalonia". For the first time since the struggle began in 1936 someone outside of our ranks has come forward to paint the Spanish anarchists as they really are and to do justice to their marvelous courage, fighting spirit and constructive work. I only wish the book would sell in tens of thousands of copies here and in America. It would give the lie to all the calumny and misrepresentation started by the cancerous gang the communists and their sympathisers. I am going to try and review the book for Spain & The World. I think you ought if possible to write a review for Vanguard.

I should say that the liberal and democratic traditions in Europe, and that the labor movement in the world are a mere shadow. The pall bearers are not only the fascist Chamberlain, the socialist Blum and the weak kneed M.Ps but primarily Russia. I tell you the poison introduced in the world body by that terrible scourge had eaten away every conception of decency, fairness and integrity. There is not a party or an individual in these parties who is not affected by that deceased verus, and I fear very much that it will continue to undermine truth and justice for many years to come. That is what makes our position almost untenable.

I am glad to know that you have received the third volume of your great work on Nationalism in the Spanish language. I only wish it could come out in a cheap edition to be spread broadcast.

My dear Rudolf. I am terribly sorry that you did not only did not gain anything from your Anarch-Syndicalism; but that you had to pay 100 dollars for translation. We are doing all we can to push it; but you know 3/6 is a lot of money for the average worker who reads at all. As to the treatment you have received from Covicci Friede it is outrageous; but of course I expected nothing better from that outfit. It is too bad that you did not have a competent lawyer to draw up the contract with these crooks, and that you will have to wait a whole year until you get an accounting for sales and royalties.

I have spoken to Waburg on the telephone and he promised to send the reviews of your book which I will either type out or try and get duplicate copies from the different papers. Rest assured that I will not neglect that. Meanwhile I have enclosed the Manchester Guardian review in my letter to Millie.

I must close my dear Rudolf as I expect my official secretary who is to type my draft article for Vanguard.

With my devoted love to you and Millie and Fermin.

Your old comrade.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 May 6 [London to Samuel] Freedman, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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23839

6th May 1938.

Dear Comrade ~~Freedman~~,

I wrote comrade White and asked him to give

you and all the comrades of the Vanguard Group my fraternal greetings.

I now want to write you a letter myself. I am sorry to say that it will have to be brief because I am in the midst of writing an article in reply to Trotsky in the New International of April which I promised Vanguard. Actually I worked until three this morning on the rough draft of the article and that will take all this week and probably until next Tuesday before it will be completed and in a condition to mail with the next Wednesday's sailing.

I wonder why it was necessary to ask me to write the article. The material contained in comrade Alexander Berkman's pamphlet on the Kronstadt rebellion in his great work "The Bolshevik Myth", in my own "Disillusionment" as well as my Biography should have furnished enough data and facts for comrade White or someone else to issue his reply. These facts stand and no amount of pervasion of historical data by Leon Trotsky and his disciples will change these facts. I suppose the comrades of Vanguard felt that since I was so near Kronstadt and lived through the heartrending drama, what I had to say would lend more credence. It is for this reason I have promised to write the article and have been at it for several days.

The more I read the Kronstadt Rebellion the more convinced I am that it should be re-printed. The younger generation naturally knows nothing about the pre Stalinist regime and all that was done by the communist state. It certainly knows nothing about Kronstadt and yet that was one of the most significant milestones in the downward march of the communist state. I strongly urge your group and the comrades of Vanguard to get out a new edition as soon as possible. While it is extremely difficult to sell such literature in this country we would try our utmost to sell the new edition of the Kronstadt Rebellion, and if I should go to Canada as I hope I might be able to dispose of quite a number there. It must be cheaply gotten out so it can be sold here for 2d. Please talk it over with the comrades of Vanguard and let me know what you think of it.

I congratulate you on the splendid work you are doing. I feel very keenly about America, more keenly than is good for me. I mean my peace of mind. Comrade Berkman and I worked so hard for 35 years breaking round sowing the seeds of our ideas. Now that I see some sign of life emanating from the hard soil I am most unhappy I cannot be there to help you reap the harvest; but that is not for me. I am encouraged that our young generation have taken up our legacy and doing what they can to hold our banner high. Thank you dear comrade for telling me that my letter in the Vanguard has encouraged you all. It is little enough that I can do

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and for the paper.

Our labour movement in England so far is in a very poor state. As I have repeatedly comrades there is no real organised movement in this country. There is just a beginning, which may, or may not, bring results, that is the Anarchist-Socialist Union, organised last year and re-organised on a more solid basis since my return for my second visit to Spain. The most encouraging part about this little group is that we are at last attracting young people. I assure you it did my heart good to see so many youngsters at our small social on Sunday after the May Day demonstration. It is not only their presence but the spirit which is very encouraging to the few of us who have carried the whole weight for years. Our 1st of May demonstration was also encouraging. While our contingent was infinitesimal compared with the others, it was most striking because of its militant slogans, banners and posters. This year we also fortunate in having our own van from which an old comrade, Kavanagh, our comrade Ralph Barr and myself spoke. If only we had been able to make an appeal for funds for arms for Spain I am sure the response would have been generous; but no appeal for funds can be made in Hyde Park, so that grand opportunity was lost. Still the moral and spiritual effect was undoubtedly considerable.

There are so many pseudo socialist societies handling its own hand that makes our work so difficult, especially as there is a deliberate boycott against everything undertaken by us on the part of the Communists, the Labour Party, The Official Trade Unions and not least of them the entire so-called Liberal and Labour Press. That is really why I have no courage or strength to contribute much to Vanguard or to your work. I do not even write as often as I should for SPAIN & THE WORLD. Actually this paper has absolutely no contributors and has to be gotten together by a young comrade who is otherwise engaged most of the time, and is doing SPAIN & THE WORLD until late hours. You will therefore see that it is impossible for me to suggest "any source for contributions in England to our magazine". E

Our recent contributors are Ethel Mannin, and Herbert Read who are head over heels in their own literary work. They were good enough to give us contributions only because SPAIN & THE WORLD is on the spot, and they probably dislike refusing me. I doubt very much whether they will also be willing to write for the VANGUARD. For the present I cannot ask Ethel Mannin at all, as she is engaged on a novel and therefore I cannot burden her with anything else. I have written to Herbert Read and told him that the VANGUARD would greatly appreciate an article from him, but I don't know whether he will consent. You evidently did not realize the fact that Read has recently "turned an Anarchist". That does not mean that he is an active one. Read tells me that he has been an Anarchist for a long time, but that he did not know that there were Anarchists in London until recently.

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[Letter] 1938 May 6 [London to Samuel] Freedman, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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-3-

Dear comrade, my letter is again longer than I had intended. Samuel Barr who is my general cook and housekeeper and doing all the drudgery is also taking my letters which I cannot dictate to my ordinary secretary. I am hoping that he can get this out in time to be mailed to-day.

Please give my kindest and fraternal greetings to all the members of your group and to the editorial board of VANGUARD. Assure comrade White for me that I have worked on the article and that I will mail it just as soon as I have got it in shape, to my satisfaction. Writing has never come easy to me or to comrade Berkman although he was a much greater artist than I. Perhaps it was because he was so painstaking and so seldom satisfied with his own creation and I have also felt the same way.

Yours fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 May 6, New York [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Edward Dahlberg. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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TWICE A YEAR

19670

May 6, 1938

My dear Emma Goldman:

I wrote you a letter some time ago and, of course, hoped that I would hear from you by now. Our first issue of TWICE A YEAR will be out some time in the latter part of October, and will be devoted to Shakespeare and civil liberties, with a good deal of attention to Randolph Bourne, the twilight of politics.

I have wondered, since not hearing from you, whether my vocabulary put you off. I have distaste for slovenly thinking, for spurious and regimented conceptions which seem to obscure the very object the naked eye tries to see. I am neither a pessimist nor an optimist, for finally either of these two biases seem to me to transfix a world and to abstract from it its action and feeling. I really believe that man-eaters that all of us are, that we have to go on in this world as though we were not; we have to ride Robinante with chivalrous desperation, and so I try to do. Perhaps at this stage, to introduce myself to you I should add that I am the author of three novels: BOTTOM DOGS with an introduction by D.H. Lawrence, FROM FLUSHING TO CALVARY, and THOSE WHO PERISH. --So much for presumption and more seeming.

I have been reading into your book LIVING MY LIFE and what gratified me most deeply is that I find no arid, sectary mind or sensibility, --politics for you is no substitute for imagery, feeling and the quest for ideals. I still believe, as Randolph Bourne did, that idealism can only be achieved through ideals.

It will be very good to hear from you. Perhaps you know some able anarchist writers in London with whom I could communicate.

Meanwhile, my warm greetings to you.

Most sincerely,

Edward Dahlberg

237 West 16th Street
New York, New York

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 7, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

BARCELONA, a 7 de mayo de 1938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
London.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Para tu conocimiento y propaganda, adjuntamos a la presente, tres artículos aparecidos en "FRACUA SOCIAL", de Valencia.

Se saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. IBEROANARQUISTA.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA
IBÉRICA
COMITÉ PENINSULAR
Relaciones Exteriores

CONFEDERACIÓN
NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
COMITÉ NACIONAL
SECRETARIA

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21029

DE FRAGUA SOCIAL, miércoles 4 de Mayo 1938.

CRONICA DE TRINCHERA

LA 28 DIVISION-DERROTA FACCIOSA.-NUEVE TANQUES INUTILIZADOS.-LA

MORAL DE LA RESISTENCIA Y COMO ESTA ES POSIBLE/

¿Historia de la 28 División? Posiblemente se escribirá algún día. Habrá que empezar por los desbarapados, por aquellos aguilucho que salieron de Barcelona para los frentes aragoneses... Después... No diremos nada tampoco de su actuación en este sector, uno de los más carcosos a Teruel, cuando, rotas nuestra líneas en el mes de Febrero, vino aquí destinada para contener la ofensiva facciosa, consiguiéndolo, a pesar de todos los pesares. En aquellas jornadas murió el querido compañero Arnal, ex miembro del Consejo de Aragón y Comandante del batallón que más de destacó.

Esto pertenece ya al pasado, a pesar de su grandiosidad próxima, porque hay un presente superador en todos los aspectos. De este presente tenemos que hablar. Escuetamente. Autocensurándonos. La gesta insuperable —aunque si debe ser imitada— de la 28 División, merced que la conozcan en la retaguardia. Ya dice mucho la salutación de los generales Hernández Saravia y Miaja. No es suficiente. El pueblo, nuestro magnífico pueblo, recibe aliento y estímulo cuando sabe que en los frentes miles de hombres se dejan aplastar por los tanques antes que ceder un palmo de terreno; cuando las consignas del Gobierno, de resistencia y fortificaciones, se convierten en realidad; cuando se desprecia a cada momento la vida en aras del triunfo de las libertades. Y a la inversa, en las trincheras se recibe como caricias de brisa y rocío matutino las flores, la noticia grave y escueta de que en la retaguardia se pega fuerte a los traidores y todo el mundo vivía y trabaja por y para la guerra.

¿QUE ES LA RESISTENCIA?

La resistencia en el frente es ésta: aguantar cuatro horas de intenso fuego artillero, dos horas de bombardeo y ametrallamiento de la aviación y las ráfagas de ametralladoras y cañonazos de los docenas de tanques que rompen alambradas, saltan trincheras y se sitúan en la segunda línea, quinientos metros rebasada la primera. Dicho así, objetivamente, parece que no tienen mucha importancia, sobre todo para quien no ha "visto" la guerra. Y sin embargo, casi puedo afirmar que no se ha dado otro caso en nuestra guerra. Porque los batallones que estaban en primera línea soportaron todo el chaparrón de metralla y el fuego que por los flancos y por la espalda les hacían los tanques, sin moverse de su sitio.

La infantería enemiga se decidió al avance. Entonces fue cuando empezó el combate. Hasta ese momento sólo se habían utilizado los fusiles para disparar contra los aviones, a cuatrocientos metros, en vuelos de ametrallamiento, y las bombas, para lanzarlas contra los tanques. El enemigo pensaba que los nuestros habían huido o perecido. Se equivocaron. Equivocación que pagaron bien cara. Rápidamente funcionaron las ametralladoras. Y los fusiles ametralladores. Y los individuales. Las banderas monárquicas quedaron sobre el campo. Y el repliegue enemigo no se hizo separar.

Más fuego artillero; más bombas de aviación; más ametrallamientos. Otro ataque de la infantería enemiga. Y otro. Y otro. Y los nuestros firmes en las trincheras. Mandos y soldados, compactados en una misma y única voluntad: parecer antes que abandonar las posiciones. Así, sobre el terreno, es como se forja la res-

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[Letter, 1938 May 7, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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21030

sistencia y la moral de la victoria.

LA GRAN DERROTA DE LOS EJERCITOS INVASORES

Llegó la noche. Y el combate continuaba. Se inició a las nueve de la mañana.

Los combatientes, humo, barro y sangre cuando la tarde daba paso a la noche, asfebrecidos más que nunca, se decidieron a dar la batalla definitiva, a los tanques que aún continuaban en número de siete entera propia. Los restantes, algunos de ellos averiados, habían sido salvados por el enemigo aprovechando determinada facilidad de medios. Nuestros soldados, oficiales y comisarios, a los que no desalienta la superioridad de elementos, salen de las trincheras, una vez más —dejando éstas con las debidas garantías para impedir el avance de la infantería. UNICO ENEMIGO QUE TOMA POSICIONES. y a bombazo limpio, sin tratar de ocultarse del fuego de las ametralladoras de los tanques, resguardándose algunos —borrachos de heroicidad—, con el propio tanque que habían de inutilizar, bailando una macabra danza a su derredor, bajo las trepidaciones de los proyectiles de la artillería pesada, fueron quedando los tanques eliminados de las contiendas. Acudieron más tanques en su auxilio. Y de los completamente averiados salieron sus conductores, aunque unas ráfagas de las ametralladoras propias, dirigidas oportuna y certeramente en el momento del traslado de uno a otro tanque, los liquidase.

No se pudo impedir el rescate de algunos de ellos durante la noche. A remolque los tuvieron que sacar. Las ametralladoras del enemigo bastan aquel trozo de terreno. El intenso fuego de los monstruos de acero también impide toda aproximación. Pero lo esencial, lo verdaderamente importante, se había cumplimentado al finalizar la jornada; la primera línea continuaba invariable. Sus hombres, sin comer —esos días no da tiempo para permitirse ciertos lujos—, calados hasta los huesos por el agua y la nieve caída al mediodía, mantuvieron hasta el último momento su elevada moral y espíritu combativo en la trinchera, donde quedó escrito con su sangre el NO PASARÁN.

EXPERIENCIA DE LA LUCHA.

Alguien creerá por lo relatado, que las bajas habidas en nuestras filas serían numerosas. Nada de ello. Fueron escasas. A estas alturas no es posible creer en milagros. Los milagros quedan para los que estando en guerra trabajan poco. Y en este frente se ha trabajado de firme. La resistencia ha sido posible por las fortificaciones, aparte el espíritu de los combatientes y la ejemplaridad de sus mandos. Sin ello es imposible hacer retroceder cuatro veces a un enemigo muy superior en elementos bélicos. He aquí el "milagro". Lo hago resaltar para que oficiales, comisarios, y soldados no lo olviden. El soldado tiene la misión ineludible de fortificar. Defiende su vida, la de los demás y posibilita la victoria. Los mandos han de obligar a que se cumpla ampliamente con este imperativo de la guerra, fortificar. Continuando con las derivaciones de los combates sostenidos con el enemigo en este sector, cobren la satisfacción de haber podido coger a los facciosos uno de los tanques que quedaron averiados en medio de ambas líneas, pintada su torreta con la bandera monárquica, y otros dos que aun quedan en terreno propio. Verlos centenares de cadáveres facciosos hincados enterrados por los soldados del Ejército Popular y a los cuales se les ha recogido interesante documentación.

Por tres evadidos asturianos hemos sabido que seis tanques trasladaron los facciosos a su retaguardia, transportándolos en camiones, inutilizados. El número de bajas sufridas por los invasores, según la versión de estos muchachos, se eleva a más de mil, casi todas pertenecientes al regimiento de S. Quintín y del Tercio.

Frente de Levante, Abril, 1938.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May 7, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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21031

FRAGUA SOCIAL, miércoles 4 de mayo 38.

EDITORIAL

UN MANDATO DE ACCION QUE HAY QUE CUMPLIR.

Las jornadas obreras han revestido este Primero de Mayo en todo el mundo una significación especial e importantísima. El proletariado internacional ha puesto en primera línea la cuestión de la ayuda inmediata a España. Más que nunca el sentimiento de solidaridad, la evidencia de que nuestra causa es la causa de los trabajadores, se ha hecho patente en las grandes manifestaciones realizadas. Millones de obreros han desfilado levantando la bandera de la ayuda a España y de la acción contra el fascismo.

Ya no se puede negar cuál es el deseo ferviente de las grandes masas de productores de todos los países. Constituiría ello una insigne torpeza. Los hechos están a la vista y hablan con elocuencia ruda y descarnada. Las internacionales obreras tienen que recoger el gran espíritu que inspiró las manifestaciones de este Primero de Mayo y resolverse a transformarlo en una acción decisiva de solidaridad y de ayuda práctica. Si no se obra con rapidez en esta dirección, se crearía un hondo divorcio entre los millones de obreros internacionalmente organizados y sus actuales representantes. Los trabajadores comprenden instintivamente, que la inacción es la derrota y no quieren ser derrotados. Quieren detener al fascismo ahora y vencerlo, antes de que éste domine todas las oposiciones y anule las posibilidades defensivas y ofensivas que aún conserva la clase obrera. He aquí el sentido concreto de este Primero de Mayo, que se traduce en un mandato de lucha que los dirigentes de las internacionales tienen que convertir en realidad.

¿Cómo puede el proletariado prestarnos ayuda? Sancionando, entrando en acción hasta imponer a sus respectivos Gobiernos la venta libre de armas a España. Pueda ser que al- guien se asuste de esta fórmula verdadera y única. Puede ser que también que sea juzgada como excesivamente simplista. Pues con esta fórmula respondió el proletariado español a la traición militar-fascista, y gracias a ella los dictadores no solo no han vencido, sino que serán derrotados en toda línea. En cambio, el proletariado alemán sufre a estas alturas las funestas consecuencias de su renuncia a la acción salvadora. El prudente legalitarismo que se apartaba de la lucha de masas y fiaba tan sólo en la eficacia de la representación parlamentaria fué completamente derrotado por la doctrina y los hechos de fuerza que constituyen la base del fascismo.

El proletariado comprende que ha llegado la hora de obrar. Que solamente los hechos operan con fuerza determinante sobre la historia, y la transforman. Tiene, para guiar sus pasos, un ejemplo magnífico en España. Ejemplo de lucha y de unidad. Nuestra A.I.T. ha señalado los puntos precisos y sobre los que podría cimentarse una acción de ayuda urgente y efectiva, que sería a la vez una acción de auto-defensa del proletariado internacional y de salvaguardia de las libertades mínimas conferidas por los regímenes democráticos a los pueblos.

Agrupar las fuerzas sindicalmente organizadas de todos los países en un solo frente de combate contra el fascismo, y movilizar en todos los continentes a los trabajadores para forzar a los Gobiernos a poner fin a la farsa de No Intervención es todo un programa de ayuda a España y de lucha efectiva contra las fuerzas negras del despotismo. El Secretariado de la A.I.T. en el manifiesto que con motivo del Primero de Mayo dirigió a los trabajadores de todos los países, recordaba, además,

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la necesidad imperiosa de establecer ayuda inmediata a nuestro país. En el desarrollo de los acontecimientos internacionales pese muy poco la voluntad de los pueblos. Y es que éstos se han inhibido de toda intervención activa en ellos, abandonando el derecho de decidir a las fuerzas del capitalismo y de la extrema reacción fascista. Pero cuando un pueblo, el español, supo defenderse valerosamente en defensa de su libertad, hemos podido ver al momento hasta qué punto su acción se convierte en piedra clave de la suerte de Europa. Pues bien: Las Internacionales tienen que decidir de acuerdo con el mandato que representa la voluntad de millones de obreros organizados, manifestada a través de los mítines del Primero de Mayo. Y esta voluntad condena rotundamente a la No Intervención y exige con clamor formidable: *¡Armas para la España Republicana!*

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21034

De "Fregua Social" -7-5-38.

(En la División 28 -Antigua Columna "Francisco Asenso").

EL NIDO DESHECHO

No se trata de un nido de amor, plumas y besos, antecala de la vida, continuación de la especie. Es el nido de la muerte y a la muerte dedicado. No survidades de pluma; el pellizcos de tierra dura y lije de cemento. No calor y embriaguez de besos; el, fregua en frío, que da y recibe, acero y hierro, trepidando la locura de los odios...

Simulación de paz en un reflector de guerra. Es la caza del hombre.

El pespunte de los proyectiles ha rodeado con un collar de circunferenciales fosas la silenciosa fregua.

Orugas blindadas avanzan al són de su armadura. Orugas carnívoras que muerden a distancia. La ondulada trinchera ha sido enfilada por sus negros cuernos.

La ametralladora, acurrucada en su nido, se ahoga de escupir fuego por su desdentada boca.

- - - - -

Juan Madrid García, teniente de la sección. Simpático extremeño. Se evadió de las filas facciosas en Septiembre de 1936. Allí era cabo y aprobado para sargento. En la 125 Brigada estuvo brillantemente en cuantas operaciones aquella intervino. Un proyectil disparado por el cañón del tanque más próximo, le entró por la espalda.

Siguió la ametralladora acertando en la infantería enemiga.

Juan Asensio, cabo de la misma, resulta herido. Seguidamente, venciendo mil obstáculos, se le traslada al puesto de socorro.

Federico Grau, primer proveedor, hace vibrar la cinta infinita de la Insaciable. Otro cañonazo, Muchos cañonazos. El nido es localizado. Gravemente herido, Grau queda, tumbado en la trinchera betida.

José Sendra, segundo proveedor, emoción desesperada en su pupiles, oprime contra su pecho la caldeada fregua, cementerio de enfrente.

Cae Sendra, para siempre, bajo trozos de cemento, con gesto de rabia, en sus puños cerrados.

Vicente Verele, soldado, español residente en Francia y venido voluntariamente a luchar contra los invasores, reinicia el fuego con la máquina, polvo y fiebre en cuerpo de tartemudo.

Ya quedó roto el ritmo de la continuidad. El nido ha saltado en pequeños pedruzcos. Valera recibió mecánica sepultura. Los monstruos de pies encadenados roncaban al borde del deshecho nido.

- - - - -

Aún quedaban más hombres.

Mateo Gilar, reclute, recibió su bautismo de guerra. Mientras los otros habiense dedicado, necesariamente, a la ametralladora, él lanzaba bombas contra los tanques al grito de /Viva la República/

Aquello no era humano, ni heroico, ni sublime; era el momento único en que el hombre, elevándose por encima de la vida y de la muerte, inconscientemente, quizás, obra sin saber cómo ni por qué.

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21035

-3-

De "Frague Social" -7-5-38.

Francisco Adam, otro recluta, en un ángulo de la trinchera, sostenía en sus brazos la cabeza del primer tirador, Grau.

¿Habéis visto una película de la Gran Guerra? Rememoradla un instante. Mentalmente reconstruíd la escena. Y vejo un aire de hierro, temblor de explosiones y angustia, de vencido sin esperanza, sangrando y percibiendo un rumor de voces cada vez más cercanas, Grau, con las pupilas chispeantes; gritó más que dijo al recluta:

-/Mátame/ /Que no me cojan vivo/....

Adam temblaba de emoción y de miedo...

Gilar seguía arrojando bombas contra el tanque, ya tocado y alejado de lo que nido fue...

Las voces ser percibieron claramente: /Viva el Ejército Popular/ /Viva la República/

Grau cerró los ojos. El recluta lloraba sobre él. Saltaba la trinchera una compañía de soldados del pueblo.

- - - - -

Cuando lo trasladaron al puesto de socorro, por los illesos reclutas, Grau dijo:

-En dos minutos he vivido los dos extremos de las emociones: de desesperación y de alegría.

Los dos reclutas, con Grau y Asensio, son los supervivientes heroicos del nido de hierro, pero cuya fragua sigue quemando las entrañas del adversario.

Frente de Levante, Mayo 1938.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 8, Beaconsfield [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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RECEIVED MAY 10 1938

8th May, 1938

Dear Emma Goldman,

I am not quite satisfied with the poem, but I enclose a copy and you may print it in Spain and the World if you like it well enough. The translation of Berneri's epode, of which I also send a copy, was done from the French. If I could see a copy of the Spanish I might be able to make it more exact.

I will try and do something for your friends who are running "Vanguard" and "Challenge", but they (or you!) must not press me too hard. Could I first see copies of the magazines, to get an idea of the kind of article that would be suitable. Are they both American?

I was sorry not to see a bigger audience the other night. It was an excellent programme - perhaps too good for such a large hall and the apathetic English.

Yours sincerely,

Herbert Read

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 9 [London to] Abe [Bluestein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.
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17877

9th May 1938.

My dear Abe,

Your letter of 16th April reached me last week in the midst of shoals of work for the concert as per the enclosed programme. Like last year when we worked day and night for the concert we had to go through the same ~~hard~~ odds, only with far poorer results. I am sorry to say that the concert was not a financial success.

I am sending you copies of recent letters to comrades which will give you an idea of our continued hardships. The conspiracy of silence goes on, no matter what we undertake it is insidiously interfered with; but that is an old story and need not be rehashed. It is only that I have come to the conclusion that I am really not doing much good for our comrades in Spain. Actually I feel that my name here is doing them more harm than good. I wish to goodness that our people would not be so obsessed that we are, comrades Barr and myself, are achieving something. They would then let me go back to Spain. Believe me my dear I would rather be in a field kitchen, taking care of children, or doing any other job, than go through the humiliation of begging to get some damned highbrow to help us in our work. True we have attracted a few young workers; but they of course cannot help us in any material way which the comrades in Spain are so desperately in need of. Nevertheless it is gratifying to be able to tell the comrades in America that we have at last attracted a half a dozen of young people. I don't know that anything will come of them; but we are doing our utmost to help them in every way, so that they can reach others fields of workers, which we seem to be unable to do. For the rest as I said the enclosures will give you an idea of the struggle and the difficulties we are having.

I am delighted my dear to see that you have finally pulled yourself together, and have gotten a better perspective of the tragic events in Spain. I know that you have ability and spirit, and that you could do a great deal for our ideas, as well as for our comrades who are now fighting with their backs to the wall. I never doubted for a moment but that you would come out on top. Time heals many wounds, and it also teaches us to be more patient and have an understanding with things that seem to us were wrong - like huge waves rushing over us. That does not mean that you or I have to approve all that our comrades have done. In point of fact I do not approve; but at this critical hour I feel that there is nothing to be done but to stand by them to the last.

I am glad to hear that you are planning the publication of a weekly paper. I am a little anxious whether you will be able to keep it up. It seems that Vanguard and the Spanish Revolution are having a desperate struggle, and the paper you plan will only be an additional burden to carry; but no for worlds would I want to discourage you. Perhaps you will succeed where others have failed. It is worth trying.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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17878

About your contributors you already have. I am a little doubtful about their integrity. Take for instance Anita Bronner. She has had a half a dozen changes of heart. Not that I believe that people cannot honestly change. I am only suspicious of her rapidity of changes. When anyone can easily give up one idea for another it is not safe to bank too much on her; but here again I am too far removed to be able to judge whether the contributors will really make your paper stand out as a distinctive personality and with definite ideas.

I am quite willing to let you have the names and addresses of our sponsors; but I warn you that they are mere ornaments, at least most of them, and I am quite certain that they will not write for your paper, certainly not when they have seen its makeup and what it stands for. I have discovered that English people are willing enough to have their names put on paper; but they never raise a finger to inconvenience themselves or do anything for one or for what their names are supposed to be sponsoring. I would not advise you to approach them until you can also send along a copy of your paper for their consideration. The only man of the whole group, or rather the only two people of the whole group, who might be willing to contribute, would be Ethel Mannin and Herbert Read; but I cannot ask them because I have pestered them for contributions for Spain & The World. That is just the tragedy of Spain & The World - it has no contributors, and since I am here and affiliated with the paper, and I feel that my efforts must go to help Spain & The World, rather than round up people, even if I had any hope of succeeding, for something published in the U.S.A.

I am here now at work on an article for Vanguard to refute the scurrilous attacks and charges of Trotsky and his disciples against the heroic sailors in Kronstadt. Later on if I have time and your paper is started on its way, I might be able to write you some little thing; but don't bank upon me as a regular contributor.

I have told Reechioni about your need of Spain & The World. We will remind him again and see whether he has sent you a set since last September, if not we will send it to you. from

Please get a copy of Rucker's Anarcho-Syndicalism for the Fr Arb Stimme. They must by this time received 25 copies from the publishers. Regarding your own orders for copies, it would be best for you to write to Secker & Warburg, 22 Essex Street, Strand, London, W.C.2. They will give you discount of course. They may want immediate payment on delivery. You had better write them, and if you wish you could use my name.

There is nothing else for the present. As I said the enclosures will explain many things.

Give my love to Selma, and all the comrades who still remember me.

Etta and Barr both wish to send their affections to you both.

Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 9 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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17089

May 9th 38

Dearest Ethel. I did not write you because I knew you were engaged on some new work. And I myself was at work on an article against Trotskys renewed columny of the Kronstadt sailors. His mean attack and one by his disciple John G. Wright appeared in THE NEW INTERNATIONAL Trotskys official paper. The Anarchist comrades in New York who are publishing the monthly VAGUARD cabled me for a reply. Writing has never come easy to me. I have already worked three days and the night from Thursday to yesterday and ~~the article is still~~ far from completion. Its on the way now. I hope to make the final revision tomorrow then have it typed Monday and send it off on Wedays sailing. Anyhow I am free to day so do want to answer your last letter and a few others that have accumulated.

I am sorry to have hurt the feelings of your and Regis's Oacufist friends. I admit I felt all choked up with bitterness about the indifference which meets everything I undertake. Of all the thousand of people our bulletin and letters must have reached to see so few was too great a blow to take it good naturadely. No doubt my voice sounded too militant though I did not premeditate to make it so. In point of truth I had not the remotest intention to speak when I got to the theatre. Thats why it is so stupid of the ILP_srs to raise the point that I had objects to the children appearing more than once and then take twenty minutes for myself. In other words that I purposely objected ~~in~~ that the children should be given so much time because I intended to take time for my speech. They did not say so in so many words but that is their insinuation which I think is pretty rotten in view of the fact that they left all the work, all the responsibility and all the anxiety to us selling just six cheap seats ~~in~~ the comfort able feeling that they will get their twenty percent as promised. I rat rather think it in very ~~much~~ bad taste for them to have found fault. I am not surprised about the poor help given by the ILP srs. The did a similar thing last year about our meeting in Friends House. Every one of fifty half crown tickets were held back to the last day without one being sold. Yes they did sell a few shilling tickets and then they chabed in their twenty percent. I ~~am~~ am merely mentioning this because I am beginning to think they consider us just good enough to do the ~~heavy~~ heavy work while they show not the slightest interest in doing their share to help. In addition they presume to critise. I

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17098

really think this a bit too thick.

About the children I did not object to them appearing twice I objected to them appearing ~~two~~ thirty minutes at a stretch. And I believe you agreed with me that it was too long. In any event I had no ulterior motive for my objections. As I have already told you I had no intention of speaking and would not have done so if Stella had not pressed. She insisted that people want to hear me and should hear me to get rid of their prejudice against me and against Anarchism. And God knows there is enough of both. You bet if I had known it the rumpus ~~in~~ my ~~speech~~ speaking aroused I should not have gone on the platform.

As regards Whittles I think "egle" is making the same mistake about him as he did when he was so alarmed about your speaking at his Hall. Whittles though a Pacifist seems to be a man who earnestly believes in the right of free speech whatever it may express. And I doubt very much that he was either "shocked" or disturbed by what I said. Housman, I dare say he would have run out. He seems to be a very timid soul and not particularly touched or moved by what goes on in the world, especially Spain. When a man knows that women and children are being massacred and tells you "it is bothersome to come up to London" to an affair ~~which~~ arranged for the refugees still left alive by Franco ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ his sympathies ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ but skin deep. Yes, he contributed twenty pounds and I appreciate even that. But do you think this differs from the charity of the rich who by a large contribution to the poor make themselves believe they have done their duty? It's the easiest and most comfortable way to make amends.

As you say "it's over now anyhow". But the whole affair convinces me once more that I am not the person to do much good for my Spanish comrades. I cannot crawl and trim and wait on everybody's passions or fads. I am actually doing the CNT FAI and the Sia more harm than good. I have written them to this effect and have asked them to let me go back to Spain. A thousand times rather would I work in the field kitchen, or nurse the wounded or take care of the children, or any labor than continue pleading, bagging, humiliating myself to get the least help. It's only making me wretched and ill and it does not bring results. As to the danger that is the least consideration. Besides if the comrades in Spain can face it and are determined to go down in the struggle I see no reason for me to remain in safety. I have written them all that and if they consent which I fervently hope they will I will go at once.

My dear you said you might let Hammersmith make a drawing of you. He is awfully keen on it. Do you think you can spare the time? I do not think he will need many sittings. Don't let the fact that you are short in cash hold you back. He does not expect to be paid. Later when you feel a bit relieved financially you can send him a gift.

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17091

Have you read Orwell's book HOMAGE TO CATALONIA, It is beautifully written and the first work of deep feeling and sincerity. And it is also the first work that breaks the conspiracy of silence against the Anarchists and the POUM. It shows up the criminal sabotage of the Aragon front by the Communist gang which has contributed a great deal to the failure of our side. I want to review it when I have finished the article on Kronstadt.

I think we shall have three reviews of your WOMEN AND REVOLUTION. I understand Victor Serge is writing one. Steinberg called me up yesterday to say he was enchanted with your book and he wants to review it. I told him to go ahead. And then I sent the book to Rooker for review. Well we will take the best we will receive and we will let VABOUARD have one review.

With love

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez
[and] Pedro Herrera. — 2 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.
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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica
Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 554. E.

BARCELONA, den 9. Mai 1938.

An das Propagandabüro der C.N.T.-F.A.I. in England.
L o n d o n .

Werte Genossin Emma Goldman!

Wir bestaetigen den Empfang Deines Schreibens vom
19. April.

Wir haben S.I.A. die Nachrichten, welche sich auf die-
selbe beziehen, übermittelt. Eure Arbeit erweist uns mit Ge-
nugthuung und wir sehen voraus, dass das Abendkonzert, welches am
29. v. M. stattgefunden haben wird, Erfolg seitigte.

Wir freuen uns über Euren Mut, Geld zu verlangen, um
Waffen für Spanien zu kaufen. Wir glauben, dass trotz allem die
Anstrengungen nicht vergebens sein werden und die Sache ausstehen-
der, wenn sie mit den verschiedenen Manifestationen, die in Eng-
land gegen die Regierung unternommen werden, übereinstimmen
werden. Tatsächlich, es reicht immer eins, gegen den alle
Aktionen zu richten sind, um ihn vom seinem Podest zu stürzen,
dass es einnimmt, ist Ghandi sein. Wenn Ghandi sein stürzt, so
kann sich die Situation ein wenig - was für uns viel bedeutet-
ende. Und dass kann durch eine Regierung der Arbeiterpartei
geschehen - ohne dass wir uns allzu viele Illusionen darüber in-
machen hätten. Wir wiederholen jedoch, dass es wichtig ist, den
ersten Schritt zu tun. Versucht deshalb, in dieser Aufgabe übere-
einstimmen, wenn auch die Uebereinstimmung uns scheinbar mit
Elementen eint, die im Grunde genommen unsere Feinde sind, wie
bei den Arbeitern der Fall ist. Es ist unweifelhaft, dass ein

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez
[and] Pedro Herrera. — 2 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.
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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

-2-

Lloyd George im Kriegsministerium auf Grund der Auffassung, die er von den internationalen militärischen Problemen hat, uns in unsern Kampf gegen Deutschland und Italien begünstigen würde.

Was die Gefangenen anbetrifft, so hat der Genosse Vázquez von Renner Brockway, Präsident der Unabhängigen Arbeiterpartei, einen Brief erhalten, in welchem letzterer ersucht, dass man sich über diese Frage interessiere, eine Liste der Gefangenen beizulegen. Gen. Vázquez sandte ein Schreiben an den Außenminister, die Freilassung der Antifaschisten verlangend, und es wird Brockway und auch neue uns resultat veranlassungen. Seid versichert, dass wir uns diese Frage annehmen und uns die Gefangenen in Freilassung gesetzt werden, wenn auch nicht so schnell, wie wir es wünschen.

Unsere Situation ist schwierig, aber die Stimmung sinkt nicht. Man kann feststellen, dass die feindliche Offensive augenblicklich zum Stillstand gekommen ist. Die Moral des Volkes ist zur Zeit in Katalonien, ebenso in der Levante und in "hinteren Gebieten", ohne Madrid zu erwähnen, welches weiterhin so begeistert wie immer ist.

Man kann folglich behaupten, dass das spanische Volk seinen Kampf entschlossen weiterläuft; alle Berechnungen des Zusammenbruchs und der Vernichtung sind illusorisch, wenn sie verfliegen, wenn sie mit der Wirklichkeit unseres Widerstandes und unserer Moral zusammenstoßen.

Se grüßen Sie herzlich:

Das Komitee der F.A.I.

Für das K.-Komitee der U.S.S.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

COMITE PENINSULA
Relaciones Exteriores

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 10 [London to Vanguard, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

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17662

10th May, 1938.

Dear Comrades,

It is a long time since I found it so difficult to do an article as the one you cabled for. Actually I have been at it for a week. I have re-written it three times and I could not have sent it to-day if it were not for my very efficient secretary who has been at work typing the article for nearly four hours. The fact of the matter is that there are so many lies in the two articles by Wright and Trotsky that it would require a series of articles to expose them. As it is I ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ fear the article herein enclosed will prove entirely too long, although I have left out a number of statements which really needed to be answered, such as Trotsky's declaration that the ~~xxx~~ workers of Petrograd understood the revolutionary nature of Kronstadt and therefore refused to come to the rescue. He conveniently forgets that Petrograd was put under martial law and that everything at the command of State was put into play to make it impossible for the workers to respond. There are other things, for instance the reference to Victor Serge who is supposed to have stated that once the Kronstadt ~~xxxxx~~ sailors were in the mutiny there was nothing else for the Soviet Government to do but to crush it. I mean to write you a letter later on and treat these two points because they reflect the falsehood of all the other statements.

Dear comrades, you will see that I refer the reader to the Resolution of the sailors, which they will find at the end of the article, but I cannot possibly have it typed now. I therefore return Comrade Berkman's pamphlet and I strongly suggest that you should have it appear as I promised. I want a number of people to receive Vanguard when the article appears. I will send you their names and addresses later on.

As I said, I feel my article has grown too long, and yet I do not know how it can be shortened. However, I must leave it to your judgment.

With best wishes to all of you,
Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 10, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Germinal de Sousa. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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19299

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

vía durruti, 30, 6.º teléfono 19573

comité peninsular

relaciones exteriores

n.º 1

barcelona, den 10. Mai 1938.

Werte Genossin Emma Goldman:

Am 5. d. M. sandten wir auch eine Note vertraulichen Charakters, in welcher wir den Genossen im Ausland die Stellungnahme erklärten, welche wir in Bezug auf die Regierungserklärung unser "die Ziele des Krieges", die diese verfolgt, einnehmen. Wir nehmen an, dass eine besagte Dokument sich in Ihren Händen befindet, weshalb wir uns in vorliegendem Brief jede Bemerkung bezüglich der Angelegenheit ersparen.

Wir wollen hier lediglich unsere Absichten beim Versenden der erwähnten Note erklären. Wir wollen, dass die internationale Freiheitliche Bewegung so gut wie möglich über die Vorgänge, die grössere Bedeutung aufweisen, und die sich im Verlauf unseres Kampfes ereignen, unterrichtet sei, Vorgänge, die unsere Taktik und die faktische Aktion unmittelbar betreffen. Es ist notwendig, dass die Genossen der übrigen Länder sich mit den Umständen vertraut machen, unter denen auch wir hier handeln, ebenso wie die Motive, welche uns veranlassen, eine bestimmte Haltung einzunehmen. Wir sind uns der grossen geschichtlichen Verantwortlichkeit, welche auf der Freiheitlichen spanischen Bewegung lastet, voll und bewusst und wissen, dass sie in grosser Mergen ebenso die Freiheitlichen Hoffnungen der ganzen Welt berührt. Aus Gründen besserer Solidarität können wir in diesen Momenten nicht mit einer intensiven materiellen Hilfe der Genossen der übrigen Länder rechnen; wir glauben jedoch, auf der anderen Seite auf eine ausgezeichnete moralische Solidarität rechnen zu können, welche natürlich nicht die Verhältnisse der Auffassungen über unsere Situation ausschliesst, welche wir während des langen Zeitraumes des Krieges und der Revolution an den Tag legen.

Mit dem Zweck, auch Material, das Ihnen erlaubt, ein Urteil zu fällen, zur Verfügung zu stellen, werden wir auch unsere dem allgemeinen Informationsmaterial, welches die Oficina de Propaganda Exterior versendet, immer wenn die Umstände es erfordern, Informationen und Erklärungen vertraulichen Charakters zusenden, welches ausserordentlich für die Militanten bestimmt ist. Auch in diesem Zusammenhang, vertraulich zu behandeln.

Um das Urteil kennen zu lernen, welche Ihr über unsere Handlungsweise fasst, ersuchen wir zu kommen; versuchen wir auch unsere Bitte, dass Ihr uns jedes dieser Dokumente beantwortet, uns Ihre Eindrücke über den Inhalt derselben und alle Anregungen, die Ihr für angereicht haltet, mitteilend. So erwarten wir, dass Ihr dieses so bald wie möglich in Hinsicht auf die oben erwähnte Note macht.

Empfangt unsere ergeblichen Grüsse

Für das Peninsulare Komitee der F.A.I.

St. der ...

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17465
Dell
near Baldock, Herts.

Der Dr. Adman.

Thank you so much for your letter. I have just been to see my husband & found him feeling very well. This doesn't unfortunately mean that his lungs have healed but it does mean that he can thoroughly enjoy visits, as he did Ethel Mannin's as he will yours if you can make one. He is supposed to rest completely at the beach until 2.15 but any time between then & 6, when he is washed, he can see people.

I am so glad. I liked the book. It seems to be being boycotted to some extent but not so completely as we expected. The C.P. & the Popular Front generally are so vocal & their choruses are, as usual, want them, so

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[Letter] 1938 May 10, Wallington [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Eileen Blair. — 4 p. ; 14 × 9 cm.

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17466

efficiently produced that we also depend
of making any other line of work. Of
course an individualist (which my
husband vigorously denies as a rule
but he is a individualist!) doesn't
not to complain of feeling alone in the
world but it is sometimes depressing,
especially when we is deafened by
all this community noise. I do
believe however that there are actually
many thousands of people feeling
just the same. Unless people are
already converted to Communism I
hardly always find the sympathetic
towards Anarcho. Syndicalism - as
presented by me I mean, because most
of them have a clear picture of an
anarchist as a man who gets up at
midday to throw bombs - the afternoon
before getting drunk at night. The
press as a whole is inquisitorial.
The Telegraph the other day
mentioned France's difficulties in
dealing with the refugees, among

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13467

when 'letting' has broken out! I dare
say it has, but the Telegraph's
explanation is that the refugees
include 'a number of anarchists'!
And when Leida was first attacked
the lens. Chronicle had the astounding
story that the first shot had been
fired from Catalonia against the
Fascists. I suppose the anarchists of
Catalonia had driven the Fascists out
of the province before the N.C. knew
there was a war on, but the same
troops advanced unaided across
Aragon as far as Huesca & Zaragoza,
& that fighting lasted as long until
October 1936.

Thank you very much for the
copies of Spain the world. I sent
them straight on by the same postman
but hope Eric will send them back
to me to read. This reminds me

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17468

that Sue (i.e. my husband, whose
real name is Sue Blair) thought
that Herbert Read might be inter-
ested in part of Emma's collection
asked me to let him know of it
check it, but I don't know Herbert
Read's address. I wonder whether
you would be very kind to forward
the enclosed note to him?

Yours sincerely

Eileen Blair.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 10, Fall River, Mass. [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Roger Hall.— 3 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

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1627 Robson St.
Fall River, Mass. 17692
5/10/38.
E.G. Colton
c/o C.N.T.-F.A.I. Office
21 Frith St.- Shastebury Ave.
London. W.I. England.

Dear Comrade Goldman:

For some months I have been much disturbed over the problem of violence or non-violence in their relation to our ideal. Since I am entirely isolated in this Catholic-dominated city and have no means of discussing the problem with a group of comrades, and since I have such a great respect and admiration for you as the absentee leader of the American movement I thought that I would write you and see if you couldn't help me to settle a problem that is quite an important one to me.

X It has seemed to me that the use of violence to achieve anarchism is a paradox for it would necessitate a domination of the anarchists over their opponents in order to consolidate the gains won, and would therefore I should think be a direct negation of all we are striving for.

From a tactical viewpoint, militant non-violent resistance seems to be the only type of struggle that would leave our enemy absolutely powerless if attempted by a resolute minority of anarchists.

X If the anarchists were, through a social upheaval, to attempt through a violent struggle to win a country of the magnitude of the U.S.A. with its antagonistic middle class and an apathetic (to our ideal) proletariat I fear that a civil war three times ~~as~~ as destructive as the present Spanish war would be the result, and such chaos would ensue that the winners would possess only a devastated land and would then be forced to the necessity of setting up some sort of repressive agency in lieu of that destroyed. Assuming that such a conflict did occur, it must be relegated to a far distant future until such times as our ideas have spread and leavened the masses. Otherwise they would fling themselves to the bosom of the Authoritarian Socialists. Assuming that the repressive agency was the outcome for a transitional period, what assurance have we that a second Russian bureaucracy (American style) would not emerge? We ourselves have repeatedly

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asserted that power corrupts. 17693

I have not spoken of the ethical side of the matter. We will both concede, I guess, that other things being equal it is better if possible, more ethical to desist from violence ~~and to~~ than to indulge in it. I am not horrified at the thought of violence. Our Spanish comrades must be aided every way with in our power and for them it is right that every means and method of force be used to beat Franco. The conflict once begun violently cannot be revoked and must be fought to the bitter end. So when I speak of militant non-violent resistance I am asking if, in the future this tactical approach will not achieve greater results?

I have felt that if we were to spend half as much time in educating our comrades to the theory and tactics of the non-v. r. policy that we now do in anticipating the resisting by force of government, we could attain far greater results with a minimum loss of our comrades. For only a minority is needed for the governments to be at a total loss as to how to handle these people who entirely disregard the state, will not pay taxes, serve in the army or police force, legislatures or on juries, and who practice the boycott and the strike etc. And these are tactics that we can use now, immediately in the present.

It will take courage, in some respects more courage than the old method. It will appeal less to the imagination. But anarchists have never lacked courage. This type of resistance will be the modern, "propaganda of the deed"

Although a fairly new method of striving, much has accomplished by such groups as the Irish land league, the Quakers in their struggle for civil rights, by the followers of Gandhi, by the Dukhobors, by the Hungarians against the Austrians when trying to win parliamentary rights under a Dual Monarchy.

These methods have not all been successful and certainly their aims are quite dissimilar to ours but it seems to me that much more has and will be accomplished by non-violent forms of resistance than has been through the centuries by violence, as the pathetic murders and massacres of our comrades through the world by governments in the past 75 years has shown.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 10, Fall River, Mass. [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Roger Hall. — 3 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

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II

17694

I write you this as a young comrade wishing to be informed, who has no fanatical desire to cling to either the one course or the other, but who has written down conclusions that have seemed to him for want of better evidence to show that the non-violent method is preferable.

You have been in the movement for many years and have no doubt heard all these arguments before. You must therefore have reasons for declining to accept such a conclusion. In your books you have shown yourself tremendously tolerant and I know that whatever feelings you may have on the matter are sincere ones untouched by mere blindness.

May I apologise to you for writing you, who I imagine have very few moments of your own and asking you if you could in a few sentences help me by giving your versions/ of the matter. Please do not feel that you are wasting your time in writing a single individual who has never distinguished himself in the movement in any great extent. I could have written to Clara Fredricks of the "Vanguard" but I feel that she is no doubt floundering around as I am.

I send you my sincerest greetings and deepest regrets that you have not been able to come back here so that I, and others who were too young to have known you when you left might be able to express personally our great affection for you, the mother of our movement in the states.

Comradely

Roger Hall

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 11, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona (fragment)] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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S · I · A

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London Office:
21, FRITH STREET,
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,
LONDON, W.1.
11th May 1938.

Telephone: GELand 2404

My dear Martin,

I am sorry to have delayed answering your No. 571. It found me in the midst of the drudgery for our concert and literary evening we had arranged and right on top of it I had to start on an article in answer to the renewed dispicable attack on the Kronstad sailors by Trotsky and one of his followers. The article turned out to be enough for a pamphlet. It is to appear in our monthly magazine in New York "Vanguard". I don't know what the comrades are going to do about it as it is certainly too long for the magazine. I am sending you a copy so that you will know what it all about. Anyway I was busy until yesterday so that you can see that the first free moment I have I am writing to you, dictating to our comrade Ralph Barr.

I am glad that you have received all the things I have sent you; but terribly sorry that "Living My Life" has not reached you. I cannot understand why the comrade from Perpignan, when he brought it as far as Figueras could not bring it to Barcelona. It is too bad. I would send you another copy but it is too risky, and I of course cannot afford to have a second copy lost as well.

I wish I could send you encouraging news about the work for the S.I.A. or the C.N.T.-F.A.I.; but it is no use misleading you and the other comrades, or to mislead ourselves. We have actually worked harder this year than last. We have kept up and still are a large office with a large room for meetings, exhibitions and now for a reading room; but honestly we could have had the same results from 18 Gastletown Road with half the expense. We do not regret that we have gone into offices. At least we do not have the excuse that the place I lived before was out of the way and difficult to reach. However it would not be fair to say that our office brought absolutely no result. We did succeed in attracting a group of young people interested in Anarcho-Syndicalism and in Anarchism as such. It is really the first group of youngsters in the anarchist activities in this country for a long time. There is a saying in English that hopes springs internal - so we are hoping that something may come from these young people - that they may really develop into real serious active anarchists. That would be worth all the drudgery and worry we went through and the expense; but that is to be seen of course.

I am sorry to say that our entertainment for the S.I.A. while it paid expenses will probably leave very little. You see we

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2.
have to share 20% with the I.J.P. and the actual receipts apart from the collection do not cover the expenses. We have to do what we have always had to do that is to take part of the collection of £50 to cover the deficit.

As to the C.N.T. it is still far from known in this country; but it has certainly been made known to at least 5,000 of the organised workers. We have distributed to them your material, the structure of the C.N.T.— the C.N.T. and U.G.T. proposals and the agreement arrived at between the C.N.T. and U.G.T. True the response does not measure up in the least with the labour and expense but we did have a dozen or so replies and requests for more material, and we think that our labour has had some affect on some of the workers.

I attended a conference on Spain called by the so popular front where actually some of the trade union branches representatives called for a general strike and direct action. Inasmuch as this has never before been done, at least for a number of years, we really rather feel that our labour among them may be the source; but that too is for the future to demonstrate.

You will be amused about the conference. Directly we read about it taking place I wrote asking for a delegate card. I sent my Spanish mandate that Vasquez gave me and they sent me a card as a consultative delegate. At the session it was announced from the platform that anyone having suggestion to make might send their names up, which I promptly did; but of course I was never called upon to speak, make suggestions or consulted in any way. In fact my presence was kept secret and so was the existence of the C.N.T. In point of fact the assembly was called together by the communists and their sympathisers for the purpose of creating a popular front. Spain was only the peg upon which this scheme was hung. You see therefore the opposition and the deliberate boycott all our work meets with. The following is an extract from a letter comrade Barr has received from an old anarchist miner comrade in South Wales and will show you the methods used.

"Some weeks ago the colliers on the Dulais Valley (about five or six thousand) finding that the coal they were cutting was being sent to Rebel ports in Spain decided to strike. Their local officials opposed this so they took the matter to the South Wales Miners Federation Executive, and they too opposed the contemplated action of the men, so, up to now they have remained at work. One of those who dictatorially ordered the men to take no action to show solidarity with our Spanish Fellow Workers was Horner the so-called communist"

I might add that Arthur Horner is a member of the Communist Party so is disciplined to take his orders from them in regard to his official position in the Miners Federation.

It is therefore to me pitiful that the comrades of the C.N.T. cling to the straw that the Labour Party or the Trade Unions are really undertaking decisive steps to help Spain.

I was surprised and amused that Vasquez sent a telegram to the Daily Herald for the 1st May; but did not consider it necessary to send the Bureau of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. a similar telegram.

Actually we were the only people in the demonstration and in Hyde Park who made the C.N.T. known and spoke of its needs,

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3

and of its heroic struggle. Nobody-else mentioned it.

must You understand dear Martin I am not saying this because anyone of us is ~~hard~~; but merely to point out the lack of appreciation of the real situation in this country on the part of some of our comrades. Yes our demonstration was most striking with its banners and slogans, and while it was numerically small it was nevertheless the most imposing.

sat Yesterday I received a letter in German from Herrera which made me very ~~glad~~ indeed. He writes that he is to leave the S.I.A. It is true that the comrade who is to replace him is an able a devoted comrade. I met Lucia Sanchaez Saornil. ~~I met this comrade~~ in Valencia and I was very much impressed with her personality; but the very fact that it is a woman replacing Herrera leads me to believe that he is going like Germinal went - into the consuming fire. Of all the Spanish comrades I have met on both visits Herrera impressed me as ~~the most faithful~~ and understanding comrade. Always ready to be of help and make one feel that everything one does is of importance. *to mark* I wonder what is going to happen to you my dear. I cannot bear to think that we are sacrificing so many of our best men; but I suppose it cannot be avoided.

I wish I too could be with all of you. No matter what, I have a feeling that I could be of more use than being here. I wonder whether the comrades would consent to me coming back to Spain. I don't want to be a burden or take away a piece of bread from those who need it so desperately; but I do get so discouraged from the lack of response in this country.

About the collection of books on Spain. There must be at least fifty and they price round from 3/6 to 10/- and 12/6½. One of the latest and most beautiful works is that by one of the young writers, George Orwell, who had served on the Arogon front for three months, and who lived through the May events of last year. It is the first book to do justice to the Anarchist-unreservedly so. We are going to have it reviewed in "Spain & The World" and we will send you a marked copy.

I am afraid I will not be able to ~~send~~ the complete list of all those books on Spain. We have received one which also includes the fascist writers. Would the comrades also want that. I think that comrade Recchioni has gathered a number of the books published on Spain. I will see if I can get a list from him.

About the film, we have really lost all hope of ever getting it here. True a short note I received from Elsie about ten days ago told me that Frank is coming and will bring the film; but I have heard it so often that I won't believe it until we see it here. That would be the only means of keeping up our work during the summer.

I am sending you some enclosures that will interest you.

With regard to Ruth I must impress upon you that her English is not good, although she is a devoted comrade. I hope you received the batch of papers I sent you through Mrs Adams.

This is all for the present.

With kind greetings to your companion and your secretary and fraternal greetings to you. *g*

over

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 May 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. —
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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

19360

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 22

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41



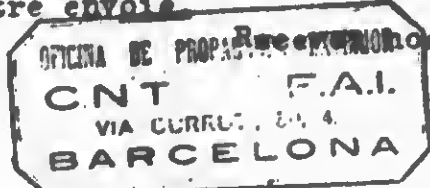
Camarade **EMMA GOLDMAN**,
Londres.

Barcelona, le 11 mai 1938.

Chère camarade,

Pendant les deux derniers mois nous avons remis à votre adresse 38 colis avec 8 albums chacun, soit 304 albums en total. Le prix de vente de cet album c'est de 10 frs.

Nous vous prions de bien vouloir faire parvenir le montant, 3.000 Frs., au Bureau de Presse et d'Information à Paris, nous communiquant votre envoi.



Recevez nos salutations bien fraternelles,
PAR LE BUREAU DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIEURE:

Martin Gudell

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 12, Boston [to] Emma G[oldman], London / Rose [Pesotta].--
2 p.; 21 x 17 cm.

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TELEPHONE HANDBOOK 1938

17363
PHILIP KRAMER, MANAGER

Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers Union

REPRESENTING LOCALS 12, 33, 66, 40, 60, 73 AND 80

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

A. F. of L.

OFFICE: 25 LA GRANGE STREET

BOSTON, MASS.

May 12, 1938

nicolo dex gun
27/34

E. G. Colton
21 Frith Street
Shaftesbury Ave.
London W 1

Dearest Emma:-

I hope by now your friend brought the package my mother left with him. I want you to understand that when I approached several people like President Dubinsky, Eleanor Herrick, Rose Schneiderman, etc, for suggestions in re: a visa, it was their opinion as individuals that you must approach the proper person in Washington who will not mind public criticism. If you recall the first visa was granted by an individual (who happens to be Cummings) to an individual who got the visa first and then a committee was formed. I was told that if someone influential would say the word, without making much noise about it, there may be a chance of getting the visa. However, if you think a committee would do better, it is OK with me. Carlo is the proper person to line up the people. I have so far the two Haggoods, Gardener Jackson, and Creighton Hill, the last three from Washington who are feeling out the ground. I was unable to meet Felix Frankfurter who is a very busy man. We are not giving up hope. I shall not be in New York until the early part of June, but I am going to write to Carlo and I am sure that he will go ahead with his work.

By now you probably saw the first two issues "Challenge". It's deplorable that our movement can not maintain in the English language a publication that would appeal to the general reading public, as for instance the severe splinter groups of the CP and the SP. Two years ago before "Spanish Revolution" made its appearance, I prepared, while I was in New York, the ground for Abe and the others to start a weekly that would not alienate the average radical reader. I gave them \$50 dollars to have the first issue out. Leaving New York, I learned later that another group started "Spanish Revolution". The paper may give a lot of information about Spain, but its title goes against it. We made a suggestion that Vanguard group Spanish Revolution and the F.A.S. get together and decide to publish a monthly review "Vanguard" with theoretical material and popular weekly newspaper. This was rejected. When we returned, Abe found out that he will have to work with people and so we made a moderate start. This time too, I paid for the first issue hoping to have it out by May 1st. I wish you would understand that we are poor in America with intellectual forces so when Arnold Roller suggested to a group of people among them Anita Brenner, who could be willing to contribute, we decided to test them out, I hope the paper will get the proper support and instead of serving as a rival to the other it would be a help to them. I shall write to Abe about your suggestions to get in touch with Secker and Warbrook as soon as possible. I expect to be in Washington the end of this month and will try to ~~step on their toes~~ find out from the people what they accomplished. I will also try to stop over in New York a day and work out with our people some plan of getting the committee together. Pauline told me that she had the list and I think that she would be a good secretary of the committee, if she agrees to serve.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 12, Boston [to] Emma G[oldman], London / Rose [Pesotta].--
 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17364

- 2 -

How was your concert? A big success I hope. The monies our International sends to Spain goes through Sohevenells of Paris, maybe the CNT will profit by it. I have made a suggestion to give some of it to both trade Union--they answered that all they do is send arms, planes and food for the army in the front. I am going to a GEB meeting and I will ask Dubinsky how the money was spent this time.

I would like to know how your affair went off. From the communications we get from John Cowper Powys, I gather that he is very sympathetic. How many of his kind do you have in England today?

Hoping to hear from you soon. Love

Rae

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 12 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella [Churchill]. —
2 p.; 23 × 14 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23377

14 Park Village East
Regent's Park, N.W.1
Euston 1314

12
£ 5 3 8

Dear Emma,

Can you come
+ lunch here on
Sunday May 22nd 1.15?
Prof. Cadlin - husband
of Vera Bruttain - is
very anxious to meet you.
We talked about your
marvellous qualities
at a lunch in the
train last week.
I hope you are better.

Much love

P.P.O

Yours ever Stella

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 12 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella [Churchill].—
2 p. ; 23 x 14 cm.
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23378

He is a most amusing
a able creature
who shares some
of your views & was
a lecturer at Cornell
for a time.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 12, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.— 1 p. ; 20 × 20 cm.
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Comité Nacional del Trabajo
 y
 Federación Anarquista Ibérica
 Relaciones Exteriores

BARCELONA, a 12 de mayo de 1938

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra,
 Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Adjuntamos a la presente, para vuestra propaganda, copia de dos artículos aparecidos en "FRAGUA SOCIAL".

También para la propaganda, os enviamos adjunto copia una nota dando cuenta del ascenso a Tenientes Coronales compañeros nuestros.

Os saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez

COMITÉ PENINSULAR
 Relaciones Exteriores

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A

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May 12, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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21033

De "Fragua Social" - 8-5-38.

(Anécdotas de la España "Roja".)

ROMÁNTICA.

En el taller, colectivizado, se trabaja activamente, en la confección de pantalones y "cazadoras" para los soldados de nuestro Ejército invencible.

En la sección de máquinas de coser, de la que ya salen las prendas terminadas para enviarlas a la Intendencia Militar, hay una obrerita a la que sus compañeras dicen "La romántica". Y tiene bien aplicado el apodo, pues ninguna como ella para vivir, postizando su vivir, como en un continuo ensueño, hasta en las cosas más vulgares para otros. Para ser más "romántica" aún, hay un mirar en sus ojos, grandes y negros y tristes -tres graciosas juntas-, que tienen el encanto estormecedor de no se sabe qué cosa de misterio.

"La romántica" ha dado remate a una "cazadora" y ha tenido un pensamiento que, primero, la hizo sonreír, y, luego, ruborizarse, y ruborose y sonriente la ha puesto en práctica.

En un trozo de papel, con el membrete del taller, donde trabaja, escrito con lapicero y firmado por ella, ha puesto en letra clara y española: "/Ojalá que esta cazadora caiga en manos de un valiente/".

...Y dando un beso al papel, lo ha guardado, dobladito, en un bolsillo de la "cazadora", que fue a engrosar el montón de las terminadas.

Fueron pasando los días. Alguna vez, "La romántica" pensaba si "su cazadora" estaría todavía en el almacén de la Intendencia, o habría sido ya entregada, a no sospechaba quién.

Y una mañana, el responsable del taller, llamándola al despacho, le comunicó:

- "Romántica". Han traído este paquete para tí.

- ¿Qué será? - Y curiosa se puso a desenvolverlo.

...Era una "cazadora" llena de manchas negruzcas - sangre seca - y taladrada por tres balazos.

"La romántica", con ansiedad y blanca como un rayito de luna, buscó en los bolsillos de la prenda militar, sacando de uno un papel -el mismo que escribió ella- que decía debajo de sus mismas líneas:

"Cayó en buenas manos esta cazadora...".

Y firmado, con letra insegura, en la que se adivinaba la mano temblorosa de quien se veía morir: "Un soldado -uno cualquiera- del Ejército del Pueblo"...

"La romántica" besó el papel con un beso largo, dolorosamente largo, como si besara una reliquia...

- - - - -

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 13, London [to] Stewart [Kerr, New Milford, Conn.] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London,

13th May 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Stewart,

I don't know whose who with an answer. I have before me your last letter dated March 12th. I have been in such a whirl of work and anxiety for and about Spain that I really do not recollect whether I replied to this letter or not. I am sure you will understand and will forgive.

You will gather from some of the enclosures all about my efforts in behalf of Spain and the small results they meet. You will also gather how I feel about the dreadful situation in Spain. There is no doubt that over an above the overwhelming power of men and arms the Spanish people have to fight, there is also the indidious and disingenuous communists poison which works for our defeat; but of course the battle is not yet over. The heartbreaking thing is that so many of the youngest and best the CNT-FAI have are voluntarily going to the front and will probably be mowed down. I dread to think of what will happen to the few that will be left over, even if Franco should be beaten defeated. As to what will happen should he conquer I dare not visualize it. It is so dreadful.

There is no doubt that the Legerin government has delivered the Spanish people to Mussolini's and Hitler's designs. The tragedy of our peoples is that this can happen with the popular front in France and the "workers fatherland". Never before has such a cruel betrayal taken place. For one to have to sit by and not be able to do anything to stop this betrayal is the hardest thing to bear.

I am sure that the communists are capable of the most dastardly deed, so I would not be at all surprised that they did away with Roynitz. Treaca seems to think that she was murdered within reach of New York. The communists certainly do not shrink from such acts. They have demoralised the whole labour and liberal organisations and movements. The Jesuits were clean in their methods in comparison; but as we pointed out the criminal tendencies of the communist state as long ago as 1922 we need not be surprised. Treaca's letter to me will interest you. He is certainly not the only one who has come to see his error in opposing Berkman and myself when we began to write against the regime. In due time everybody will come to see the light who still have the capacity to see clearly.

I think that I wrote you before that friends were trying to get me a visa for my second re-entry into the States, and they have already had a set back in the person of the Assistant State Attorney, who stated that he would not give Emma Goldman a visa. While I am willing to appreciate the effort that is being made, I am not in anyway deceived about the precarious chances. Nevertheless I intend to go to Canada some time the early Autumn. To a large extent it will depend on Spain. My comrades there have an idea fixed that I can perform wonders in this country. They simply will not believe it is barren ground and the conspiracy of silence against them impregnable.

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[Letter] 1938 May 13, London [to] Stewart [Kerr, New Milford, Conn.] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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2.

The comrades of Vanguard have cabled me for an article to refute the dispicable attack by Trotsky and one of his followers on the memory of Kronstadt, and of Sasha of all people. I have written the reply which turned out to be enough for a pamphlet, and too much for an article. I don't know what the Vanguard editors will do about it; but I am sending them a number of addresses of my friends to whom Vanguard is to be sent. You will be included. As you see I manage to keep busy at one damned thing to another.

I only wish I were not feeling so rotten lately. Nothing serious I am sure. Just a fatigued heart the doctor tells me, with all the good advice physicians usually give even until the end.

It is true that I have done a lot of strenuous work the last two months; but the excitement is over. In fact I have not the slightest idea what I am going to do this summer. It seems criminal to be idle when help for Spain is so needed. On the other hand I have simply come to the end of my wits. I simply don't know how to go about arousing interest for the various things we undertake, and I do not consider it worth while wasting my efforts or money so desperately needed in Spain.

Are you reading the Daily Times? If so would you cut out everything dealing with Spain and send it to me, or some other important things appertaining to America.

Stella has been sending me the Sunday Times; but nothing for the last two weeks and I hate to be cut off from the States and especially from the international correspondent. Whether one can believe anything that is said is not over important. So be a dear and send me along clippings from the Daily Times.

~~Will write you again soon~~ Write me again soon. Tell me whatever news you have.

Affectionately

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 14, Amsterdam [to Emma Goldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 4 p.; 21 x 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

M. Nettlau
11 c/o Bibliothek of Institute for
S. History
264, Keizersgracht
Amsterdam, C.
Holland

May 14. 1938

Dear Comrade, I am glad to hear of
your interest in my behalf. I had
travelled here before all the events
and so I am safe and all my papers
are safe too and, of course, I will not
return whilst this nightmare lasts.
But as I must be somewhere outside the
grave, a primary condition is now that
I must not be talked about and I ask
you, if ever there be an enquirer outside
nearest friends (maybe Kien Horkman),
to say you do not know; for certain,
but believe me to be safe, and I can
always be reached by writing to some of the
best known friends like Porteus or Dr.
Pierrot or Keeli; but do not even mention
these — I have no right to bother them —
anybody who really wants to find somebody
can always find him by asking older and
better known people, if they care to tell him.
And just these people, the old friends, I
ask, for several reasons, to be very
hesitant towards any enquirers, if there
be any. I am now here with all my former
collection and all my papers in my bag.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 14, Amsterdam [to Emma Goldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. —
4 p.; 21 x 15 cm.

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and all I ever kept and my parents kept
go, and with all the other questions arising
in a large and sympathetic library
the five or six weeks past year and the
nearly three months this year are taken
up there over and I have just
begun, so to speak, and ought to give
100 years longer to get a little more familiar
with all the materials.
I have often thought and said to the
Librarian, a wonderful well-informed
lady, that Berkman's papers, which
is kept of them, might find a home
in this library here — under any conditions
donation, deposit temporary or long term,
or sale, under which his widow and
yourself might wish to part with them,
— to part rather in the sense of knowing
them in safe keeping which things last
and the human spirit, seriously threatened
now, continues to live above ground
and is not evolving into worms and
creeps underground in the soil — something
which Mr. Chamberlain has been about
to propose to the British nation before they
make a stand. Well, anyhow, if
you will discuss this matter with Miss
Berkman and give an opinion in a note
to the Librarian here, they are sure to try
to meet your wishes and I can say that
I am authorized to write and might
have written one or two months ago — only
I am working hard here and the
evenings at home and I was and am
not in the mood of letter writing in these

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 14, Amsterdam [to Emma Goldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 4 p.; 21 x 15 cm.

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times of murdered peoples. I do not like
States, but I like communities which
have produced a pleasant style of living
— in this sense you like N. J. Q. and
I like former Picana and so this murder
of a nation is beyond language to describe
it. I am not in sympathy with prison
authorities just now is a young socialist
nowadays can fight in Spain or can
at least do much more direct work to
help prisoners. Besides ordinary victims
are just as interesting and more helpful
— all the poor women at Heaven's work
many of whom may still be there now.
There is a huge collection in a man who of all
subjects picks out such a subject. I have
not been in prison, so I should feel ashamed
to write on prisoners. Liberate him,
that's better.

Moreover he writes very
insincerely, as he, if he is a real good man,
feels above prison, and if he is a lamb, he
knows he must play a role. Or he is
affected physically, psychically and he
goes to pieces, degenerates, like Silvio
Bellico. If he knows that he will reap
fame, he may safely boast. So it is an
unnatural literature, such letters, distorted
moreover by many reasons and obstacles,
interest and censorship.

If this young socialist only looked over
the miserable book of that man on Dostoevsky,
he would know where to find his prison
letters and he would find the existing texts
of letters as I reproduced them first and,
finally, in Sholem's State Edition of

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 14, Amsterdam [to Emma Goldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 4 p. ; 21 x 15 cm.

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Bakunin's works, in Russian. He ¹⁷⁶²² cannot expect to see them in English, as the public wants only to be amused and have people presented to them with due contempt for controversial and fools, as this Farr does so well, rivaling with any daily mail reporter. You know in what absurd way even some good people misinterpreted Bakunin's Confessions. Better let outsiders not touch Bakunin which is a huge subject requiring a fair effort, otherwise it is like saying talking of higher mathematics or work, in the case of that Farr.

I am here now and a few days hence I expect to be in Switzerland and later I will try to be here again. The world is added to a few will be now like during a flood.

But who let 12 Basque Refugee Children be exhibited as dancers? That is terrible, if it has to come to this for getting a few pounds. People who are eager to see victims dance and sing, are sadists to the core. This is nothing new - another person was shocked on seeing this. And think of Federica Montseny's letter in another of the circulars and then this. It is painful in the highest degree. Otherwise there are precedents - I remember a choir of slate workers from North Wales exhibited to collect funds in meetings for a very prolonged strike, some 35 years ago. But here in this tragic case the dancing might have been left to the comfortable sympathisers. Notice this also in the S. Ind. Bulletin, Vol. 2, do not mind my remarks or join in my protest and stop this. Beggers must not be allowed to act to my mind. Best wishes and greetings. Peter D. ...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 14, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[anuel] Mascarell. —
1 p.; 29 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Federación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Paris, le 14 Mai 1938.

•795/MM/BG.

Emma GOLDMANN
18, Castlereagh Road

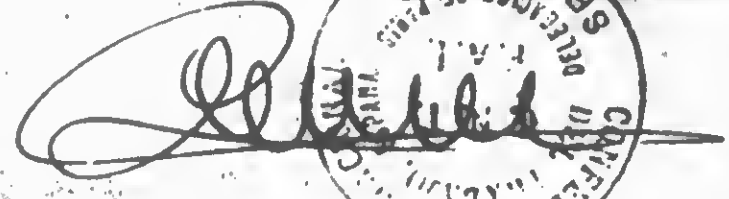
Chère camarade,

Nous joignons à la présente un chèque que nous recevons d'Australie et que nous ne pouvons toucher ici, car comme tu peux te rendre compte, il n'est payable qu'à Londres.

Nous te demandons donc de bien vouloir l'encaisser à notre ce et nous en faire parvenir le montant après encaissement.

Dans cette attente, reçois, Chère Camarade, un fraternel salut

POUR LA DELEGATION PERMANENTE DE LA C.N.T.-P.A.I. A PARIS.


M. MASCARELL.
CONFEDERATION NATIONALE DU TRAVAIL
FEDERATION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

P.J. - 1 chèque.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 May 15, London to Martin Gudell, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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1936

2.
... have to share 20% with the I.L.P. and the actual receipts apart from the collection do not cover the expenses. We have to do what we have always had to do that is to take part of the collection of £50 to cover the deficit.

As to the C.N.T. it is still far from known in this country; but it has certainly been made known to at least 3,000 of the organised workers. We have distributed to them your material, the structure of the C.N.T. — the C.N.T. and U.G.T. proposals and the agreement arrived at between the C.N.T. and U.G.T. True the response does not measure up in the least with the labour and expense but we did have a do en or so replies and requests for more material, and we think that our labour has had a ne affect on some of the workers.

I attended a conference on Spain called by the so popular front where actually some of the trade union branches representatives called for a general strike and direct action. Inasmuch as this has never before been done, at least for a number of years, we really rather feel than our labour among them may be the souse; but that too is for the future to demonstrate.

You will be amused about the conference. Directly we read about it taking place I wrote asking for a delegate card. I sent my Spanish mandate that Vasquez gave me and they sent me a card as a consultative delegate. At the session it was announced from the platform that anyone have suggestion to make might send their names up, which I promptly did; but of course I was never called upon to speak, make suggestions or consulted in any way. In fact my presence was kept secret and so was the existence of the C.N.T. In point of fact the assembly was called together by the communists and their sympathisers for the purpose of creating a popular front. Spain was only the peg upon which this scheme was hung. You see therefore the opposition and the deliberate boycott all our work meets with. The following is an extract from a letter comrade Barr has received from an old anarchist minor comrade in South Wales and will show you the methods used.

"Some weeks ago the colliers on the Dulais Valley (about five or six thousand) finding that the coal they were cutting was being sent to Rebel ports in Spain decided to strike. Their local officials opposed this so they took the matter to the South Wales Miners Federation Executive, and they too oppose the contemplated action of the men, so, up to now they have remained at work. One of those who dictatorially ordered the men to take no action to show solidarity with our Spanish Fellow Workers was known as the so-called 'communist'."

I might add that Arthur Horner is a member of the Communist Party so is disciplined to take his orders from them in regard to his official position in the Miners Federation.

It is therefore to me pitiful that the comrades of the C.N.T. cling to the straw that the Labour Party or the Trade Unions are really undertaking decisive steps to help Spain.

I was surprised and amused that Vasquez sent a telegram to the Daily Herald for the 1st May; but did not consider it necessary to send the Bureau of the C.N.T.-F.I. a similar telegram.

Actually we were the only people in the demonstration and in Hydo Park who made the C.N.T. known and spoke of its needs.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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1938

3

and of its heroic struggle. Nobody else mentioned it.

You understand dear Martin I am not saying this because anyone of us is hard; but surely to point out the lack of appreciation of the real situation in this country on the part of some of our comrades. The demonstration was most striking with its banners and slogans, and while it was numerically small it was nevertheless the most imposing.

Yesterday I received a letter in German from Herrera who made me very sick indeed. He writes that he is to leave the S.I.A. It is true that the comrade who is to replace him is an able & devoted comrade. I met Lucia Sanchez Jacorail. I met this comrade in Valencia and I was very much impressed with her personality; but the very fact that it is a woman replacing Herrera leads me to believe that he is going like Garmind went - into the consuming fire. Of all the Spanish comrades I have met on both visits Herrera impressed me as the most faithful and understanding comrade. Always ready to be of help and make one feel that everything one does is of importance. I wonder what is going to happen to you my dear. I cannot bear to think that we are sacrificing so many of our best men; but I suppose it cannot be avoided.

I wish I too could be with all of you. No matter what, I have a feeling that I could be of more use than being here. I wonder whether the comrades would consent to me coming back to Spain. I don't want to be a burden or take away a piece of bread from those who need it so desperately; but I do get so discouraged from the lack of response in this country.

About the collection of books on Spain. There must be at least fifty and they price round from 3/6 to 10/- and 12/6. One of the latest and most beautiful works is that by one of the young writers, George Orwell, who had served on the Aragon front for three months, and who lived through the day events of last year. It is the first book to do justice to the Anarchist-unreservedly so. We are going to have it reviewed in "Spain & The World" and we will send you a marked copy.

I am afraid I will not be able to see the complete list of all those books on Spain. We have received one which so includes the Fascist writers. Would the comrades also want that. I think that comrade Macchioni has gathered a number of the books published on Spain. I will see if I can get a list from him.

About the film, we have really lost all hope of ever getting it here. True a short note I receive from Lise about ten days ago told me that Frank is coming and will bring the film; but I have heard it so often that I won't believe it until we see it here. That would be the only means of keeping up our work during the summer.

I am sending you a me enclosures that will interest you. With regard to Ruth I must impress upon you that her English is not good, although she is a devoted comrade.

I hope you received the batch of papers I sent you through Mrs Adams.

That is all for the present.

With kind greetings to your companion and your secretary and fraternal greetings to you.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 15 N[ew] Y[ork] to Emma Goldman, [London] / Harry Rosenberg — 2 p.; 13 x 20 cm.
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with best wishes
 for your perfect health
 & you may carry on
 I am most, sincerely,
 Harry Rosenberg

812 Riverside Dr.
 NYC

I have the same problems
 you had about getting
 quarters of my son!
 Can't afford to. I'm compelled
 to live here - they are
 not Republican types -

812 Riverside Dr. ^{NYC}
 May 15/38

Dear Miss Goldman;

Thanks for
 letter of April 4th - I'm afraid
 you misunderstood - The paltry
 dollar was not sent to you
 personally only for you to donate
 as best fit. One million would
 not be enough as you would only
 donate that too - for you are
 the symbol of a great cause -

There is much pressure
 used in the U.S. and the paltry
 concessions such as degrading
 so-called relief (long to dogs)
 to save their own hides

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 15 N[ew] Y[ork to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Harry Rosenberg. — 2 p. ; 13 x 20 cm.

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and I'm happy you have
such friends - If I'd see
you personally I would be
surprised to know what an
entire life my life is. The
only real thing about me is
misadventure & love, but
the pattern system we live
under moulds us into hair
bent foot forward to all
we meet - There is nothing
left worth while except
fighting death.

and I did some of it -
If you could realize all you
worked starved & slave for
the world would be Utopia

as their resort to facism
proves - I better quit. It
sounds as if I'm trying
to tell you news!!

I never see Sonia, as the
distance is out of way, and
should I meet her - I'll
not mention a word about
you unless she talks, and
without mentioning you I'll
let her know that her
attitude etc. etc.

She should consider it an
honor to be allowed to write to
John Cooper Potts letter to
you was worthy of him

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519656

[Letter] 1938 May 17 [London to Vanguard, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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COPY.

17th May, 1938.

Dear Comrade,

You must be finding it very difficult to squeeze in my article which has turned into a brochure, in one issue of Vanguard. In fact, I doubt whether you will be able to do so. Yet, would you believe it, there are still two or three points, one in the article of Wright and two in Trotsky's which need commenting on. Perhaps you will turn the whole article into a brochure. I would then revise the whole thing, and add what is so essential to point out as an example of the insidious methods used by all Bolsheviki, whether of the old guard or Stalin. Take for instance Trotsky's article - on page 105, second column, second paragraph - in his attempt to make it appear that the workers of Petrograd would not come to the aid of the Kronstadt sailors or join them in their stand against the dictatorship, he writes, "Hunger and cold reigned in the deserted capital, perhaps even more fiercely than in Moscow ... All were hungry and irritable. All were dissatisfied. In the factories there was dull discontent. Underground organisers sent by the S.Rs. and the White officers, tried to link the military uprising with the movement of the discontented workers. The Kronstadt paper wrote about barricades in Petrograd, about thousands being killed. The press of the whole world proclaimed the same thing. Actually the precise opposite occurred. The Kronstadt uprising did not attract the Petrograd workers. It repelled them. The stratification proceeded along class lines. The workers immediately felt that the Kronstadt mutineers stood on the opposite side of the barricades - and they supported the Soviet power. The political isolation of Kronstadt was the cause of its internal uncertainty and its military defeat".

Leon Trotsky omits the most important reason for the seeming indifference of the workers of Kronstadt and why they did not rush to the support of the sailors. It is therefore necessary to point out that the campaign of slander, vilification and calumny against the sailors began on the 2nd March, 1921. The Soviet Press fairly oozed poison against the sailors. The most despicable charges were hurled against them, and this was kept up until Kronstadt was liquidated on March 17th. In addition Petrograd was put under martial law. Several factories were shut down and the workers thus robbed to hold counsel with each other. In the diary of Alexander Berkman, I find the following:

"Many arrests are taking place. Groups of strikers, slandered by Chekists on the way to prison are a common sight. There is great nervous tension in the city. Elaborate precautions have been taken to protect the Government institution. Machine guns are placed in the Astoria, the living quarters of Zinoviev and other prominent Bolsheviki. Official proclamation commanding immediate return of the strikers to the factories ... and warn the populace against congregating in the streets.

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"The Committee of Defence has initiated a 'clean of the city'. Many workers suspected of sympathising with Kronstadt have been placed under arrest. All Petrograd sailors and part of the garrison thought to be 'unworthy' have been ordered to distant points, while the families of Kronstadt sailors living in Petrograd are held as hostages. The Committee of Defence notified Kronstadt that 'the prisoners are kept as pledges' for the safety of the Commissar of the Baltic Fleet, N.N. Kuzmin, the Chairman of the Kronstadt Soviet, T. Vassiliev, and other Communists. If the least harm is suffered by our comrades the hostages will pay with their lives."

Under these iron-clad rules it was physically impossible for the workers of Petrograd to ally themselves with Kronstadt, especially not one word of the manifestoes issued by the sailors in their paper was permitted to penetrate to the workers in Petrograd. In other words Leon Trotsky deliberately falsifies the facts. The workers would certainly have sided with the sailors because they knew that they were not mutineers or counter-revolutionists, but that they had taken a stand with the workers as their comrades had done as long ago as 1905, March and October, 1917. It is therefore a grossly criminal and conscious libel on the memory of the Kronstadt sailors.

On page 106, second column, Trotsky assures his readers that no one "we may say in passing, bothered in those days about the Anarchists". That unfortunately does not tally with the incessant persecution of Anarchists which began in 1918, when Leon Trotsky liquidated the Anarchist headquarters in Moscow with machine guns. At that time the process of elimination of the Anarchists began. Even now so many years later, the concentration camps of the Soviet Government are full of the Anarchists who remained alive. Actually before the Kronstadt uprising, in fact in October, 1920, when Leon Trotsky again had changed his mind about Machno, because he needed his help and his army to liquidate Wrangle, and when he consented to the Anarchist Conference in Charkov, several hundred Anarchists were drawn into a net and despatched to the Boutirka prison where they were killed without any charges until the end of 1921. But that is a page of Soviet history of its own. What is to the point in this instance is that the Anarchists must have been thought of very much, else there would have been no reason to arrest them and ship them in the old Tsarist way to concentration camps in distant parts of Russia and Siberia.

In his article Wright has a footnote to page 49, second column, wherein he states that Victor Serge in a recent comment on Kronstadt "concedes that the Bolsheviki, once confronted with the mutiny, had no other recourse except to crush it." Victor Serge is now out of the hospitable shores of the workers capital "fatherland". I therefore do not consider it a breach of faith when I say

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that if Victor Serge made this statement charged to him by John G. Wright, he is merely not telling the truth. Victor Serge was one of the French Communist Section who was as much distressed and horrified over the impending butchery decided upon by Leon Trotsky to "shoot the sailors as pheasants" as Alexander Berkman, myself and many other revolutionists. He used to spend every free hour in our room running up and down, tearing his hair, clenching his fists in indignation and repeating that "something must be done, something must be done, to stop the frightful massacre". When he was asked why he, as a party member, did not raise his voice in protest in the party session, his reply was that that would not help the sailors and would mark him for the Cheka and even silent disappearance. The only excuse for Victor Serge at the time was a young wife and a small baby. But for him to state now, after seventeen years, that "the Bolsheviks once confronted with the mutiny had no other recourse except to crush it", is to say the least inexcusable. Victor Serge knows as well as I do that there was no mutiny in Kronstadt, that the sailors actually did not use their arms in any shape or form until the bombardment of Kronstadt began. He also knows that neither the arrested Communist Commissars nor any other Communists were touched by the sailors. I therefore call upon Victor Serge to come out with the truth; that he was able to continue in Russia under the comradely régime of Lenin, Trotsky and the other unfortunates who have been recently murdered, conscious of all the horrors that are going on, is his affair, but I cannot keep silent in the face of the charge against him that the Bolsheviks were justified in crushing the sailors.

The quotations and replies ought really to have been included in the article, but not wanting to disappoint you longer than I had already done I rushed the work at high speed and therefore overlooked the above important statements, as indeed I fear the article was anything but perfect. By the way, the comrades here who work with me and read the article suggested a pamphlet. Unfortunately they are not in a condition to have one printed in England. They would I am sure try their best to circulate it here, if you were to decide to make a brochure. If you do, I must absolutely be given a chance to revise the article and I would also suggest that some of the material quoted in Comrade Berkman's pamphlet taken from the newspaper in Kronstadt, should be added as well as the resolution.

Dear comrade, you will be glad to know that Herbert Read has promised to write something for you, but he is rather busy now and begged not to be pressed for the present. I sent him Vanguard, as he had never seen it before. I am sending you his address and a list of addresses in America, Canada and in other countries. Please put him on the list and later on write him a letter, saying that I have notified you of his willingness to contribute something to your paper. About the other names, I would suggest that you send them Vanguard with a letter asking them to subscribe. I am sure some of them will do it. Please send me fifty copies. Twenty-five I want to send out to my friends in England. I will also ask them to subscribe, and twenty-five for sale. I have spoken to a comrade who is handling Spain and the World and who promised also to try his best to sell Vanguard.

With fraternal greetings to all,

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18105

17th May, 1938.

Dearest Evelyn,

Some time ago Stella sent me your letter to her, which I fully meant to take up in a long letter to you, but I have been busy with the work I am doing for Spain, trying to move mountains in raising the people in this country to the urgent need of help for the Spanish people. I have a chance to-day to write you, and I am not going to let anything interfere with it again.

I am frightfully sorry, my dear, that you had such a terrible year, illness and a lot of other things which seem to have been anything but cheering or conducive to improve your condition. It is particularly hard to be driven to write for a living. I don't know what I would do if I, too, were driven by the furies. As it is, I find writing very hard and excruciating. But you know my old complex about my writing abilities. I feel deeply with you, my dear, that you must get out one book after another. It does not seem just to you or to your work, and least of all does it do your health any good. I can only hope that with the advent of spring you have regained some strength, and that you are now in better physical condition. I have always felt that as long as one has one's strength one can go through a great deal. I suppose it was that which helped me through all the difficulties and vicissitudes of my life. Lately I have not been quite up to the mark. I do not think it is anything serious - an over-fatigued heart, the doctors say. It is certainly fatigued, for I find activity in this country so enervating, it leaves me limp. I keep up by sheer iron will. Well, the busy time is over, so I may be able to take a rest.

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Dearest Evelyn, what an idea of your not writing me because of your changed attitude towards the question of revolution. I cannot believe that you thought you would hurt me by bringing me out of our friendship because of your change. If I have tried myself on anything in all my life, it was and is my belief in the absolute freedom of opinion and of action on the part of the individual, especially intellectual freedom, which I consider even more important than material independence. I can well understand your change of attitude. After the collapse of the Revolution in Russia and now seemingly also in Spain, it is not surprising that you have ~~become~~ become "cautious" and that you begin to "feel a primitive and now antiquated and unimportant" of revolution as a political movement under the "old world regime." I myself would probably have come to see the question of Revolution in your light, if I did not know positively that it was not the Revolution which collapsed in Russia, because it was never permitted to assert itself. I have tried to point this out over and over again in my correspondence to people who confused the Russian Revolution with the Communist state. The two were and are millions of miles apart. In point of fact the Revolution was crushed because it had reached its taskhood. On the other hand, it is not true that the Revolution in Spain has failed. I admit frankly that its enemies have made many compromises and many concessions. They have participated and do again in the Government. They have submitted to the dictatorship of Stalin transplanted into Spanish soil. But nevertheless it is the revolution which has won over the Spanish people, and the revolutionary achievements by the workers, especially of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) stand as a living example of the regenerative force of Revolution. That the war has now taken precedence is painfully true, but you must bear in mind that the Spanish people are not fighting a civil war, that they are fighting world imperialism, whether under the banner of Fascism or the so-called Popular Front. Never before was a country and a people so betrayed as Spain and the Spanish workers and peasants. Think of it - it was the Socialist Bloc in co-operation with the so-called Popular Front, who had at the behest of Great Britain betrayed the Spanish people, and it is Great Britain shamelessly the freest country on earth, that has now turned over the Spanish anti-Fascists to Mussolini's tender mercies. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ In the face of such a tragedy it is not natural that revolutionary aims and claims should ~~have~~ be relegated to a minor position. But wick into the minds and hearts of the Spanish people the revolutionary spirit continues, and it will assert itself the moment France is defeated. So you see, my dear, that I still believe in the constructive and cleansing power of revolution. I see nothing else that can eventually liberate humanity and pave the way for a sane and free social life. I cannot see any other path, certainly not

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Parciform. This has been borne out in Germany, in Italy and in Austria. But one hand was raised against the advent of Fascism. People wait until Hitler was in Austria and then began to commit suicide. The Spanish people are too elemental, too militant, they love freedom too intensely, to not their lives for their own land instead of fighting their enemy. But as I said, my dear, I will love you no less for your change to revolution than I always have.

I am enclosing a lot of copies of recent letters that may interest you. They will show you how I live and what I am doing. It is not much, I must say, but it is all I can do in this country. I am hoping to go to Canada in the autumn, but that will of course depend on the situation in Spain. If I had my way, I would rather be there. What better end to my life could I wish than either to rise with the triumph of the Spanish people or to down with them. But my comrades insist on my trying to reach English-speaking people. Well, I have not succeeded very much in England. Not that I have more hopes for Canada. But being there will bring me near to America, to my own people and to my dearest friends, among whom you have, as always, a very large place. Carlo Tresca may have told you that he has offered to work for a visa for me to "enter" America. I have written him that I would be very glad for him to start a campaign. I am only a little puzzled by his meaning of "authorization". I could not of course authorize him to make any promises for so that I could not consistently keep. But I will see what his plans are. Margaret De Silver also seems to be interested. Both have important connections. If anyone could succeed, they certainly ought to. In any event, I am planning to go to Canada; for the rest, it is impossible to make plans too long in advance. We can only live from day to day. Do let us hear from you soon and write me a good old time letter all about your son and daughter and of course yourself.

With love and love,

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[Letter] 1938 May 17 [London to Eileen] Blair, [Wallington, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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17th May, 1938.

Dear Mrs. Blair,

Thank you very much for your interesting letter. I should have answered it sooner, but I was away from the office for three days to get a little of a much-needed rest.

First I wish to tell you that I have no degree. Actually I am a self-made woman and have never seen the inside of a University for the largest of all the universities, Life. I am merely telling you this as I do not want to be addressed by any titles or honours outside my own name.

I had planned to review *Homage to Catalonia*, but was very happy indeed to receive word from dear Ethel Mannin that she also wanted to write a review. I immediately jumped at her offer, as her name is so much better known in England than mine and also because, as a member of the Independent Labour Party, she will not be charged with subjectivity to the beautiful things your husband wrote about the anarchists. The review will appear in issue of *Spain and the World* after this week, as this issue will carry a review of Ethel Mannin's book on *Woman and the Revolution*. By the way, Ethel Mannin is coming to see me in the office, and I will get the name and the address of the Sanatorium where your husband is staying. I am hoping to arrange for a friend of mine to take me there Saturday afternoon in his car. Naturally I will abide by the time most suitable for your husband to see me.

You are only too correct when you say that the Press is iniquitous. It is more than that. It is deliberate in its conspiracy against the true revolutionists who were the first to rise against Fascism, ~~sixtyfourthousand~~ and they continue to this day taking the places of those who fall at their side. I do not mind so much what papers like the

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17457

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Telegraph write. After all, it is a Tory paper, but it fills me with loathing and indignation when I see that the News Chronicle, the New Statesman and Nation and even the Daily Herald, either deliberately lie about the C.N.T., the F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M. or keep a deadly silence over the most important things happening in war-torn Spain. Yes, the Manchester Guardian, too, is often guilty of gross misrepresentation on the part of its correspondents. In a recent editorial, rejoicing over the thirteen points of Llerena, all of which stand for the return of capitalism and the Church in Spain, the Editor states among other things that it was a great pity that in the beginning the irresponsible element "killed priests and destroyed churches". In other words, the Guardian is rejoicing that Spain is to become reestablished after the war and that everything will ~~remain~~ remain as "harmonious, sweet and lovely" as it was before. It is this that makes one lose heart.

There is one force which keeps me going, and that is the spirit of my comrades in Spain. Their letters breathe so much courage, such valour, such iron will to win, I often feel ashamed of being depressed or dissatisfied with the poor results my labours for them have gained. But I am confident that whether Franco triumphs or is defeated, Spain will never be subdued - not if one single Spanish Anarchist is left alive. For the rest, it must be left to the future to demonstrate the quality of the people and the C.N.T.-F.A.I. It cannot be achieved now.

Yes, I can imagine that it feels sad to have so much to give as your husband and yet not to be known and read by large masses of people. Leave it to Mr. Gollancz and the Left Book Club to poison the minds of their readers about the one and only virtuous element in the anti-Fascist front in Spain. If one hears him and his comrades, one is left to believe that no one else exists in Spain and no one else has continued to keep Franco at bay.

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It were really pathetic if all this loud-speaker
methods of brontine themselves were not such a comedy.

I hope I may meet you soon. Perhaps you will be
with your husband on Saturday afternoon, so I can have a
double visit.

Fraternally,

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17897

17th May, 1938.

My dear Friend,

Knowing the generosity of your heart, I will not engage in apologies for having neglected your sweet letter of January 4th. I can only assure you, if such assurance is necessary, that you are among my dearest American friends who are never out of my mind for very long. On the contrary, they are ever-present and my longing to get back to my erstwhile country and to these friends, instead of diminishing, increases with the years. I suppose there is more truth than fiction in the saying that we want mostly what we cannot reach. Perhaps if I could go backwards and forwards between England and the States, I should prefer this country. There is no such nerve-racking rush and hurry and there are still many graces which our material life in the United States has eliminated. But just because I know that I cannot return, I think about it and long for it the more.

I don't know whether you have ever met Carlo Tresca. I have recently heard from him to the effect that he would like to begin a campaign to secure my re-entry if only again for a limited time. I am not very optimistic about the success, but I told him to go ahead provided he will make no pledges to Washington which I cannot keep. I am planning to go to Canada in the autumn, which will bring me near to the States and which also might facilitate the success of a campaign for a visa. I am writing you this, dear friend, because you may be approached for your name on a committee that is to be launched. I know you will not refuse it.

Of course my plans depend entirely on the situation in Spain. You see, I have dedicated myself exclusively since the death of my old comrade, A.B., to the cause of the struggle of the Spanish people. I am representing the National Confederation

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17898

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of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) and also the above organisation (S.I.A.). Especially is it the last for which I have done the most work. I wish I could say that the results are worth the labour, anxiety and energy put into them. Unfortunately I cannot boast of that. The odds in this country are too great. There is a deliberate conspiracy of silence as regards my comrades. It is impossible to get a line into any of the papers or to get their support for any undertaking, and as we are few in numbers who have the cause of the Spanish workers deeply at heart, our work must needs remain ineffective. However, one does what one can.

Yes, I know, dear friend, that you believe in a different sphere after death. You certainly have never imposed that belief on me, and I in return would not for anything like you to deny your belief for the sake of our friendship; but I do not share that belief. It seems to me that a great many people who claim to a world hereafter are prevented from doing anything for the world they do live in. I know this does not apply to you or Mrs. White. I know how faithfully you have served the cause of freedom for the masses, but it does hold good for many people. Perhaps, if they had realised that they have got one life to live, they might have made an effort to make this life worth living, to bring beauty and human kinship into that life. But then we all must follow our own lights. It is impossible for any one of us who has an independent mind or who must penetrate every issue with their own vision, to accept the vision of others.

I am enclosing some copies of letters which I am sure will interest you. They will give you an idea of my struggle in this country and at the same time of the struggle so heroically continued by the Spanish people. I have taken the liberty of sending your name to my friends of Vanguard, an Anarchist monthly magazine. The May issue or the June will contain an article of mine in reply to Leon Trotsky's renewed attack on the sailors of Kronstadt who were "liquidated" in 1921 by the inexorable methods of the Soviet State. When it reaches you, you will see that there is very little difference between the methods used by Lenin and Trotsky himself and the madman who is now exterminating all his erstwhile comrades. It is but in the keeping of dictatorship which is like a rolling stone going down a precipice. There is no stopping on the way.

With kind greetings to Mrs. White and yourself,

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19132

18th May 1938.

Mariano Vasquez.

Dear Comrade,

My letter of May 5th and your circular No. 517e crossed one another. I wrote you at length on the 5th May, taking up a number of points for your consideration.

On that day I had also written to comrade Mer Herrera. I have since received a circular from him telling me that he will no longer be at the head of the National Council of the S.I.A. very

This made me feel very sad indeed because I found comrade Herrera very understanding and very efficient to deal with; but I suppose he is needed elsewhere, where he can render even greater service. I am however a little muddled because today I received a circular signed by him from the Comité Peninsular F.A.I. which makes me think he is continuing with the F.A.I. leaving the activities of the S.I.A. to our very able comrade Lucia Sanchez Saornil. I will write her about the S.I.A.

Today I want to deal with your letter of April 28

I have received the two articles in *Fraternidad Social* which you sent me.

Dear comrade. I and those who work with me are not discouraged and we have infinite faith in your splendid valour and in your will to conquer. If that were not so we could not meet the conditions here and continue with our work.

We have and do work incessantly to bring the needs of the Spanish people before the workers of England. In other words we do work "intensively amongst the masses of the workers." It is another matter about working amongst the leaders of the Syndicates. With all your understanding of the structure of the British Labour Party and the Trade Unions, you will forgive me when I say that you could not suggest that we should work amongst the leaders if you knew how utterly impossible it is to reach these leaders. I do not desire to belittle your knowledge of them; but I too have to repeat what I have said so many times already that nowhere in the world, certainly not in so called democratic countries, are the leaders of the labour party and trade unions so hard to get at. It is absolutely impossible to get at them or to get them even to have the decency to answer a letter. Here is the following example. Just as soon as we learned of the stand taken by the Amalgamated Engineers Union I wrote a letter to Mr Little Secretary of the A.E.U. congratulating him on his stand and told him how encouraging and inspiring it will be to you of the C.N.T. and to the workers in general. Naturally I had hoped he would answer the letter, which would then have given me an opportunity to ask him for an interview so that I could place the struggle in Spain and of the C.N.T.-I.S.T. before

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19133

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him. Well the man never had the common decency to acknowledge receipt of the letter. I am certain it reached him or it would have been returned because I put my name and address on the back of the envelope. This is one example that the leadership of the trade unions will have nothing to do with the CNT, F.A.I. or the Bureau which represents you in this City.

The second proof is. I have already written you in my letter of 5th May that just as soon as we read of the Emergency Conference on Spain called in this city I wrote asking for a delegate card fully determined to represent you and your cause if I was given a chance to speak. I sent you the delegate card which you will have seen, stating that I was considered as a consultative delegate. Naturally I expected to be consulted. At the session itself when the platform asked for names of those who had something important to suggest I sent up my name definitely stating that I was representing the C.N.T. I was not asked to speak nor was I consulted. Not only that but the name of the C.N.T. was not mentioned at any time of the days procedure. In point of fact it was deliberately left out, yet the communists who were the main moving spirit were given every opportunity to speak and shout their highest for a popular front.

I have since written to the secretary of this conference pointing out the gross discrimination against you. Her only reply was that inasmuch as it was not possible for all those who had sent in their names to speak, only the representatives of the rank and file were given the chance to express themselves ~~that of course is anybody employed by the communist groups.~~ Actually the majority of the speakers who came from the trade union, appealed for a strike and direct action, which has not happened as coming from the rank and file, for a great many years.

The third proof is at a colliery in South Wales 5,000 miners through the delegates asked for strike action, as the coal they were getting was being sent to Spanish rebel ports. They were strongly opposed by the Officials of the Trade Union including Arthur Horner the well known communist, so no strike took place.

From all this you will see dear comrade that it is not a question of us not wanting to reach the leaders. ~~It is that the leaders will have nothing to do with us. After all I cannot go down on my knees before them.~~ Personally I am frank enough to admit that I would do a great many things to help you in your struggle and your sacrifices; but I really could not crawl to the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders. It would not help any way, and would mean my sacrificing all I have lived, worked and suffered for. I cannot do it dear comrade.

Yes there is considerable awakening to the grave situation of Spain, mainly among the rank and file of the workers. We have tried to reach them as far as it is in our power. The response was in no way comparable with the effort. Still we do not mean to stop. We are doing our utmost and will continue to do so in order to reach the workers. You say "it is necessary to utilize the fact that England recognizes the Italian intervention in Spain, to make propaganda against the government and the policy of Chamberlain". also "as at present a fall of Chamberlain is favorable for us". I agree dear comrade to use the popular fronts slogan in this country. "Chamberlain must go"; but it is reasonably certain that Chamberlain will not go of his own good will. He will have to

It is
not
the
leaders

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May 18 1938

be kicked out and there are only two ways that ~~right~~, I ~~say~~ it ~~deliberately~~, bring it about.

One is that all the labour M.Ps, possibly with the support of some of the liberal M.Ps. should march out in a body from the House of Commons. There is an historic instance when this happened and it brought result. The second method would be a general strike, or a series of strikes in the key industries, such as the manufacture of arms and aircraft. That would also result in a crisis and probably also have the effect of giving ~~more~~ Mr Chamberlain the kick he deserves.

Believe me dear comrade I do not want to in any way seem discouraging; but it is necessary that you face the fact that neither the one or the other of these methods will be taken by the Labour Party or the Trade Union leaders, and without such drastic measures Chamberlain cannot be ~~baiked~~ nor will the non-intervention pact be removed. I wish with all my heart I could give you more cheerful pictures of the situation in this country.

I am much more ~~cheerful~~ of the action in America suggested by Senator Nye. I know that some of the Americans have fought against the lifting of the embargo on arms; but there is ~~this~~ much difference. The workers in America, organised and unorganised, are not quite so handicapped by the trade union bureaucracy. They are still very articulate in their demands and much more willing to stand by ~~others~~ than the workers here. It is for this reason that I am hoping that America will be lifting the embargo within the near future.

Much as I would like to inspire you and sustain you in your heroic struggle I cannot get myself to hold out false hopes for this country.

In the letter I have received from the F.A.I. much stress is ~~paid~~ on the reasons why you should submit to the declaration of Negrin on the various points. It is needless for me to say that you consented under duress; but it is ceratin dear comrade that his assurance that all will be well after-the-war-in-Spain after the war, and all the promises of the capitalists and the church will be kept is just a tactic, and that they will protect their interests by every method at their command. Already the Manchester Guardian of May 14th in commenting on the various points by Negrin writes as follows. "The Republican cause was ill served when its more irremediable supporters murdered priests and burned churches. Today moderation has prevailed and the Government can declare that the "Spanish State" shall guarantee all citizens...liberty of conscience and the free exercise of religious belief and practice".

I do not have to tell you that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are meant by the "the irresponsible supporters murdered priests and "burned churches".

In other words labour and liberals are rejoicing in the promises of Negrin, and inasmuch as you are again represented in the Government are of opinion that you sanction and support the promises made by Negrin.

Dont you see dear comrade the dilemma in which we outside of Spain are in. We have tried to explain what seemed contrary to our ideas in every step the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have taken. Please get away from the idea I am sitting in judgement upon you, or I was censoring you. I only want you to understand that we who feel for you and work for you in your struggle are confronted by

*mored
hopeful*

*Beck
comrade*

13 noon

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overwhelming difficulties. On the one side the conspiracy of the labour and trade union leaders also the communists against you - on the other side the murmurs in the ranks of the revolutionary workers - not to speak of those in our ranks who cannot understand the steps you have taken and the tacit consent you gave to the Government in framing its undertakings. I can assure you it is not an easy job.

Please remember we are not complaining and as far as it is within our power we do not mean to give up ; but we are not deceived in our chances.

X I am afraid you misunderstood what I wrote you about the I.L.P. If so I am very sorry indeed. I therefore must correct you. It is not true that the I.L.P. was not interested in the pact of the U.G.T. and you or in the fact that you entered the Government, and that they are only interested in the repressions against the POUM ceasing. I dare say they are interested in their comrades who are still in Anti-Fascist prisons instead of being liberated and given a chance to go to the front where their time and their energy would be better employed; but I cannot point out too strongly that the I.L.P. showed through its General Secretary, Fenner Brockway, next to ourselves the only voice that spoke in the highest terms about the C.N.T. and its revolutionary achievements. From time to time when Fenner Brockway returned from Spain, until very recently, he never lost the chance at any meeting, to pay the highest respect to your organisation. That was also done by John McHain whom you individually know, and by other members of the I.L.P. Ethel Mannin and Reginald Reynolds. The latter too have worked with us both for the C.N.T. and the S.I.A. No doubt there is a right wing within the I.L.P. who are not very enthusiastic about your methods and ideas; but the fact remains that Fenner Brockway and the others have earnestly pleaded your cause. It is however true, as I wrote Herrera, that the I.L.P. is a political party, and as such it could not very well be approached to combine with the S.I.A. which I have been repeatedly assured is non political, and it is for this reason that our work for the S.I.A. was supported by only individual members of the I.L.P. . I think in justice to the party it is necessary to be clear on its stand in regard to Spain.

Moreover the I.L.P. was among the first to send out contingents of men to fight at the front - it has since suffered persecution. That every one of its issues of the New Leader came out with demands for Spain - that it has paid the upkeep of forty one children, most of whom are children of C.N.T.-F.A.I. parents. It has really done considerable work for Spain. In point of fact it has done more in proportion to its size, than the Labour Party or the Trade Unions.

Just as soon as we have cleared up the accounts of the S.I.A. concert and all the other expenses incurred for the S.I.A. we will proceed to prepare a statement of all the expenses of the C.N.T. and we will then send you the statement.

The only money we have collected for the C.N.T. to purchase arms for Spain has been 250 which I still have, and which I wish to send on directly I hear from you whether it has to go to Paris or Marseilles.

I have sent a list of books that have appeared in England

X Oap
the only

nothing
and us
for you

X for its
recent
phase
of demand
arms
for you

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to Martin Gudell . He will show it to you. I have written America to get a similar list which I will also submit to you. You can then let me know how many you want me to buy for future historic purposes. One book that has just come out, "Homage to Catalonia" was written by one of the younger writers, who incidentally was fighting at the Aragon front with the comrades from the I.L.P. and POUM men. It contains the finest tribute to our comrades and the criminal sabotage carried on by ~~our~~ so called allies as regards arms for the Aragon front. It is being reviewed in Spain & The World by our most devoted friend Ethel Mannin, and will be sent to you when the paper is out.

I repeat dear comrade - not for one moment have I or any one connected with me in the Bureau or the S.I.A. doubted our belief in your victory" or to "be impressed by sensational military dreams of the enemy"

I have lived too long to believe anything I read in the Capitalist press or labour for that matter, and we are certain that you will win in the end, for as I have written recently, our ideas are too deeply rooted in Spanish soil, and in the masses minds and hearts of the Spanish people for any power to eradicate them.

SALUD.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 18 [London to] Augustin [Souchy] / [Emma Goldman].--
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18th May 1938.

Dear Augustin,

I heard it through the comrade of Spain & The World that you had been to see Madame Berneri, and that you had then left for Barcelona.

I confess I was very provoked that you did not let me know that you were out of Spain.

Yesterday I received your short letter of the 14th. As you sent it to the old address it took all this time to reach our new quarters, and as you state that you were leaving Tuesday, which means yesterday, I could not possibly reach you.

There are many things I would like to write you about; but I don't know a safe way of reaching you, inasmuch as you are never in the one place for very long.

Ever since Valencia and Madrid were cut off from Barcelona I worried very much about you and your safety; but I see that the devil takes care of his own. I am glad of course that you are safe and that you have gone back to Barcelona, though I regret terribly that there is not any opportunity getting anything at least by mail.

This business about your notes is quite a mix up. I did not ask for all the notes to be transcribed translated again, because I have them. I only wanted the notes of our visit to the fishing collective, which we visited when we stepped off with Frederica on our way from Alcanate. You will remember that the comrades there gave us a lot of material which was interesting, also at the Chocolate collective. This is all I need.

However there is some stuff dealing with the Uriel Fernandez case; but I have since learned that this was not to be used outside of Spain. I wonder what has become of him - whether he is still kept on Model as so many others. I wonder too why it is necessary to keep our comrades incarcerated instead of setting them free and giving them the chance to take part in the struggle; but there are so many other things in Spain I will never understand.

I have begun a report of my trip with you and later with Martin. I got as far as our return to Barcelona and our visit to Hospitalet and then I lost all desire to go on. It seemed ridiculous to write about what I had seen eight months ago, when matters moved so swiftly at your end. I was heartbroken over Lorida, where we had seen so much marvelous efforts on the part of our comrades. Still the material is here and one of these days I may complete the report merely as an historic document.

I need not tell you I was overjoyed to read that the collectives go on, and that even in places where our comrades were not very strong, new collectives have been started. It speaks for the marvelous

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Ingenuity, constructive will and courage of our comrades.

I am of course glad that help is coming from the "Workers Yatherland". I only hope that the price does not continue to be as exorbitant. At this end the zealots of the Communist Party shout themselves hoarse for help for Spain and in their usual jesuitic way check every attempt on the part of the workers to carry out what is being called for at meetings and demonstrations, namely "Arms for Spain". Here is an example of their methods.

In South Wales 5,000 miners demanded strike action through their delegates, because the coal they were getting was going to rebel ports in Spain. The officials of the union concerned, including Arthur Horner, the well known Communist Party member, strenuously opposed any such action, with the result that no action has been taken.

I wish I could give you a cheerful account of our work. Heavens knows we do not spare energy or strength; but the results are most disheartening. The affair we arranged for the S.I.A. together with the I.L.P. brought very small results, and though we have sent out thousands of S.I.A. bulletins, and we have received some response in a financial way, it is very piffling; but we have at least the satisfaction that we are trying our utmost.

I have heard from Klee several weeks ago that Frank is coming and bringing the film. Now you write in a few days. I become very sceptical in regard to the film. In fact I will not believe that we are finally to have it until Frank and the film are here.

Dear Augustin. I take it that the address you give me in your letter is where Theresia lives. I am sending this letter to her as she is sure to know how to reach you.

I am also sending you some printed material that you should know what we have and are doing here.

The C.N.T. material has been sent out to about 6,000 members of Trades & Labour/Councils and Trade Union Branches. This besides the thousands we have given out and will be giving out next week.

We have You can see we have not been idle.

Do write to me again soon and if possible give me more details about the struggle.

With affectionate greetings. Your old comrade.

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SOLIDARITE INTERNATIONALE ANTIFASCISTE Conseil Général.

Circulaire n° 10.

Barcelona le 18 de Mai 1938:

A toutes les Sections Nationales de S.I.A.

Chers camarades:

C'est une obligation de nature cordiale que en se chargeant du Secrétariat de ce Conseil Général, d'adresser à toutes les Sections de S.I.A. un salut fraternel, dans l'attente de qu'une étroite et loyale, collaboration nous mènent tous au perfectionnement définitif de notre œuvre en faisant de S.I.A. le meilleur organisme de l'Aide Internationale.

Pour le bon fonctionnement de notre Section de Propagande et ayant échoué toutes les démarches, faites directement auprès de la presse de divers pays, pour qu'elle nous envoie des exemplaires de ses publications, nous sommes arrivés à une conclusion, que le meilleur moyen pour obtenir les informations désirées, c'est demander la collaboration à nos sections, avec la certitude de réussir sans grand effort.

Nous pensons que dans toutes les Sections, le Département de Propagande s'occupe de garder dans les archives, les faits divers qui se rapportent à S.I.A. et également les nouvelles qui ont un rapport plus ou moins direct avec ce que sont les activités fondamentales.

Nous supposons que cela ne vous paraîtrait pas trop de la part du Conseil Général en vous demandant de nous remettre le duplicata de découper pour l'archive.

Par ce moyen nous aurons connaissance de toutes les activités de l'aide et de solidarité qui se développent dans chaque pays et cela nous faciliterait l'orientation de l'ensemble des activités de S.I.A. dans l'ordre international:

Un autre motif de cette circulaire et auquel nous voudrions que toutes les Sections prêtent la plus grande attention et l'intérêt, est le suivant:

Afin que toutes les activités de ce Conseil atteignent la plus grande efficacité et les relations entre les diverses Sections acquièrent plus d'unité, nous proposons que chaque Section nomme un délégué de ce Conseil Général, en prévoyant que l'élection tombe sur personnes de prestige dans le pays correspondant et mieux encore si le sont dans l'ordre international.

Notre objet est d'établir un corps consultatif, qui plus tard, quand notre S.I.A. aurait atteint toute sa maturité, puisse se réunir périodiquement, et qui en attendant soit l'organisme interne orienteur de ce Secrétariat.

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Page n° 2.

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Avec la sûreté que vous ne tarderez de nous communiquer la mise en pratique de nos suggestions, toujours pour le bien de la cause antifasciste vous salue fraternellement

POUR LE CONSEIL GENERAL DE S.I.A.
Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — Secrétaire.

Lucía Sánchez Saornil



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18873

Paris, am 18. Mai 1938

Liebe Emma,

mit viel Interesse habe ich Deinen letzten Brief und die Kopien der Briefe für Vazquez und Herrera gelesen. In den letzteren hat mich vor allem Dein Eintreten für die in Paris befindlichen Flüchtlinge einen tiefen Eindruck gemacht, denn das ist ein Problem, das ich täglich vor Augen sehe. Eine ausweglose Geschichte. Jetzt ist ein neues Gesetz herausgekommen, das angeblich erlauben soll, die juristische Situation von Ausländern zu regeln, die legal nicht in ein anderes Land gelangen können. Ihnen sollen in Frankreich gewisse Orte als Aufenthalt zugewiesen werden, wo sie unter einer Art Polizeiaufsicht leben sollen. Aber wer ernährt sie dann; sie werden zu Vagabunden werden und als solche wieder der Polizei verfallen. Bisher aber sehen wir noch nicht einmal den Weg, die ergangenen Ausweisungen usw. rückgängig zu machen. Dabei sind die Strafvorschriften für Ausländer, die illegal hier sind, unerhört verschärft worden. Vor wenigen Wochen wurde ein italienischer Genosse zu einem Jahre verurteilt, lediglich weil er dem Ausweisungsbefehl nicht Folge geleistet hatte. Aber in Wirklichkeit konnte er es garnicht; kein Land nahm ihn auf.

Ich muss zu meinem vorigen Brief eine Korrektur machen, zum Glück eine Gute. Unsere werten spanischen Genossen in Paris hatten uns falsch oder mindestens oberflächlich informiert. Vivanco und Sans waren wohl eine kurze Weile Objekt von allerlei Angriffen und Kritik, aber jetzt stellt sich heraus, dass sie nicht im Gefängnis waren! Im Gegenteil, sie sind vor wenigen Tagen militärisch befördert worden. Das ist also eine Auszeichnung dieser Genossen. Du siehst, so schlecht werden wir hier informiert.

Liebe Emma, dies ist wieder ein privater Brief, denn das IAA-Sekretariat hat Deine Berichte vom 12. und 28. März noch immer nicht studiert. Es hat keine "Zeit". Das heisst, praktisch kümmern sich unsere beiden Spanier garnicht um uns, wir machen alles allein. Dazu ist Besnard noch ein kranker Mann, und der Portugiese macht nur Arbeit für Portugal. Praktisch bin ich der antierende Sekretär und arbeite allein mit den beiden Übersetzern.

Die CNT hält ihr Versprechen nicht, aus der IAA einen Organismus mit grosszügigen Arbeitsmöglichkeiten zu machen. Hingegen für die eigene Delegation der CNT in Paris ist nichts zu teuer. Man baut weiter an der "eigenen" Internationale der CNT im Stile Moskaus. Eine grosse Enttäuschung für mich- ich hatte nach dem Kongress eine Besserung erwartet, aber vergebens.

Übrigens ist nun zu allem Überfluss noch ein Brief dieses Meltzer an das Sekretariat gekommen, in dem er für eine "Workers Action League" und die Anarchosyndikalistische Jugend Londons (?) Anschluss an die IAA verlangt. Natürlich muss ich diesen Brief auch vorlegen. Bitte behalte dies für Dich, denn es handelt sich um antliche Korrespondenz des Sekretariats, zu der noch nicht Stellung genommen ist.

Im Sekretariat hatten wir jetzt schon allerlei Konflikte. Ich habe Dir schon geschrieben, dass ich mit dem Pressedienst nicht zufrieden bin, weil unsere Spanier uns nicht die "Fakts" liefern, aus denen wir einen wirklich guten Pressedienst machen könnten. Nun, nach vielen Beschwerden meinerseits hat sich Freund Mascarell aufgerafft und einen Artikel

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18874

mit Nachrichten über Spanien verbrochen. Ich habe diesen Artikel abgelehnt und es gab einen schönen Konflikt. Danke Dir, es waren Notizen im lächerlichsten "antifaschistisch-bürgerlich-kommunistischen" Stil. Nach langer Diskussion hat Mascarell aus den Notizen die schlimmsten Sachen gestrichen, darunter eine Verherrlichung der 13 Punkte des Herrn Negrin. Der Rest, so wurde mit zwei gegen eine Stimme (gegen mich) beschlossen, kommt in den Pressediens t. Er ist veröffentlicht als Supplément der Nummer 4. Lies. Ist das nicht ~~schon~~ blamabel? Siehst Du, das ist die Mitarbeit der CNT an der IAA. Eine Blamage ohne gleichen in der Geschichte der IAA.

Dies alles erfüllt mich mit grosser Skepsis, und ich werde froh sein, wenn ich nicht mehr IAA-Sekretär bin.

Ich möchte Dich noch verschiedenes privat fragen. Ein hiesiger Genosse bittet mich Dich zu fragen, ob Dir ein deutscher Genosse aus Erfurt bekannt sei der vor einigen Jahren, schon vor Hitler, nach Canada ging und sich wohl dort landwirtschaftlich betätigen soll. Ich kenne den Fall nicht. Wenn Du etwas davon wissen solltest, schreibe es mir bitte, wemöglich eine Adresse.

Ich selbst bin jetzt auch in grosser Verlegenheit. Ich hatte für den Herbst meine Übersiedlung nach Mexico vorbereitet, wo ich, einmal im Lande, bestimmt Arbeit gefunden hätte. In Paris werde ich nie etwas finden, hier kann man nur verhungern. Aber jetzt hat die mexikanische Regierung für mich die Einwanderungserlaubnis abgelehnt. Das ist ein ziemlicher Schlag, und mich muss sich weiter ansehen. Die Schwierigkeit meines Falles ist, dass ich keinen gültigen Pass mehr habe. Ich wusste schon immer, wo ich mir noch eine Existenz aufbauen könnte, aber wie bekommen. Ich sprach und korrespondierte schon mit der Genossin Edelmann darüber. Was sagst Du zu der Geschichte, könntest Du mir einen Rat geben?

Du hast übrigens sehr recht, wenn Du als Faktor des Zusammenbruches in Spanien die Demoralisierung durch die konterrevolutionäre Politik der Kommunisten anführst. Nach einem kurzen Rückgang des kommunistischen Einflusses steigt dieser heute wieder sehr. Russland hat tatsächlich neue grosse Mengen von Waffen geliefert, aber zugleich nimmt es wieder neuen parteipolitischen Einfluss in Spanien. Eine tragische, ausweglose Situation. Ich kann ja für Spanien selbst allerhand veratehen, ich liesse den Genossen alle Freiheit, wenn sie nur nicht uns in Amerika auch noch die Hände binden wollten, besonders gegen die Kommunisten. Die internationale Politik der CNT, das ist das Schlimmste. Dieser Tage habe ich in der SOLI gelesen, dass die Regierung Daladier den einheitlichen nationalen Willen des französischen Volkes verkörpert. Im Pressediens der IAA schreiben wir, mit Recht, das Gegenteil. Vielleicht werden uns eines Tages noch unsere Spanier verbieten wollen, die französische Regierung zu kritisieren, genau wie man schon die russische verschonen soll? Alles möglich. Sie verlieren in ihrer Not jede Orientierung. Nur, man muss wissen, sie sind in grösster Not und verraten von aller Welt. Das ist der Grund von alledem.

Ich freue mich über Euren Mai-Erfolg! Deine Arbeit als CNT-Vertreterin ist doch nicht ohne Früchte, es wird etwas hängen bleiben. Deinen sei sicher.

Du fragst weshalb Galve ausgewiesen sei. Wenn man das wissen will, darüber gibt es verschiedene Versionen, die sich widersprechen. In Wahrheit weiss

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48878

Hi ward. Man spricht davon, dass ihn ein katalonischer Politiker
angeblicher Mord-Drohung angezeigt und die französische Polizei
daraufhin ausgewiesen habe. Wer weiss. Alles ist bürokratische
Müll. Auf den Anwartsungs-Dokumenten selbst gut! die Polizei.

Eine grosse Bitte, liebe Emma. „Spain and the World“ kommt und kommt
nicht zur IAA. Ich bat schon öfter darum. Könnte man uns nicht eine
Kollektion der erschienenen Nummern und dann regelmässig schicken?

Ich erhielt dieser Tage ~~WMA~~ Post von Rudolf; er ist auch sehr
wegen der spanischen Ereignisse. Allerdings habe ich immer noch ni
allen Glauben verloren. Seit ich den 19. Juli mit erlebt habe, ne
ich dazu, in Spanien Wunder für möglich zu halten. Freilich, heute
alles viel, viel schwerer.

Trotzdem, für uns bleibt die Idee. Ich habe schon neulich einmal
Rudolf geschrieben; wir hängen ja letzten Endes nicht am Erfolg,
dern an der Idee, und der Kampf für sie wird weitergehen, weil er
wendig ist.

Liebe Emma, ich schliesse für heute, in der Hoffnung, bei Gelegenheit
wieder von Dir zu hören.

Dein

Helmut

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION DE LABOR
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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 19th May 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for your letter of the 14th instant. I am very glad indeed to know that you are safe and doing the work you like, among your own mageraal.

It goes without saying that your address will not be given to anyone. I am not in correspondence with Bertoni or Dr Pierroh, so they are not likely to ask me for your address, and I do not suppose Keell will. At any rate it will not be given to anybody.

You are jumping to conclusions dear comrade. The young socialist I wrote you about cannot, even if he wanted, go to Spain and fight at the front. He has been ill for some time. Besides I do not think it behoves us at our age and safe from going to the front to tell young people to throw away their lives. That they must do according to their own urge and decision. We certainly have no right to decide for them. Besides it seems that many of the previous youth who have rushed to the Spanish front are now being rushed out again as quickly as possible.

You are also jumping about the Anthology the young socialist is writing. It is not about prisoners. It is about the writing political prisoners have done in prison. I see no wrong in this; but even if he were writing about prisoners there would be no wrong. As a conscientious objector he was in prison during the last war, and he is well qualified to write about prisoners and prisons. If your point of view is correct then "Prison Memoirs" of an Anarchist should never have been written. I grant you that one should not make distinctions in ones approach to prisoners whether they are political or ordinary; but as one cannot write about all kinds of prisoners one should have the freedom to select - in the case of my young friend - the works of political prisoners. However I will tell him that he may find your works on Bakunin (in French) in the British Museum. He reads French so he will be able to get out what he needs. Thanks for the reference in regard to your Bakunin.

I don't know what you mean by "poor women in Leavenworth". There are no women prisoners in that prison for men. Besides I don't know what bearing that has on the right of the young socialist.

As on so many things - we will also not agree about the Basque children at the concert. They were not "exhibited", nor were they "used" for any purpose. It was a holiday for them and a distraction from the life they are leading. They enjoyed their dancing and singing, and it made them feel that they were contributing to the joy of the audience. I am surprised that you should suggest that anything we organised would hurt the sensibilities of the children, or that we would exhibit them.

About Alexander Berkman's writings, First of all I want you to know that all his material was left to me to be used at my discretion. Our comrade had little else to leave. I suppose he felt that since our lives were so interwoven as far as our ideas and work is concerned, that in his last crucial moment he jotted down on a piece of paper that

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his life long comrade and friend E.G. should have everything of his works.

me I have myself thought of the Amsterdam Institute, although I feel that the material belongs to the United States, whether you like it or not it is this country more than any other which has made us what we are. It is here that we were and our work is known as nowhere else. Just at present I cannot do anything about it anyway. I have left two trunks and many boxes of material well packed and well stored with French friends of mine, and ~~nowhere~~, in St Tropez. — in August 36.

The call to Spain set aside all other interests whatever, and I have worked for Spain day and night ever since to the exclusion of all thought about everything else.

I don't know when I shall have a chance to go to St Tropez. It will be exasperating anyway to go back to the place, so I am not able to do anything about the material.

up now There is also the question of shipment from there to Amsterdam, should I decide to give it to that museum. It would be quite an expense, which at present I cannot afford. Actually it would require a special trip to the South of France to resort the material and ship what is of value. I have not the means to carry out this plan. Besides I am not so sure that the material, outside of comrade Berkman's note books, would prove of interest to the Amsterdam Institute. It consists largely of correspondence, some published and some unpublished sketches. As to the note books I do not want to let them go, as I am hoping to be sufficiently detached in the future to write a biography of my dear comrade.

You probably know that I was actually expelled from Holland, so I would not be able to even go there to make use of the material were I to send it to the Institute.

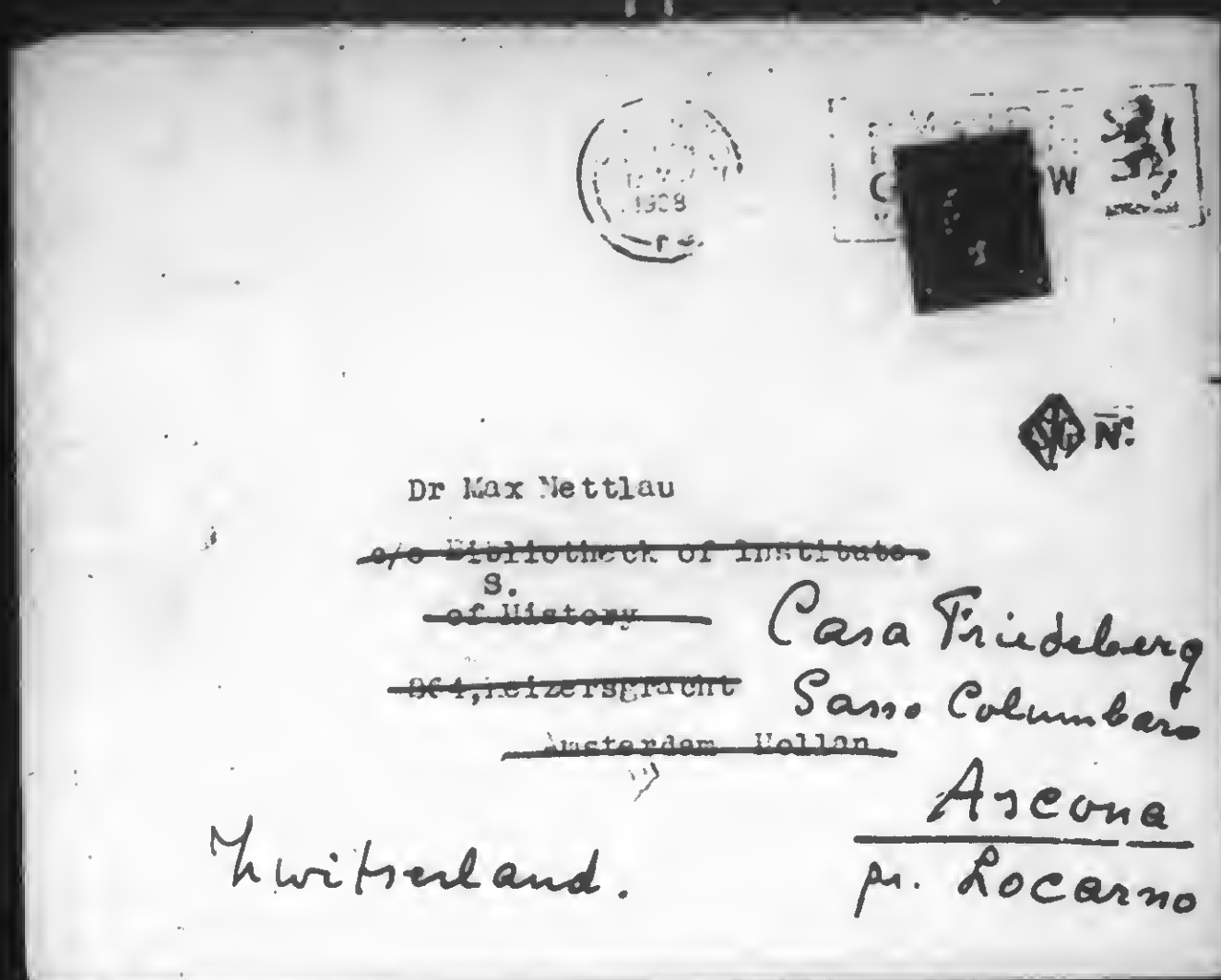
With best wishes.

E.G.
I never heard of it.
N.

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[Envelope] 1938 May 19, London [to] Max Nettlau, Ascona, Switzerland / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 12 × 15 cm.

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E.G. Colton
21 Frith Street
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19 de Mayo de 1938.

Mariano R. Vázquez,
SECRETARIA,
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
y Federación Anarquista Ibérica,
BARCELONA.

Estimado camarada Vázquez:

Mi carta 5 del actual y la tuya No. 517 E. de fecha 28 de Abril ppdo. se han cruzado.

En mi referida carta tocaba varios asuntos, que sometía a tu consideración, y quedo en espera de tu parecer. El mismo día también escribí a Herrera, y, en el entre tanto, he recibido una comunicación por la que me entero que, apremiado por otros deberes, ha tenido que dejar el cargo de Secretario que ostentaba en la S.I.A., cosa que he sentido de veras, pues siempre encontré al camarada Herrera muy comprensivo y eficiente en cuantos asuntos tuvimos que tratar. Por otra parte, estoy segura que sus servicios son requeridos en otra parte donde podrá prestar mejor ayuda a la causa. Supongo que el cambio se referirá sólo a la S.I.A. y que continuará sus actividades dentro del Comité Peninsular de la F.A.I.

En cuanto al nombramiento de la camarada Lucía Sánchez Saornil para reemplazar a Herrera en la S.I.A., lo celebro mucho, y próximamente le escribiré a ella.

Te aseguro que no desmayamos un momento en nuestras actividades de propaganda. Este trabajo tiene que ser intenso y encaminado a demostrar tanto a la masa obrera como a los dirigentes de Sindicatos las necesidades del pueblo español en su terrible lucha contra el fascismo internacional. Pero si bien a la masa sería fácil captarla, no resulta lo mismo con los dirigentes de Sindicatos. En ninguna parte del mundo y ciertamente en ningún país de los llamados democráticos, son tan inaccesibles los dirigentes de los organismos proletarios. No solo es imposible entrevistarlos con ellos sino aún conseguir que contesten a las cartas que se les dirigen. Para demostrártelo, te diré que tan pronto como nos enteramos de la actitud adoptada por los Metalúrgicos, escribí una carta a Little, Secretario del Sindicato, felicitándole por la decisión tomada y haciéndole ver el aliento e inspiración que ello suponía tanto para vosotros en la C.N.T. como para todos los

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trabajadores en general de la España antifascista. Como era natural, espera una contestación, la que habría aprovechado luego para pedirle una entrevista en la que le pondría al corriente del desarrollo de la lucha en España y el papel que en ella desempeñan la C.N.T. y la U.G.T.; pero siento decirte que no se dignó contestar a mi carta, que estoy segura llegó a su poder, ya que de otra forma me hubiera sido devuelta ya por Correos. Aquí tienes una demostración de lo poco que se interesan por la C.N.T.-F.A.I. o por la Oficina que las representa en Londres, los dirigentes de las Trade Unions. Otro ejemplo es el que te daba en la referida carta 5 del actual, con motivo de la conferencia extraordinaria convocada en virtud de la situación en España. Solicité tarjeta de asistencia como Delegada de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., que te he enviado para que veas que se me consideraba como Delegada en carácter de consultante. Durante la sesión, cuando la Mesa pidió los nombres de aquellos que tuviesen algo de importancia que exponer, yo di el mío, indicando claramente que representaba a la C.N.T.; pero ni se me invitó a hablar ni se me consultó en nada. Aun mas, durante toda la sesión ni siquiera se mencionó el nombre de la C.N.T. Sin embargo, los comunistas, los verdaderos propulsores de la conferencia, tuvieron todas cuantas oportunidades les vino en gana, que aprovecharon para pedir a voz en grito la formación del Frente Popular. Mas tarde escribí a la secretaria de la Conferencia, haciéndole ver lo injusto de la manera en que fue tratada la C.N.T., y en su respuesta se excusa alegando que como no era posible que hablasen todos aquellos que lo habían solicitado, únicamente se había concedido la palabra a aquellos que representaban a la masa.

Y para mas abundancia de pruebas, te diré que en una de las minas del País de Gales, cerca de 5.000 mineros, solicitaron, a través de sus delegados, la acción directa mediante la huelga; al enterarse de que el carbon que extraían era para los rebeldes; y los dirigentes del Sindicato se opusieron rotundamente, entre ellos Arthur Horner, conocido comunista, defraudando los deseos de los mineros de ir a la huelga.

Por lo que antecede, querido Vazquez, podrás comprobar lo ingrata que resulta aquí nuestra labor. Personalmente, no dejo de comprender y reconocer que contando con la colaboración de los dirigentes de Sindicatos se podrían hacer grandes cosas en pro de vuestra lucha y vuestros sacrificios; pero para ello habrían de modificar su tesitura actual.

Por otra parte se nota un despertar considerable en la masa ante la realidad de lo grave de la situación en España, y por todos los medios a nuestro alcance procuramos llegar hacia ella y tenerla al tanto del desarrollo de los acontecimientos.

Completamente de acuerdo contigo en que la caída de Chamberlain habría de favorecer la causa de España. Por voluntad propia no se puede esperar que som marche. Habrá que hecharlo, y para hecharlo no veo más que dos soluciones: una que todos los diputados laboristas, con el apoyo de algunos de los liberales, se reti-

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ren en masa del Parlamento. Existe el precedente histórico, con el resultado apetecido. La otra solución sería la Huelga General, o una serie de huelgas en las principales industrias, sobre todo las ocupadas en la fabricación de material de guerra y aviación.

No quiero aparecer como que desee hechar jarros de agua fría sobre tu optimismo; pero estimo necesario hacerte ver la realidad y que te des cuenta que ninguno de estos métodos serán arrojados por el Partido Laborista o las Trade Unions; y sin estas medidas radicales no hay quien mueva a Chamberlain ni se podrá conseguir tampoco que sea abolido el Pacto de no intervención. Con toda sinceridad te digo que me gustaría poderte pintar un cuadro más alagueño de la situación aquí; pero sería engañarte.

Tengo mas esperanza en la acción en los E.U. sugerida por el Senador Nye. Verdad es que otros Senadores se oponen a que se levante la prohibición sobre la exportación de armas; pero existe una diferencia, y es que los trabajadores en los E.U., tanto los que están organizados como los que no lo están, no se hallan tan supeditados a la burocracia de los Sindicatos. Son todavía muy claros y exigentes en sus demandas, y su disposición a estar al lado de sus compañeros en mucho más decisiva que la de los trabajadores aquí. Es esta la razón por la cual confío en que en un próximo futuro sea levantada en los E.U. la prohibición sobre la exportación de armamentos.

Por las manifestaciones que me haces en tu carta respecto a la posición del Independent Labour Party, veo que debe haber una mala interpretación sobre lo que tocante a este partido te haya podido yo haber comunicado, y en honor a la justicia estimo necesario ponerte en antecedentes acerca de la verdadera situación de dicha organización con respecto a España. No es correcto que a ellos no les interesa el pacto C.N.T. - U. G. T., ni que la C. N. T. haya entreado a formar parte del Gobierno. Desde luego que se preocupan por aquellos de sus camaradas que se encuentran aun encarcelados, a quienes les gustaría ver puestos en libertad de forma que tuviesen la oportunidad de dedicar su tiempo y energías a la causa antifascista; pero también es verdad que a través de su Secretario, Fenner Brockway, han sido, después de nosotros, los únicos que aquí han levantado la voz para hablar en los términos más encomiásticos de la C.N.T. y sus conquistas revolucionarias. De tiempo en tiempo, desde que Fenner Brockway regresó de su visita a España, no ha dejado pasar la ocasión en cuantos mítines ha tomado parte, para hacer referencia a la C.N.T., hablando siempre de la Organización con el mayor respeto y cariño. Igual proceder ha venido siguiendo John McNair, a quien creo que tu conoces personalmente, y por otros miembros del I.L.P., tales como Ethel Mannin y Reginald Reynolds, habiendo estos dos últimos en varias ocasiones trabajado personalmente en nuestra Oficina de Londres en relación con asuntos exclusivos de la C.N.T. y de la S.I.A. Ni que decir tiene que existe dentro del Partido un ala derecha que no demuestra gran entusiasmo en colaborar con nosotros; pero en cuanto a Fenner y los demás, puedo asegurarte que defienden nuestra causa

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con el mayor interés. Por otra parte, y conforme escribí a Herrera, el I.L.P. es un organismo político, y, como tal, no se le podía pedir su colaboración con la S.I.A. Por esta razón, cualquier actividad relacionada con la S.I.A. y apoyada por algún miembro del I.L.P. ha sido realizada individualmente con carácter personal.

Ha de tenerse en cuenta, igualmente, que el I.L.P. fué uno de los primeros en enviar contingentes de hombres al frente. En Inglaterra tienen una guardería en la que mantienen a 40 niños españoles, la mayoría de ellos hijos de compañeros de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., y en su órgano "New Leader" vienen realizando una enérgica campaña en pro de España. En el último número exigen que se termine de una vez con la farsa trágica de la no intervención y que se facilite a la España antifascista todo el material que precise para su defensa. En resumen, mi opinión personal es que - en proporción a sus fuerzas - el I.L.P. ha realizado y viene realizando a favor de España una campaña más efectiva que el Labour Party o las Trade Unions.

Tan pronto como estén listas las cuentas de la S.I.A. prepararemos un estado de todos los gastos incurridos por esta Oficina de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., que te mandaremos, para tu gobierno.

Los únicos fondos recaudados en nombre de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. con destino a la compra de armamento suman 50 libras, que conservo aun en mi poder pendiente de que me informes si he de mandarlas a París o a Marsella.

Hace unos días envié a Martín Gudell una lista de las obras publicadas en Inglaterra y que versan sobre nuestra lucha; y he solicitado a America que me manden una de las obras publicadas allí para hacértela seguir. Luego ya tu me dirás cuáles interesan conseguir. Ahora acaba de salir a la luz en Londres un libro titulado "Homage to Catalonia" (Homenaje a Cataluña) escrito por un muchacho que estuvo en el frente de Aragón con los camaradas del P.O.U.M. e I.L.P. En él elogia profundamente a nuestros propios compañeros al mismo tiempo que hace un minucioso relato del criminal sabotage practicado por aquellos que no desearan que llegasen armas al frente de Aragón. Será revisado en SPAIN AND THE WORLD por nuestra buena amiga Ethel Mannin en el próximo número, del que te mandaré un ejemplar.

Todos aquí seguimos con gran emoción el desarrollo de vuestra heroica lucha, y animados por una fé inquebrantable en la victoria final, te saluda fraternalmente,

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H. Rüdiger
May 19 1938

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 PRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 19th May 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Helmut Rüdiger,
Secretariat,
I.A.A. Paris.

Dear Helmut,

Your letter arrived today. I cannot answer it in full. As I do not want to keep you waiting for an answer regarding yourself I am writing at once.

Sonia Elderman told me about the letter she had received from you. She said she would write her brother about you. He is in the labor ranks, and has considerable influence. He may be able to do something in your case.

I also suggested that she should see some people here with a view of getting you a visa. I did so because I thought your case was very urgent and that it naturally would be better if you first came to England and then have time to negotiate with the States; but if you are not rushed, I would certainly advise against England, if for no other reason, because it is very much more expensive to live here than in France.

If your passport has expired, then I fear that you will not be permitted to land here, in the States, or any other country. What about a Nansen passport? I believe they are still given out. Do you not want to try that?, and could you not turn to the organisation for German refugees. It is absolutely necessary to have a passport. Without it I cannot see how anything can be done for you. I am sorry to seem so harsh; but it is better that you face the situation.

I believe that Sonia has written you by express for particulars about yourself. I was not even able to tell her if you had any trade and what it was. I know very little about you, my dear, except your value to the movement. I suppose it is because ~~that~~ we have only recently come closer, and the collective tragedy is so all absorbing one does not think in individual terms. I hope you have replied by return mail to Sonia's letter.

I am sorry my dear: but I know of no comrade from Erfurt, who went to Canada. What was his name?. Let me have that and I will enquire from the comrades in Canada whether they know him or have heard of him.

irreducible I will take up the matters of the I.A.A. later on. I only wish now to refer to that ~~distinguished~~ Meltza. I must say the man has perseverance. He is evidently determined to play a part ~~as a~~ representative of the I.A.A. He tried once to be so for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. His story about "Workers Action Group" and "Anarcho-Syndicalist Youth" is all fake. A few young boys, who have only recently heard of us have come together and have decided to call themselves the "Workers Action League". - as to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Youth there is none outside of the

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young people who have joined the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union.

Of course I have no desire to prescribe to the I.A.A. whom they should give credentials to; but in this case I can only tell you that the whole thing has no bottom and no reliance. It is ridiculous to expect the I.A.A. to consent to affiliations with a handful of boys who have not the remotest idea of even the ABC of Anarchism. Please do not misunderstand - I am not suggesting that the few boys are dishonest. So far they have shown keen interest, and it is largely comrade Ralph Barr who has really been responsible for whatever the boys have done in the way of a meeting or printing matter. He has sustained them out of his own pocket and has given them every opportunity to learn, grow and develop. I do not even suggest that Meltza is dishonest - rather do I think that he wants to play a part. He is ignorant and knows no more about our ideas than the rest of the group. Incidentally he has succeeded in working into this group of young comrades, having failed to organise one in the neighbourhood where he lives, and undoubtedly he will try to use this group to his own advantage or will try to split them, I mean split them from their support of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union or from doing any work to support the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bureau. In fact it was the same Meltza who endeavoured to get the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to recognise him, and they of course referred him to the London bureau. By the way he has contact with Guy Aldred, and evidently also endeavouring has got contact with Ethel Macdonald in France. I understand that she has promised to put him in contact with the youth movement in France if he wanted it. So you see the devices that Meltza is using to make himself important in our ranks. He was unknown to any of the comrades in England until early last year when he responded to a request which appeared in a letter which appeared in the press for assistance in the work of the bureau. He immediately took up the attitude that he should take part in the control of the bureau, and sowed seeds of discontent in others who desired to help.

Both comrade Barr and myself feel that we should let you know this, otherwise it has never been my habit, and I am sure not

his, to pay attention to all the small contemptible ^{ambitions} affectations of people like Aldred and in a dimmer light Meltza.

This is really for your own information. I do not want it to be made public property in the Secretariat of the I.A.A. It seems to me that you ought to be able to suggest to the Secretariat, especially as you say that the Spanish members pay little attention, and you are virtually left in charge, that Meltza should be written to and told that the I.A.A. can only accept bona-fide organisations especially of an economic - that is an Anarcho-Syndicalist nature.

I am enclosing copy of my letter to Mascarel. You will see that I have even advised against immediate affiliation of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, although it is certainly much more entitled to affiliation than Meltza's fictitious groups.

The comrades of the A.S.U. are certainly making an effort to become solid in their stand and informed in their ideas. They need a few months more to be quite certain what their attitude towards Anarcho-Syndicalism is, and I think it will then be in place to accept their application for affiliation.

I am giving you this example to show you how careful we are at this end and how careful I believe the I.A.A. should be.

In haste. Fraternally.

Emma

together and have decided to call themselves the "Workers Action League". - as to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Youth" there is none outside of the



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 19, Barcelona [to] Emm[a] Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Oficina del Trabajo
Barcelona

Nº 596

BARCELONA, a 19 de mayo de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

El portador de la presente, compañero Luis Frank, está autorizado por este Secretariado de Relaciones Exteriores para proceder a la explotación del film "AMANECEER EN ESPAÑA" en Inglaterra, actuando siempre de acuerdo con esa Oficina.

Lo que hacemos constar para los efectos oportunos.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

COMITÉ PENINSULAR
Relaciones Exteriores

COMITÉ NACIONAL
SECRETARIA

Mariano R. Vázquez.

Manuel Mascarell
28 Bd. Saint Denis
Paris X

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20th May 1938.

Dear Comrade Mascarell,

I have before me your letter of the 22nd April - also the circular announcing the forthcoming congress of the A.I.T. in Paris. Today came your short note with the draft for £20 enclosed. I will deposit the latter in my bank and send you a cheque for the amount which you can cash in Paris.

First about your letter of the 22nd. I was deeply interested in your description of our losses at the front a month ago. You say they were due not only to the overwhelming superiority of the enemies material; but also to the complete loss of moral coupled with lack of faith and enthusiasm to carry on the struggle. I wonder how our people could possibly have stood out in open fields against as you say yourself the overwhelming material of the enemy. After all the bravest and most heroic which our militia have been till now cannot stand out for long the frightful continuous attack from the air and the land - so I really do not blame our militias if they preferred to tramp their weary and painful way to France. The very fact that the majority of them quickly offered to go back to Barcelona to join the ranks at the front again proves that it was not weakness or cowardliness or even loss of "faith and enthusiasm". I know that even in the dreadful world war it was considered much more heroic to retreat when there was no way of meeting the enemy than permit oneself to be turned into well ~~anyway~~ from the letters I receive from the comrades in

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Barcelona it seems that our militias have regained the faith and enthusiasm and the determination to fight to the very end.

No, dear comrade "the international situation was not and is not very favourable". To be sure the British Labour Party and Trade Unions are making a lot of noise. They are calling for arms for Spain; but so far they have not lifted a finger that would undermine the shameful non-intervention pact. In fairness to the trade union branches and many of the trades and labour councils I have to say that they are showing much more determination than their leaders. Unfortunately the Attlees and the Citrines continue to be in absolute control of the organised workers and to put a damper on them whenever they really show fight and determination to use direct action.

Irony of ironies is that not only the leaders of the every party and political ideas; but the communists who are the loudest shouting for a popular front who are the people who insidiously check any attempt on the part of the workers to do something. A case in point.

Five thousand South Wales miners who found that the coal they were getting was being sent to rebel ports in Spain demanded through their delegates that strike action be taken. This was strenuously opposed by the Officials of the union including Arthur Horner a well known member of the Communist Party.

Probably you are aware that there was ^{an emergency} a conference on Spain which took place on the 23rd April. There was some very loud and outspoken expressions - some delegates even mustered up enough courage to suggest a general strike, and many of the others from the branches were willing evidently willing to proceed with

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some form of direct action. When a delegation waited upon "Sir" Walter Citrine he would not hear of it, and even refused to meet the delegation.

is condemnation
I attended as the delegate representative of the C.N.T. and was given no chance to make suggestions about the best means that would smash up the non-intervention pact. You see therefore dear comrade how matters stand here. I only wish our comrades in Barcelona would realise that.

A recent letter from Vasquez expresses the feeling that we must try to reach the masses as well as the leaders. I cannot understand such naivety and faith in British labour. I have replied that it is not so much that we do not want to reach the leaders but that the leaders will not have anything to do with us or anything coming from the C.N.T. bureau.

Their conspiracy of silence as well as the silence of the English press even since the beginning - July 19th, *and*

has not changed
I am writing all this dear comrade because I think you might be able to use it in the form of a report for the A.I.T.

I will add that the one bright spot was the 1st May demonstration. True, ~~in point of truth~~ our contingent was very small indeed; but it made up by striking banners, flags, posters and slogans, which created more attention than all the others. Also, our platform in Hyde Park attracted a large number of people and several of us spoke in behalf of Spain of the struggle of our comrades in Spain.

For the rest I have already written a report to the A.I.T. four or five weeks ago of all the activities that are taking place at 21 Frith Street, our Bureau

For the present I cannot add anything of value

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or of encouragement about our achievements in this country.

Regarding the proposed congress. We do have an Anarcho-Syndicalist Union in this city. It was begun last year and re-organised this year; but it would be misleading to make you and the A.I.T. believe that it is an "organisation consisting of workers" and at present they really do not know where they stand except just a few.

Therefore I cannot suggest that they should be accepted as an economic body in the A.I.T. I think it is necessary to wait some time longer to see what definite position this young group will take. Perhaps by August they may really have gained clarity and therefore be entitled to affiliation that would enable them to have a delegate at the conference, although I doubt very much whether they will have the means to pay his expenses.

There is however one comrade, long in the movement, and a member of the New the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union who may be able to attend the congress and pay his own expenses. His name is comrade Ralph Barr, who is long in the movement and who has worked with me incessantly since 1936 when I came back from Spain and organised the C.N.T.-F.A.I. bureau. He might have a mandate from the organisation. In that case he would be able to speak for them.

As to myself I naturally would be glad to attend the congress; but I have definitely decided never again to spend as I did last December. It was difficult enough to sit around ten days without having the right to participate in the proceedings, or to express an opinion on the various points.

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266

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[Letter] 1938 May 20 [London to Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
5 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

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8

Besides I do not again want any privileges. You remember how the French delegation protested because I was given the right to speak. Don't you see it made the comrades at the congress feel that I was used as a moral prop for the Spanish delegation. I naturally don't want that ever again.

I therefore have no idea whether I will be able to attend the congress.

However I have written the comrades in Barcelona that I want to go to Canada for a tour and there is also a possibility that I may be readmitted in the United States. Friends of mine are working for a visa. If I should decide to sail in September I might come over for the Congress for a day or two, and then proceed to Canada. We still have the whole summer before us and we will see what will happen.

Please dear comrade, any other news you get be sure to send it to me. I don't mean in the printed form, but in the form of a letter.

Greet the other comrades of the delegation.

Please take notice that we are at 21 Frith Street, London, W.1. and do not send anything to our old address.

SALUD.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930319

[Letter] 1938 May 20, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez
[and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Federación Nacional del Trabajo
y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica
Relaciones Exteriores

19093
n- 600. E.

BARCELONA, den 20. Mai 1938.

An das Propagandabüro C.N.T.-P.A.I. in England.

L O N D O N .

Werte Genossin Emma Goldmann!

Auf Grund Deines Briefes vom 5. d. M. sind wir zu der Ueberzeugung gelangt, dass Du die Gelegenheit wahrnehmen solltest, um eine Propagandataetigkeit in Kanada durchzuführen, da Du durch dieselbe eine Arbeit von ausserordentlicher Wichtigkeit fuer die Verteidigung unserer Sache verwirklichen kannst.

Du bist folglich autorisiert, die Reise durchzuführen; der Zeitpunkt derselben wird der sein, den Du fuer angebracht haelst.

Wir sind von allen Arbeiten, die Du verwirklicht, unterrichtet.


Das Gleiche gilt von dem Eindruck, den Du aus der Konferenz "Pro)España" entnommen hast.

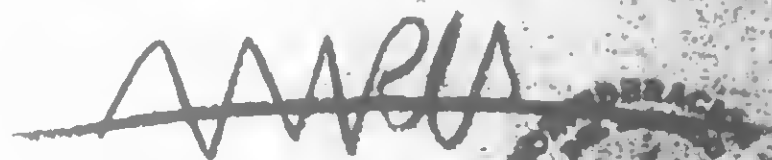
Wir sind der Meinung, dass die Libras, die Du unter dem Motte "Armas para España" sammeltest, an unser Pariser Büro zu senden sind, damit dieses sie fuer den Zweck verwende, fuer die sie gesammelt wurden.

Mit bruederlichen Gruessen

Fuer das P.-Kte. der P.A.I.

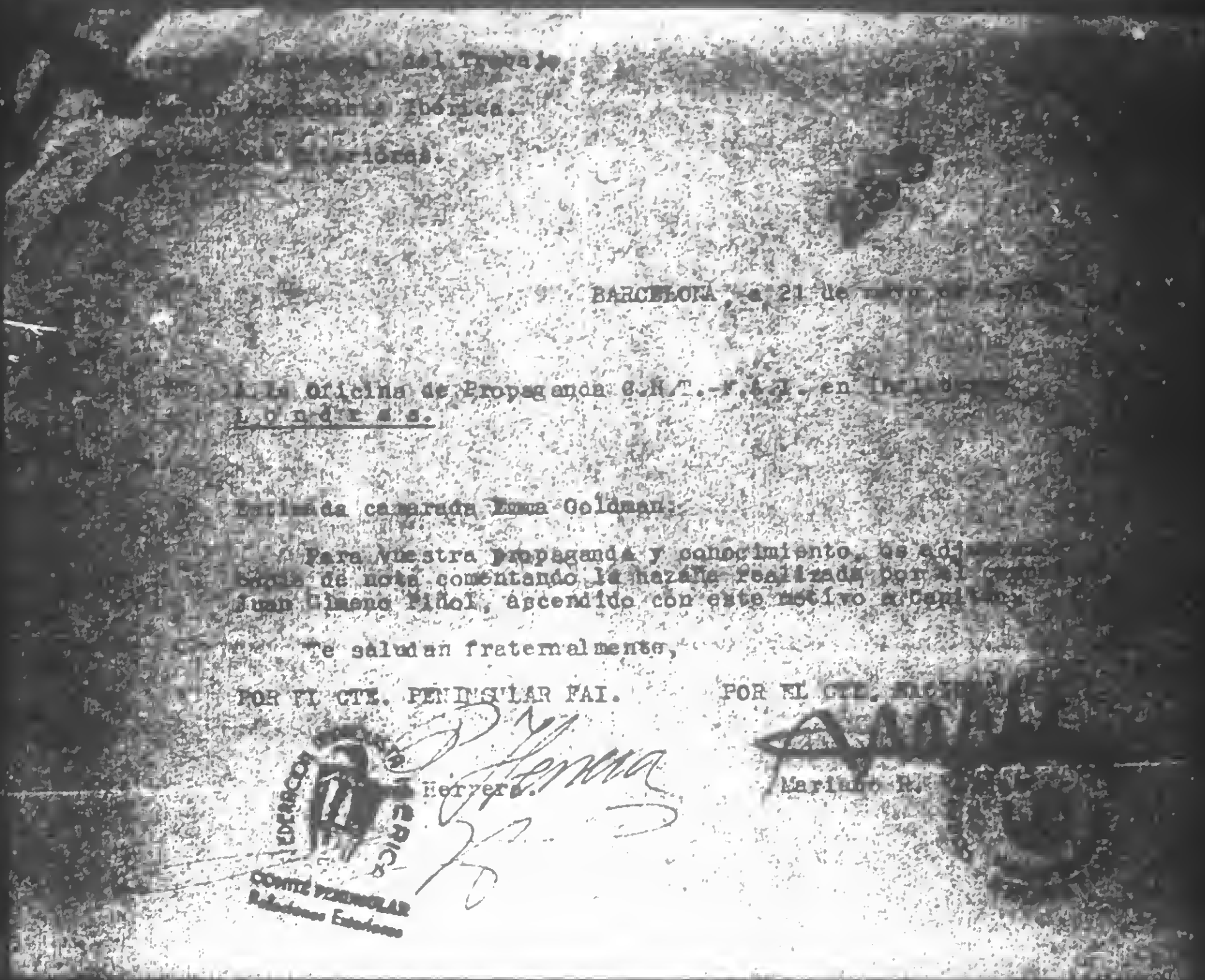
Fuer das N.-Kte. der C.N.T.


Pedro Herrera.
COMITE PENINSULAR
Relaciones Exteriores


Mariano R. Vázquez
SECRETARIA NACIONAL

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica.
Relaciones Exteriores.

Nº 619. X. 1938

BARCELONA, a 21 de mayo de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
London.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Para que sea dado a la publicidad, te enviamos a la presente, mensaje dirigido a los combatientes que en levante están luchando heroicamente. También te adjuntamos copia de un artículo aparecido en "FRAGUA SOCIAL".

Te saludan fraternalmente,

FOR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

FOR EL CTE. NACIONAL FAI.


Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez.


SECRETARIA

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870930322

[Letter, 1938 May 21, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera]. — 1 p. ; 21 x 21 cm.

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19096

De "Fragua Social" -14 de Mayo 1938.

HEROES DE LA G.M.T.

EL TENIENTE PIÑOL, DESTRUYE DOS APARATOS ENEMIGOS.

La actuación de la Brigada 117, integrada por elementos confederales, ha sido siempre destacada en el campo de batalla. A la heroica hoja de servicios prestados por estos bravos compañeros, hay que añadir, ahora un nuevo hecho glorioso: el del teniente don Juan Gimeno Piñol, del tercer batallón de la Brigada, que se ha superado en sus intervenciones. Todo cuanto nosotros pudiéramos decir, está condensado en la siguiente orden general del Ejército de Levante del día 9 del corriente, que dice así:

"Artículo único.- El teniente don Juan Gimeno Piñol, del tercer Batallón de la 117 Brigada Mixta, el día 29 del pasado Abril, abatió con fuego de fusil ametrallador un aparato biplano de esta enemigo. El teniente Gimeno, durante las operaciones de Valdeobispo, abatió otro aparato enemigo, también con fusil ametrallador.

La doble acción realizada por el teniente Gimeno Piñol, le revela como un antiaeronauta consumado, pone toda su rabia, todo su odio, toda su alma en la destrucción del enemigo.

Los actos realizados por el teniente don Juan Gimeno Piñol son merecedores de una alta recompensa, y en su consecuencia, ha sido propuesto a la superioridad para el ascenso a capitán".

- - - - -

The Emma Goldman Papers

870917010

[Letter, 1938 May 21, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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LA REPÚBLICA FIJA SUS FINES DE GUERRA

21.14

"El Gobierno de la Unión Nacional, que cuenta con la confianza de todos los Partidos y Organizaciones sindicales de la España leal y estenta la representación de cuantos ciudadanos españoles están sometidos a la legalidad constitucional, declara solamente, para conocimiento de sus compatriotas y noticias del mundo, que sus fines de guerra son:

1º.- Asegurar la independencia absoluta y la integridad total de España. Una España totalmente libre de toda injerencia extranjera, sea cual sea su carácter y origen, con su territorio peninsular e insular y sus posesiones intactas, y a salvo de cualquier tentativa de desmembramiento, ~~separación~~ ~~separación~~ o hipoteca, conservando las zonas de Protectorado asignadas a España por los convenios internacionales, mientras estos convenios no sean modificados con su intervención y asentimiento.

Conscientes a los deberes ajenos a su tradición y a su historia, España estrechará con los demás países de sus hablas vínculos que imponen una común raíz y el sentido de universalidad que siempre ha caracterizado a nuestro pueblo.

2º.- Liberación de nuestro territorio de las fuerzas militares extranjeras que lo han invadido, así como de aquellos elementos que han acudido a España, después de julio de 1936, y con el pretexto de una colaboración técnica intervienen o intentan dominar en provecho propio la vida jurídica y económica española.

3º.- República popular representada por un Estado vágarese que se asiente sobre principios de pura democracia y ejerza su acción a través de un Gobierno dotado de la plena autoridad que confiere el voto ciudadano emitido por sufragio universal y que sea el símbolo de un Poder Ejecutivo, dependiente en todo tiempo de las directrices y designios que marque el pueblo español.

4º.- La estructuración jurídica y social de la República será obra de la voluntad nacional libremente expresada, mediante un plebiscito que tendrá efecto tan pronto termine la lucha, realizado con plenitud de garantías, sin restricciones ni limitaciones, y asegurando a cuantos en él toman parte, contra toda posible represalia.

5º.- Respeto a las libertades regionales sin menoscabo de la unidad española. Protección y fomento al desarrollo de la personalidad y particularidades de los distintos pueblos que integran España, como lo imponen un derecho y un hecho histórico, lo que lejos de significar una disgregación de la Nación, constituye la mejor soldadura entre los elementos que la integran.

6º.- El Estado español garantizará la plenitud de los derechos al ciudadano en la vida civil y social, la libertad de conciencia, y asegurará el libre ejercicio de las creencias ~~genuinamente~~ y prácticas religiosas.

7º.- El Estado garantizará la propiedad, legal y legítimamente adquirida, dentro de los límites que impongan el supremo interés nacional y la protección a los elementos productores. Sin menoscabo de la iniciativa individual, impedirá que la acumulación de riqueza pueda conducir a la explotación del ciudadano y sojuzgue a la colectividad, desvirtuando la acción controladora del Estado en la vida económica y social. A este fin se

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Página 2ª

impulsará el desarrollo de la pequeña propiedad, se garantizará el patrimonio familiar y se estimularán todas las medidas que lleven a un mejoramiento económico, moral y racial de las clases productoras.

La propiedad y los intereses legítimos de los extranjeros, que no hayan ayudado a la rebelión, serán respetados y se examinarán con miras a las indemnizaciones que correspondían los perjuicios involuntariamente causados en el curso de la guerra. Para el estudio de estos daños el Gobierno de la República creó ya la Comisión de Reclamaciones Extranjeras.

8ª.— Profunda reforma agraria que liquide la vieja aristocrática propiedad señorial que, carente de sentido humano, nacional y patriótico, ha sido siempre el mayor obstáculo para el desarrollo de las grandes posibilidades del país. Asentamiento de la nueva España sobre una amplia y sólida democracia campesina dueña de la tierra que trabaja.

9ª.— El Estado garantizará los derechos del trabajador a través de una legislación social avanzada, de acuerdo con las necesidades específicas de la vida y de la economía españolas.

10ª.— Será preocupación primordial y básica del Estado el mejoramiento cultural, físico y moral de la raza.

11ª.— El Ejército español al servicio de la Nación misma, estará libre de toda hegemonía de tendencia o partido y el pueblo ha de ver en él el instrumento seguro para la defensa de sus libertades y de su independencia.

12ª.— El Estado español se reafirma en la doctrina constitucional de renuncia a la guerra como instrumento de política nacional. España, fiel a los pactos y tratados, apoyará la política simbolizada en la Sociedad de Naciones, que ha de seguir siendo su norma; reivindica y mantiene los derechos propios del Estado español y reclama, como Potencia mediterránea, un puesto en el concierto de las naciones, dispuesta siempre a colaborar en el fortalecimiento de la seguridad colectiva y en la defensa general de la paz.

Para contribuir de una manera eficaz a esta política, España desarrollará e intensificará todas sus posibilidades de defensa.

13ª.— Amplia amnistía para todos los españoles que quieran cooperar a la inmensa labor de reconstrucción y engrandecimiento de España. Después de una lucha cruenta como la que ensangrienta nuestra tierra, en la que han surgido las viejas virtudes de heroísmo e idealidad de la raza, cometerá un delito de traición a los destinos de nuestra Patria aquél que no reprime y ahoga toda idea de venganza y represalia, en aras de una acción común de sacrificios y trabajos que por el porvenir de España estamos obligados a realizar todos sus hijos."

Barcelona 1 de Mayo de 1938.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 21, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Lucía Sánchez Saorin. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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19069

N° 605.

Barcelona. 21 Mai 1938.

Emma Goldman
Conseil National de S.I.A.
Section Anglaise
L o n d o n W. I.

Cher camarade Emma:

En étudiant la correspondance de la Section Anglaise, j'arrive à une conclusion que tout son poids ou mieux que toute la Section c'est toi.

Il y a pu voir la correspondance cordiale que tu entretiens avec le camarade Herrera, et je voudrais qu'en le substituant au Secrétariat de ce Conseil Général, tu me transmettes la même cordialité, vu qu'il y a long temps que je te considère comme une personne d'estime, malgré que dans les courtes entrevues, la difficulté de nous comprendre mutuellement ne m'ait permis d'en profiter.

Nous avons reçu ta carte du 5 du mois courant qui mentionne la réception de la documentation envoyée par nous.

À ce qui concerne le premier point qui traite de la repatriation des enfants Basques, nous admettons tout ce que tu as fait sur cette question et seulement comme toi, nous regrettons qu'en n'ayant pu empêcher celle de quelques uns de ces petits. Et quand à l'aide que nous leur pouvons donner, tu connais bien nos possibilités.

Personne mieux que toi, pour savoir jusqu'à quel point nous pouvons nous dénuder devant l'opinion anglaise. Je me rapporte à cela à l'indication que fais sur les couleurs de notre Organisation. Tant mieux si nous pouvons nous démontrer tels que nous sommes en réalité; nous éprouvons toujours avec cela notre satisfaction et notre orgueil.

Bien que nous regrettons le résultat négatif de la collecte de la veillée que tu as préparé avec tant d'enthousiasme, nous sommes satisfaits du concept, que sur notre capacité organisatrice et de sélection ils ont pu se former. Nous avons vu le programme et nous vous félicitons avec quel goût tout était sélectionné.

Quant à la collaboration avec l'"Independent Labour Party" toi qui vis sur ce terrain, tu es la plus autorisée, pour savoir jusqu'à quel point nous convient et intéresse, et les avantages et les désavantages qui peuvent nous apporter.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930309

[Letter] 1938 May 21, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Lucia Sánchez Saornil. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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19070
Conforme à ton désir dorénavant toutes les lettres nous l'enverrons en français.

Tu ne sais comme nous reconnaissons l'annonce de l'envoi des crayons et du papier, puisque ce sont de nos notes beaucoup le manque au front.

La Section Espagnole a édité un demi-million de cartes pour l'usage exclusif des miliciens, qui se sont épuisés rapidement. Également je peux t'informer de quelques services des cartes nombre très limité qu'on a pu acquérir.

Dans notre carte du 18 courant tu pourras voir que nous avons rien de l'envoi de "Spain and the World" que tu mentionnes la tienne, et c'était cela précisément que nous a obligé à écrire.

Nous ne savons pas exactement à quelle date on l'a envoyé si nous avons eu le temps de le savoir déjà. Nous attendons nouvelles sur cette particularité, pour écrire à Camara.

Actuellement, notre Section Espagnole édite un film qui terminée, nous l'enverrons pour que vous l'utilisiez.

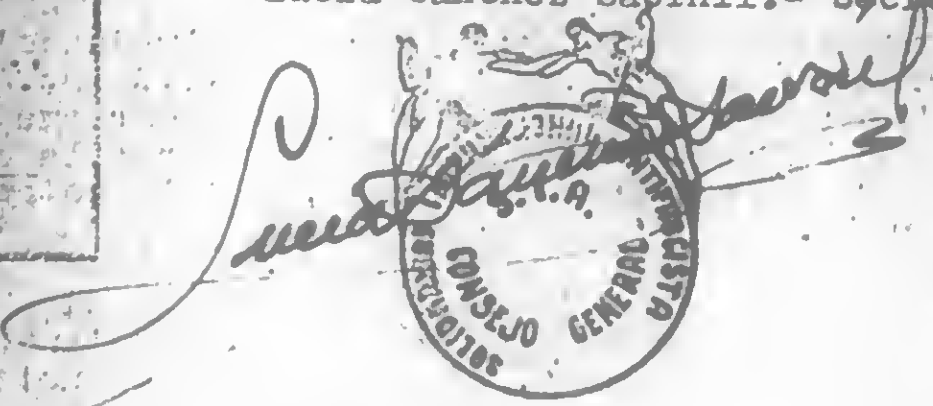
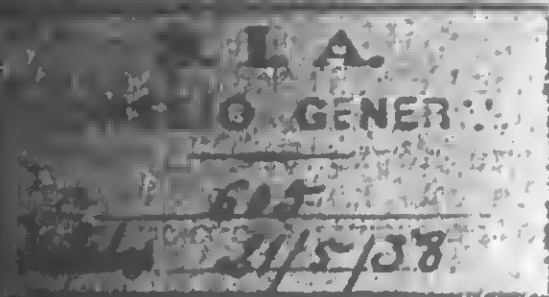
Également à ce qui concerne le film de Madrid, reportage l'Hommage aux Bataillons de Fortifications et un autre qu'on le aux États Unis. Nous ne pouvons vous dire exactement quand sont terminés.

Comme ta carte a passé par les mains de Herrera, je suppose qu'il a pris note du dernier paragraphe, dans lequel tu parles préface aux lettres de Berneri; malgré cela, je me charge de rappeler cela.

Avec des salutations fraternelles.

Bien à toi.

POUR LE CONSEIL GENERAL DE S.I.A.
Lucia Sanchez Saornil.- Secrétaire.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 23 [London to] Pedro Herrera, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman].—
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23rd May 1938.

19071

Pedro Herrera,
S.I.A. Council,
Barcelona.

Dear Comrade Herrera,

This letter is to be an answer to yours
No.285 written in German.

I have also received a short note from
our comrade Lucia Sanchez Saornil, and last but not least I have
received today your bulletin No.6 and circulars Nos.6.7 & 8.
I am trying to answer all these together in this letter.

First of all let me tell you that your announcement
that you will no longer be at the head of the S.I.A. was a great
shock to me. Not that I doubt for a moment that our dear comrade
Lucia will not give the same devotion, to the work of the S.I.A.
or that she lacks the organising ability. It is only that I found
it a great joy to deal with you. In all the times since we have
first met until now I never remember a single instance where you
failed to understand any explanation or to respond to any suggestion
I had made. I am therefore deeply sorry that you will no longer
will be connected actively with the S.I.A. I can only hope that
whatever else you will be doing now will not prevent us keeping in
touch. I see that you continue to sign as the Secretary of the
Pensin Peninsular F.A.I. organisation and also jointly sign letters
with our comrade Mariano.

First I want to call your attention to the fact
that much of the material which you sent us for the S.I.A. either
arrived entirely too late for immediate use, or was of a nature
which would express nothing to the average English reader of what
we publish. You understand I am sure that the Anglo Saxton has a
different mind, and that many things which seem natural quite natural
and has a great appeal to the Latin readers; but leaves the average
Britisher cold. A point in case is your Bulletin No.6. It might be
possible to take out a paragraph here and there; but the whole bulk
would really be a waste of money to have it printed. Besides it
contains no additional news about the activities in various coun-
tries. We have of course published what the S.I.A. is doing in
America, Sweden and so on. In case you have not received our second
Bulletin, although we sent it to you in a number of ways, I am en-
closing one that you may see that we have actually reported the
activities as is reported in your Bulletin. As regards Spain there
are a few interesting new items; but we are not quite certain
whether you wish us to go on with the publication of the S.I.A.
Bulletin. Each number costs £7. True it is our only medium of reach-
ing people as we cannot hold meetings often. They are even more ex-
pensive and we have no other way of putting before the English work-
ers just what the S.I.A. is accomplishing. I think I have already
asked you in one of my letters to let us know as soon as possible
whether you want the S.I.A. Bulletin to continue. For the next issue
I thought I might combine material of the S.I.A. with something about
the Mujeres Libres. I have several things of interest which should
be brought to the attention of the English public.

I may say here that little enough is known about the
magnificent work you are carrying on for the S.I.A. and C.N.T.-F.A.I.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930310

[Letter] 1938 May 23 [London to] Pedro Herrera, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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2

19072

but even less is known about MujaresLibres - so perhaps it will not be out of the way to get out a combination Bulletin.

I see in your Bulletin an item about Tom Mooney. I do not know where you got the idea that he has been set free. I am sure you are mistaken. His case I believe has been turned down again and is now up before the United States Supreme Court. Had he really been released our papers would have mentioned something about it, and I certainly would have known of it at once; but ~~no-one~~ nowhere have I seen a word about his liberation. It is too bad that you print such things that are not substantiated by facts. I suppose that somebody wrote you this item who merely had a hope that it would be realised.

Dear comrade. I see at the top of your Bulletin ~~all-the~~ that you ask all the press sympathising with the work of the S.I.A. and with your anti-fascist struggle to reprint your Bulletin. I believe I have written you before that there is no such press in England. Even those who call themselves anti-fascist ~~are not~~, such as the Daily Herald, News Chronicle, and the New Statesman, and even the Manchester Guardian will not print anything about the C.N.T. or the S.I.A.. With the greatest of difficulty and only because the friends were asked to write a letter about our concert to the Chronicle are among the "respectable" was it possible to get an announcement of our concert. We have sent S.I.A. Bulletins to every paper in the city several times. No mention was made of them. Believe me it gives me no end of pain and heartache to have to write you this; but it seems to me useless to keep you in ignorance of the conspiracy of silence in this country against anything connected with the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the S.I.A. - in short everything that is done in your name. Besides there is no paper that would reproduce even part of your Bulletin. It would be entirely too long. The main thing is that the anti-fascist sympathies are skin deep. I do not mean to undervalue the work the various anti-fascist societies in this country are doing for Spain. I have already written to you several times that it is merely communist party activities under disguise. Still I am glad they are doing what they can and they are managing to get publicity; but what I wish to point out is that they will not have us, and it is impossible for us to have any dealings with them. I am awfully sorry but such is the situation. We must do our work, limited as it may be, in our own way, and while we do not reach large masses, we do reach people who are at least sincere in their desire to help the S.I.A.

I have just seen a report that the Miners Federation have decided to levy their members 2/6 per head for Spain which will amount to £82,500 to supply Spanish civilians with food and coal.

I think that I have written you that I have sent 960 francs, the exchange rate when the money was received, to comrade Camara Pires at Marseilles for paper and pencils for our ~~malitias~~ malitias at the front. I have tried and tried in my appeals to get people to contribute paper and pencils; but there was no response to this except just a few pads and pencils. I have sent this sum if only to show our keen desire to bring a little cheer to a few of our malitias.

I sent off a letter today to Vasquez and have asked him to let you know, or comrade Lucia, to send us a receipt at once on S.I.A. paper and with the S.I.A. stamp, for One hundred and fourteen pounds, eight shillings and ninepence, (£114-8-9-) which is the result from the literary and musical evening on April 29th. The receipt should

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930310

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3 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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3

19073

be made out as follows:-

Received from the Honorary Secretary, Emma Goldman, of the English Section of the S.I.A. the sum of one hundred and fourteen pounds, eight shillings and ninepence (£114-8-9) being the total receipts from the concert held at Friends House on April 29th 1938.

You can send the receipt in Spanish if you will and it can be translated here, unless you still have somebody who can read and write in English. Please attend to this as soon as possible. We want this receipt for the Custom and Excise Department in order to get back £16 odd which we had to deposit for entertainment tax.

I want to impress on your mind that out of this sum the expenses will have to come. We will give you in the near future a full statement of what contributions we have received to the S.I.A. from collections at meetings and donations by post and what the expenses have been. At this time of writing I do not know how the S.I.A. stands - therefore I cannot say how much I will be able to contribute in the name of the S.I.A. for the Basque childrens colony under the protection of the Independent Labour Party. You remember you were good enough to say that we might do something according to how the S.I.A. funds will prove. In any event the I.L.P. will get 20% of the nett receipts of the concert.

I have also asked Vasquez in my letter to ask you or comrade Lucia to let us know where you want S.I.A. money sent, whether to Paris or Marseilles.

I now must ask you what I have forgotten to ask Vasquez. To write immediately where we are to send the £50 we have collected for Arms for Spain. Tell comrade Vasquez for me that none of us consider it particularly "courageous" to appeal for money for arms for Spain. We are only deeply sorry that the response was so insignificant - why we would shout from the housetops from every street corner for money for Arms for Spain if we had the slightest hope that there would be a worth while response.

A letter from Souchy written in Paris assures us that Frank will be coming in a few days and bring the film. I confess I shall not believe it until I see him here. I only know that it is the film which is going to save the summer for us and incidentally the S.I.A., because there seems to be nothing else we can possibly do during the summer. We had been thinking about some plan to keep active and spread the needs of the S.I.A. and your struggle in general but so far we have not devised anything. One cannot hold meetings indoors when it gets so hot. Besides that costs too much. We have been thinking of hiring an automobile and cover the countryside with talks and literature; but this is only a last resort as it does not hold out much hope of material and financial success.

The film is what we want. We are hoping against hope to see Frank and the film here soon.

Please dear comrade give my affectionate fraternal greetings to Lucia and through her to Mercedes. Nobody writes about her and I am very worried, knowing that she had been so ill.

Oh yes, please tell the Women comrades that we have received "Mujeres Libres". It is magnificently gotten up. All honour and glory to you and the other comrades for continuing such beautiful work in the face of danger and hunger and the fierce battle you are waging for us all.

SALUD.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001160

[Letter] 193[8] May 23 [London to H. Yaffe, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 25 x 21 cm.

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19687

23rd May 193 .

Dear Comrade,

I was glad to hear from you after a period of years. I suppose I owe it to your interest in our dear comrade Rudolf Rocker that you finally remembered that I am still in existence. Sincerely speaking I was very glad and delighted to see your continued interest in and work for our beloved comrade. I am afraid though I will be somewhat disappointed.

First of all you have misunderstood comrade Freedman. He has not "instructed" me to get copies of Rocker's Anarcho-Syndicalism from the London publisher. He asks me to put him in touch with the publisher which I did by ordering 25 copies of the book to be sent to Freedman. The reason I did this is that we owe the Freie Arbeiter Stimme some money for Rocker's pamphlet "The Truth About Spain" and the "Tragedy of Lenin" and comrade Friedman's "A.B.C. of Communist Anarchism". I was therefore in the position of guaranteeing the cost of the 25 copies - otherwise he would have not sent them. Of course it is entirely too late to stop the shipment as it must long be in America by this time.

You say you had been "negotiating" with the London publisher of Rocker's book to make an "exchange". I am rather curious to know what he replied, for I cannot imagine that any publisher would exchange a book gotten out by another publisher for his own publications. After all a publisher is not a distribution agent, and as far as I know no publisher has books on sale that have the mark of other publishers. I therefore do not think that Becker & Warburg will accept your offer, though I may be mistaken.

I am glad to hear that Rocker's "John Most" and "Behind Barbed Wire" have been translated; but I do not believe that either one will find any market in this country - certainly not at the price of 3 dollars 50. It is tragic I admit; but nevertheless true, that no one knows anything about John Most in this country. I doubt whether the people of my generation remember the name, certainly not generations that follow us. All that we can do if you publish the works is to take some copies for sale; but the price would certainly have to be reduced very considerably. The English workers read nothing but their party press. The others of the so called left have a book club which furnishes them with cheap editions of works either completely communist, or communisticly tainted. It is as well that you should know, and the other comrades, that we have no actual anarchist movement in England. I have been here at work for two years trying to create one - so far it is only in the gas. The facilities to reach a reading public is nil. This is the situation dear comrade. I am as I hate to disappoint you. I nevertheless have to describe it as

it is.

So come to "Behind Barbed Wire". The best way to gauge

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whether it would impress anybody here would be to submit it to an English publisher. If you will send it to me I will try the publisher who has issued 'Anarcho-Syndicalism' by Rucker; because if publishers will refuse it here, it will be proof that there is no interest in such a work, and that it is far out of date. People are now absorbed by the approach of a new war. They have no other thought for the last war. The very fact that the new war is on the way proves that the last war was or any description of it has made no impression on humanity, and that it is ought to the masses at all.

As I understand that the suggestion was made to permit Comrade Riedel to get out a new edition of Prison Memoirs. I have written Comrade Reedman that I am absolutely opposed to this firm having anything to do with Comrade Berkman's book. I have the memory of Comrade Rucker's monumental work being handled by these people, knowing full well that he will never see a penny in royalties. I warned Rudolf and several of the comrades against the firm; but it did no good. Inasmuch as I have the sole decision over everything of Comrade Berkman's work, I will protest strongly against these miserable out-throats publishing anything. I suggested that the Freie Arbeiter Stimme should get it out, and should really try to put Prison Memoirs in circulation so it should not remain on the shelves of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

As you see dear Comrade my letter is not very encouraging, not because I do not consider Rudolf Rucker's writings of great importance, or because I would not do my utmost to help make it a success. Unfortunately I live in a land and not in America. I am hardly known here, and I am working under the worst odds, and a conspiracy of silence, sabotage and boycott against anything I undertake, or the comrades who are working with me undertake. This is the true situation.

No gleam of light regarding the works of Rucker is that an English comrade, a literary man, has written a review of Rucker's "Race and Civilization" which is to appear in an important literary quarterly in June. That will introduce our comrade to the world of letters. I will then try to get a publisher for that work. You see the work is timely and do is with the subject as is now before the whole world. That is a different matter from the *prison memoirs* of Comrade Berkman. *Prison memoirs* most reminiscent of his imprisonment. *Prison memoirs*

You have probably heard that I am planning to sail for Canada in the autumn. The Anarchist Federation, Comrade Jeanne Levy, and the Toronto comrades have already raised a fund to enable me to carry out the plan. I asked Comrade Jeanne Levy when she was in Los Angeles to talk the matter over about a possible contribution you could make to the fund. I don't whether she has done it or not, or whether the Los Angeles comrades have responded. I am therefore broaching the subject to you. My plan in going to Canada is in the hope that I may be able to get into the United States. Friends of mine are working on that. If I don't I would like to cover Canada as far as British Columbia. No expense connected with such a tour will be quite heavy, especially as the distances are very far between, and in Canada too we have no movement.

I have explained all this to Comrade Reedman and the other comrades, and have asked them to be quite frank whether they want to help me carry out such a plan or not.

Will you please bring this before the Kropotkin Group and the other comrades, and have a talk with Cook and Dr. Holz and any of the comrades who are likely to be interested and let me know what a lot of you can do.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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If I get to America every penny that will be raised for my
expenses will be returned. If not the comrades will have contri-
buted to bringing our ideas to the Canadian masses, which they have
neglected about for a long time. So fire ahead and don't wait years
to write me again.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades, and best
greetings to you.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 23, Ascona, Switzerland [to Emma Goldman, London] / Max Nettlau. — 4 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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M. Nettlau
Casa Friedberg
Gasso Columbaro
Ascona
per Locarno (Ticino)
(Switzerland).

17612

May 23.38

Dear Comrade, I thank you for the quick reply. I write so soon again because I seem to have so insufficiently covered the remarks at the Amsterdam Institute and wish to set this right. The question of transport would never arise as a financial problem, as all that, from packing onward, was to be provided for by local carriers, instructed by their usual carriers in Holland, who would spare the local sender all cost and trouble to the extent in which their help and labour is desired. So this question is nonexistent. — as to your travelling here, that is another matter. I believed you were spending part of the year in St. Tropez anyhow and then could have given some time to the sorting out, if you desired so. — There was and is no question of a donation; I believe that I said, there were all possibilities between sale, sequestration (holding in trust) and donation to be decided upon as you and Mrs. Berkman might wish and the Institute on their side would be willing to accept. I only wished to bring both parties together and am disappointed. I ignored that by A.B.'s will, it is your own exclusive affair. I ignored also, as the lady librarian in Amsterdam ignored as well, and all seem to ignore, that you were expelled from Holland. This is a great surprise to me as, to my belief, you worked there strictly as a lecturer — same as Rother does in U.S.A. and Canada, — and not as a propagandist. Is it really a permanent expulsion or were you forced to depart from the country on one

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special occasion & I must believe the former¹⁷ but that rarely happens to British citizens. In any case, no one could dream that this was the case. In the U.S.A. they would be equally inaccessible to you, these papers, as far as I know, and, in general, they must be inaccessible also for students for a number of years to come. In an harbour they ought to find a very safe and quiet place. is for future study, it depends to what extent they concern the Russian or the American labour world.

I had believed that the American part, up to 1916 or 1919 was more or less lost by persecutions, whilst the European part, since 1922, would be intact, and so I thought them to be of such interest to a European institution.

As to Leavenworth, the prison I had in view was obviously, that near St. Louis (1917-19), vividly described in your book and several, one woman, in particular, immured there for life, make one always believe that they might live still, whilst the years have passed on, so long years...

Why should "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" never have been written? Have I ever expressed an opinion on this? A.B. was there 14 years; so why should he, of all, not write? Nor do I, an old man, incite young people to go to the front, nor to do anything else: all I do is to urge upon people to learn (study) and to reason which is exactly what, to the best of my power, I tried and try to do myself. I felt shocked when asked about Bakunin's prison letters, as, if a man does not know himself these elementary details or where

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To look for them, he must not compile books.
A book must be based on a careful selection
from abundant materials, and not be pieced
together from a minimum of materials scraped
together by special enquiries. Are there "works"
on Bakunin in French in the British Museum?
by myself ("your works" as you say)? I do not
think so, though plenty exists in or outside of the
Museum in German, Italian, Spanish. In
French there are the notes by me added to the
French translation of the "Confession" — these might
help to avoid misinterpretation of this document of
1851. But that is known already to the young
socialist. Unless he can get an impression of
all the prison documents in German and (mostly)
in Russian as gathered now in Plekhanov's State
Edition, he cannot make a proper selection from
them and is risking to misunderstand them —
and so he could not work competently on Bakunin
and had better leave him alone. Englishmen,
as the example of Hal Carr shows, have for so many
years — since Kropotkin left here — so little
opportunity to understand libertarian thought,
that they cannot be expected to produce anything
of value, if just for the occasion they look up a
few texts of that complex personality, Bakunin,
and copy out some pages, eventually with comments
of their own. That we must not encourage —
and, as to political prisoners in general, nearly
everyone is a problem of his own, requiring
special information. Anthologies can not properly
be the work of beginners. Anthology, Blumhardt,
required large experience, what?

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compilations, scriapping things together, are quite another thing. It ~~needyt~~ scrapes things together — an experienced man selects the best out of the wide range of his experience. Kropotkin's writings, one and all of the final books, are such a selection from immense materials, and this is valuable, whilst "writing up" a subject, that is not only worthless but harmful.

As to my address, ^{Healy} Bertrams, Vienna and others know it but what I meant to say was, that less known people can always communicate with me by writing for me to some such generally known people with quasi permanent addresses and need not be told — under present conditions — my direct address or locality which are, not secret, but private, for several reasons.

If the Basque children, even those of advanced parents who would live, I should think, in advanced or at least progressive English surroundings went "a distraction from the life they are leading", better embellish that life, make it more joyful directly. I should feel the same way, if victims from Vienna, Jews and others, were now produced anywhere as dancing bears or poodles. That simply is not done and must not be done, and those in Spain who hear of it, must be boiling with wrath and red with shame for others. If the wish to be helped by all means carries away the committee people and the poor children, Kambalwas, that is an excuse but not a justification, and galling meaning warning voices should not be neglected. I have just a little experience of the great and modest strong inner feeling of dignity of the people in Spain, those of all racial races whom just such qualities weld together. Believe me that this is serious.

I am taking a rest here after months of rather intense work in Holland. My best wishes and greetings
Max Nettlau

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001041

[Letter] 1938 May 23, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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19378

C.N.T.

A. I. T.

F.A.I.

BOLETIN DE INFORMACION

INFORMES Y NOTICIAS FACILITADAS POR LA CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO Y LA FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

España, Barcelona: Via Durall, 20, 4.
Oficina de Propaganda Exterior

Nº 747.

Francia, París: Bureau de Presse
20, Bd. St. Denis.

Barcelona, 1a 23 mai 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Delegation de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.,
Londres.

Chère Camarade,

Nous avons pu, enfin, faire expédier le film "Réveil en Espagne". Nous avons pu faire l'expédition le 19 courant, duéroport de Barcelone à l'aéroport de Croydon. Cet envoi comprend 3 colis, poids brut 38,700 kgs. A son arrivée à Paris vous devrez payer la somme de 500,20 frs, français.

Nous vous envoyons dans ces colis une copie complètement finie de ce film, de façon que vous pourrez l'exploiter immédiatement. Cette copie est parlée en anglais. Les autres deux copies contiennent la copie négative. Avec cette dernière vous pourrez faire, s'il est nécessaire, les copies que vous voudrez et vous pourrez faire aussi quelques changements que vous croirez nécessaires pour l'Angleterre.

Les colis ont été remis à votre adresse, mais les autorités espagnoles nous ont fait quelques difficultés et nous ont permis l'exportation avec la condition de l'adresser au Bureau Commercial de l'Etat espagnol à Londres. Le Ministère du Commerce nous assure, que le responsable de ce Bureau ne pourra pas vous faire aucune difficulté et devra vous remettre les colis immédiatement. L'adresse de ce Bureau est la suivante : Mr. Daniel Fernández Shaw, Conseiller Commercial, 21 Cavendish Square, London, W.1. Si vous ne recevez pas ces colis immédiatement, nous vous prions de vous adresser à l'adresse ci-dessus.

Le camarade Frank est parti déjà d'Espagne et dans quelques jours il sera à Londres. Ce camarade vous fera connaître d'autres détails concernant ce film.

Je vous prie que, en votre qualité de représentante de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Angleterre, de vous mettre d'accord avec le camarade Frank pour l'exploitation, reproduction et administration du film. Ce camarade porte une carte de la Commission Nationale et Péninsulaire sur cela. Je vous prie de bien vouloir faire vous-même l'administration du film. Les deux organisations ont chargé à ce Bureau de registrer le mouvement des recettes de ce film et nous vous prions, dont, de bien vouloir nous tenir au courant, ainsi que des reproductions, si vous croyez nécessaire.

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1937a

mais aussi à l'arrière.

Dimanche dernier Barcelone a souffert un des plus barbares bombardements. Précédemment les bombes tombaient par les alentours du port, mais cette-fois ont tombé dans le centre de la ville en causant un grand nombre de victimes et de blessés. Afin que vous puissiez connaître la tragédie qui vit Espagne, je vous raconterai seulement deux cas de ce terrible bombardement:

cin. Oficer

Le jour que la colonne Ortiz est partie pour le front d'Aragón, comprenait trois frères du Syndicat du Bâtiment. Dans la chute de Teruel ils ont pris une bonne partie. Deux d'eux ont tombé. Le troisième, complètement gelé, quand il est resté pendant 4 nuits dans la montagne avec un froid de 15 et 16 degrés par dessus le zéro, sans possibilité de pouvoir avancer ou reculer. Très malade, l'on l'a amené à l'hôpital à Barcelone. Ici il recevait la visite de ses parents, de deux sœurs et un petit frère et se consolait en parlant des deux frères morts dans la Muela de Teruel. Dimanche dernier ont arrivé les avions fascistes et avec une bombe ont détruit la maison de cette famille et ils ont tué à toute la famille. Le seul vivant c'est le camarade qui se trouve à l'hôpital.

Un autre cas: un compagnon de la Célébrité Optique que vous avez visité et l'on vous a fait les lunettes se trouvait chez lui pendant le bombardement. Ce compagnon, qui était déjà assez âgé, vivait avec sa compagne, sa mère et deux enfants. L'aînée avait 12 ans et le cadet 9. La compagne était en train de préparer le petit déjeuner, à l'autre côté de la maison, quand une bombe a détruit la maison et tué toute la famille, à exception de la femme, mais elle a été conduite à l'hôpital car elle est devenue folle.

Je pourrais vous raconter un grand nombre de cas semblables, mais avec ces deux, je pense qu'il y a suffisamment. Le dernier bombardement des fascistes a causé plus de 300 morts, et plus encore de blessés, et 32 maisons détruites.

Quand l'on pense que ces tragédies l'on vit tous les jours, l'on devient peu sensible et la seule chose que l'on peut penser c'est de lutter avec plus de brutalité encore contre ces barbares qui détruisent au peuple espagnol.

Malgré les doutes que vous avez, nous désirerions vous voir continuer à notre côté, au moins pendant cette terrible guerre et après nous aussi nous serons avec vous, car nous serons d'autres plus différents.

Veuillez agréer mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Martin Gudell

Норми каскгүй дөрвөн бичигийг
нахтун с лунгсрагтуй.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 24, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman].—
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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 24th May, 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dearest Rose,

Thanks for yours of the 14th instant. You are in luck, my dear. I have my efficient secretary with me to-day so I can answer your letter at once. I hope I am mistaken, but I have a feeling that you felt peeved because I suggested the necessity of a committee before making further attempts about the visa. You should know that I have no desire to impose on you or anyone else a procedure which must be met with your approval. I have always believed that people must be given a chance to do things in their own way. The more so do I feel this now, being so far away from the scene of action. When I wanted to, I should not tell you how to go about it. I feel certain that you and others know better, so you must believe me when I say that I had no desire to be critical or dissatisfied with what you have done so far. You are, however, mistaken when you say that whilst visa was rotten first and then the committee was started. The committee was fully organised long before Roger Baldwin approached McCormack, and it took him months before he finally succeeded in getting the visa. Whether it happened to be Cummings or somebody else who extended the visa, I do not know, but I do know that the committee was in existence months before Roger proceeded to do anything.

I have written you that Carlo Tresca has volunteered to start a new line of campaign. Yesterday I received a letter from Margaret De Silver, telling me that as soon as she and Carlo get back to New York they would proceed to approach people. She mentions Alice Ross in Washington and John Dos Passos, as among those whom they intend to approach. I have just replied and have asked her to prevail upon Carlo to get in touch with you, or rather to ask you to see him when you get to New York. If you will also write him and arrange for a meeting, you will certainly be able to decide what steps are best to take. I am very anxious that Samuel Freedman and Van should be present at that meeting, if possible also Harry Kelly and Harry Weinberger. That would represent all sections, which is very necessary, as people are very touchy, especially our own immediate comrades, and I should not like to hurt them in any way. Will you see about it, my dear?

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London,

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

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about Pauline, I am not sure that she will consent to act
as a secretary. I understand she works very hard in her position
and that she has been away from everything so long that she is not
likely to want to get back into the swing. Of course, she may, but
I did not get that impression from her last letter. She seems just
to drift and not to have much interest in anything. However, the
list she has got is valuable and should be taken when needed.
Perhaps Margaret De Silver will act as secretary, or she may suggest
somebody. There is one thing you must bear in mind, Rose dear,
and that/that you will need two committees - the one that our own
comrades will look after and one that will reach people outside our
ranks whom our comrades have no way of reaching.

As to the fund, I understand that the Anarchist Federation
has raised some money. I have no idea of the amount. Freedman
will know, and you ought to see him. The Toronto comrades have
raised very little, but Jean Levy in Chicago has raised some money
from personal friends of hers. I am certain once a definite
campaign is started the comrades in the groups in Chicago and other
cities will contribute what they can. As to my sailing, as far as
it is possible to make plans, I mean to do so the latter part of
September, but you know yourself that Europe is in such a muddle
that it is foolish to settle a definite date for anything. One can
only go on hoping.

Yes, I have received the two copies of Challenge. I hope
you will not be angry with me when I tell you that the paper does
not make a great impression. The paper is cheap and the get-up is
bad. Far be it from me to discourage or abate or anyone connected
with the paper. I realise the lack of funds. I know, my dear,
that people in America are poor. I keep abreast with events in
the States, and I realise the desperate struggle to exist everyone
is making. But I have always felt that unless a publication can
make an ~~affix~~ attractive appearance its life will be short-lived,
especially the first few numbers must be gotten up on better quality
paper and have a different arrangement of the contents. I wish
fervently that Challenge may improve as it goes along. In its
present state I fear it will not rouse much interest. I hate to

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TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

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write to be about it. I certainly do not want to hurt him, and yet I cannot write him what I wrote you. There is another thing that has to be considered, Rose dear. It is this, that knowing a language does not mean also that one has the requisite as a good editor. He certainly knows English. I wish our young comrade who is editing Spain and the World knew it so well. But on the other hand our comrade here is an artist as an editor. You have but to see the difference in set-up, between Spain and the World and the Challenge to realise the difference. My dear, I did not object to unite Brenner or any of the various brands of Communists or ex-Communists as contributors. I only considered it necessary to warn you that people who change their ideas as easily as one changes one's lingerie cannot be relied upon as a prop for an anarchist paper. But that does not mean that such a paper should not accept contributions from all sorts of people who can write and who are sincere.

In re-reading your letter, I see that when you speak of poverty you mean intellectual poverty, and not, as I assumed, material poverty, although that, too, no doubt plays a great part in every undertaking along our lives. Yes, my dear, I know that there is intellectual poverty in our ranks, not only in America but also here. Actually Spain and the World has no contributors outside the few of us, and I cannot write regularly for it. So far I have not had the time. Recently I succeeded in interesting Ethel Mannin, John Gower Powys and Herbert Read, but that was only for specific articles. I cannot hope that they will continue as regular contributors for a paper which is close at hand, much less for something which is far removed and in such an appearance as the Challenge. The only thing to do is to develop talent, Rose dear. It takes time but it has got to be done if ever there is to be a worth while movement in the United States.

I am sorry to report that ~~xxxx~~ our literary and musical evening was a flop. Not so, from the artistic point of view. I speak of the material side. If we are lucky in getting back \$16 from the Amusement Tax which we had to deposit, we shall clear \$40 from the whole undertaking, which includes \$50 from the collection. But of that we have to pay 20 per cent. to the I.L.P. You can imagine how I felt and still feel, having put in months of labour, no end of humiliation, begging for people to participate, and then

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 24, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman].—
4 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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to have nothing for those I have so deeply at heart, the women and children in Spain. More than ever I am convinced that it is useless to undertake such things. I promised myself not ever again. I do not know what I will do during the summer. There is a suggestion that we hire a car and go from town to town speaking for Spain and making appeals. I am afraid it is a bit too strenuous for my present condition. I seem to have over-exerted myself and my heart is not behaving as it did in the past. Nothing very serious, but I need a rest. That is easier suggested than carried out. The last week I also received word that we are definitely to get the new film, but I have been told so many times that I am not going to bank on it until I see it before me. That would help a great deal. But, as I have already said in regard to my sailing, I do not make plans too far in advance.

Dearest, the C.N.T. will never benefit by anything sent to Spain through Schevenells, but it does not matter. Just as the money went for arms, planes and food for the army at the front. They need that more even than anything else, so I am grateful to your organisation for having raised that money. The first gleam of light in this country is the levy the South Wales miners have imposed on themselves of 2/6 and by which £32,000 were raised and by which coal and food will be sent to Spain. Of course, money has been raised in England, but there is no saying what it was used for. It is different with trade union organisations. One has the definite assurance that the money raised will be used for the purpose intended.

Good-bye, dearest Rose, and don't be provoked with anything I may have said. I have written you repeatedly that I have all the confidence in the world in your friendship and in your readiness to do your utmost to bring me back to the States.

With love,

Emma

P.S. Mr. Searchinger does not sail until Saturday and will arrive here only the 5th June. I dare say he will bring the hose. I will be glad to get them and I shall consider it as a birthday gift. Please thank your mother for having gone to the trouble of taking them to the hotel.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 24 [London to] Margaret De Silver, [New York?] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17407

24th May, 1938.

Dear Margaret De Silver,

Thank you for your prompt reply. I had a feeling that you would not mind the way I apportioned the fifty dollars you were good enough to send me. If I had had the slightest doubt I should have asked you first. I am glad that I succeeded right.

It is most kind of you to say that you will proceed in organising a vice committee when you return to New York. I could not wish my case in better hands.

I wrote Carlo about my old friend and comrade, Rose Pesotta, that she had undertaken to approach people in behalf of a vice. She consulted Dubinsky, Eleanor Herrick and Jesse Schneideman, and they had advised her to go about it quietly, first trying out the possibilities in Washington and then proceeding with the organization of a committee. As I am entirely too far removed from the scene of action, I am really not in a position to suggest what steps should be taken. I have to leave it to my friends. It is for this reason that I am writing Rose again, strongly urging her to see you and Carlo and, if possible, also one or two of my immediate comrades who are keenly interested in my return to America and who are the people who will raise the necessary funds for my trip. I hope that Rose will get in touch with Carlo by letter and arrange to see him when she gets to New York. You see, she is stationed in Boston and never knows beforehand when she has to rush over to New York. Please ask Carlo to get in touch with Rose. Her address is Joint Ward Club and Drunkenster Union, 25, La Grange Street, Boston, Mass. In that way a meeting with her can be arranged directly she reaches New York. In re-reading the letter of my friend I see that she will not be in New York until the early part of June. I am sure this will reach you in time for Carlo to arrange to see Rose.

In a letter to her I have suggested that she should try to see Felix Frankfurter. She evidently has not succeeded.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 24 [London to] Margaret De Silver, [New York?] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Perhaps you will be luckier. Anyway, I rely entirely on my friends to proceed in whatever manner they consider advisable. I cannot possibly presume to direct the course at this end.

I have long come to the conclusion that different people receive different impressions from those they meet, so I am not surprised that you have the impression of John Cowper Powys as being ineineere. I admit he made that impression on the platform, but I always thought it was more his mannerisms than his lack of sincerity. Yes, it is true, I have known him for a long time. My first contact with him was when he cancelled an engagement of a lecture with the Hebrew Institute of Chicago because a week prior to it Alexander Berkman was refused a hall after it had been rented and a deposit paid. On the evening of the meeting, the audience, including the speaker, found the doors locked. When John Cowper Powys learned of it, he wrote a very strong letter of protest to the authorities of the Institute and told them that he could not possibly speak for an organization that broke its contract and denied free speech to other speakers. That was certainly a posture of a man who feels keenly the question of the rights of others. It was the more courageous because he did not know Alexander Berkman personally and, as you know, the reputation given him by the press was anything but favourable. T

The next proof of Powys' sincerity was given me in our birth control fight in 1916, when birth control was not respectable as it is now. He accepted our invitation to speak at a dinner in the Brevort in protest against my arrest for having given out birth control methods. In view of the fact that John Cowper Powys was in America purely as a literary man, lecturing on purely literary subjects, it was very brave indeed to ally himself with a group of people who fought for birth control and especially with Emma Goldman, who was doubly damned because of her anarchist ideas and her birth control activities.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 24 [London to] Margaret De Silver, [New York?] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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A third experience in the States was shortly before we were deported. Again we found every hall, theatre, etc., in New York closed for the farewell dinner friends intended to arrange. It was finally the Brevoort where the evening took place, and one of the finest speeches made on that evening for libertarian ideas was by John Cowper Powys.

If all that were not sufficient to prove the man intensely sincere, his presence to us here in England certainly would speak in his favour. You have no idea, my dear, how difficult it is to enlist the sympathies and co-operation of the English intellectuals. When I tell you that one of them who was asked to speak at our last literary and musical evening said that it was "bothersome to come up to London (he lives about an hour and a half from here)" you will realise how snar and self-satisfied most of the intelligentsia in England are. The concert was for the women and children of Spain, but the gentleman in question found it bothersome to participate and thus give a great deal of publicity to our affair. Not so John Cowper Powys who responded at once to my first letter I wrote him when I returned from Spain in December 1936. Not only that but he wrote to a number of his colleagues and people in all walks of life, urging them to give me whatever assistance they could in my efforts for the Spanish people. You will agree, my dear, that a man who is so generous cannot possibly be insincere, even if his mannerisms lead one to believe the opposite. I always used to lament this unfortunate habit of his on the platform which I knew must repel people. But since I have ~~known~~ come in close contact with the man I feel it doubly deplorable that he should give a wrong impression by the studied pose during his lectures. However, I have already said that no one can help one's impression. I only regret that you have not been thrown together with John Cowper Powys because I feel certain that you would have changed your mind.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 24 [London to] Margaret De Silver, [New York?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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The Stalinites manage not only in New York successfully. They also manage here. It is true they are rigidly disciplined, under orders to dispose of tickets and attend the rallies if their organizations are back of it. It is amazing what crowds they do bring out. While I did not attend last Sunday's meeting in Albert Hall, I understand it was packed and that 21,400 were subscribed - for Spain. Yet I do not believe that it is only discipline. I think it is the fact that they have a powerful Government back of them and unlimited means for publicity and advertising. Besides, Moscow has poisoned the whole world with the delusion that it is the "workers' Fatherland" and that all is well in Stalin's heaven. The average Communist is like the average Catholic. You might give him facts a thousand times over. He will still believe that his Communist church can do no wrong. I am certain that if Russia should decide to ally herself with Hitler, which is not at all unlikely, the Stalinites will justify and approve that as they are justifying the betrayal of China and of Spain. We must face this fact and do what we can in our own way to expose the whole Jesuitic farce.

Carlo does well in being optimistic about Spain, for what the Spanish people are doing is nothing short of a miracle. Franco was supposed to be in Barcelona six weeks ago. Perhaps he had also selected the restaurant where he was to be given a grand reception, as he did in Madrid. But Madrid and Barcelona are still in the hands of the Spanish people, and if their valour, their will to win and their marvellous capacity for sacrifice means anything at all, Franco will never get into Madrid or Barcelona. If only the international proletariat were responding in a direct revolutionary way, the war in Spain would soon be over, but unfortunately most of the help from the workers has gone

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 24 [London to] Margaret De Silver, [New York?] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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expressed itself in talk. Yes, they have also contributed considerable money. -In this country for milk and medical aid, though the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, who are the very revolutionary backbone of the struggle, have never seen anything of the aid or the food that has been sent. You have no idea what a conspiracy of silence there is against these two organizations, and against the few of us here who are representing the C.N.T. and the I.A.I. It is impossible to get in a single word in their favour in any of the papers, and anything we undertake is rigidly boycotted. However, I feel ~~thankful~~ with Carlo undying faith in the Spanish people.

Do write me again when you have the time and inclination.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 24 [London to] Edward Dahlberg, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19676

24th May, 1938.

Dear Edward Dahlberg,

Your letter of the 6th instant reached me a few days ago. I am surprised that you say you had not heard from me for a long time. I have before me your letter of February 24th which I answered on April 8th. I cannot understand why the letter should have got lost. It should certainly have been returned to me, as I always put on my return address. I am awfully sorry that the letter should have miscarried, because I certainly do not want you to think that I have forgotten you.

Of course I have not been put off by your "vocabulary". I certainly do not want my friend's or correspondents to change their vocabulary to please me. Besides I find your letters interesting because of the simple language you are using. In any event you need never fear that I would discontinue our correspondence because of anything your letters might contain or in whatever way you express yourself.

You say that you are neither a pessimist nor an optimist. I did not know that one can be merely one or the other. To my mind the two are too closely linked. In fact the blackest pessimists have been optimists at the same time, or they would never have attempted to put anything in writing to express themselves. Evidently they still entertain some faith that people will read what they write and that it will impress their readers. Nor has there ever been an optimist who always walks on clouds. No doubt he has also come to earth and that means doubts in oneself and doubts in one's fellow men. Anyway I have never been able to separate one's thoughts and one's feelings in distinct and one-sided layers. Our lives are so interwoven, so complex, that it

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[Letter] 1938 May 24 [London to] Edward Dahlberg, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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It is difficult to say what is more predominant.

I did not know that you have already three books to your name. Being out of America and especially being completely absorbed in Spain, I have been forced to neglect a good deal of reading by American authors. Have you not copies of your works, and would you lend them to me. I am really interested to see what you have done. Surely your "Bottom Dogs" must have considerable merit or D.H. Lawrence would not have written an introduction. I will appreciate greatly if you will lend me your works and send them very soon.

Thank you so much for the kind words you say about "Living My Life". You are quite right - "Politics is no substitute for imagery". I certainly never considered politics as a substitute for anything worth while in life. That is why I was a rotten politician - I mean in the sense that I was as good as a politician. I should not have known how to go about being one if I had tried.

I am enclosing the copy of my letter of April 8th. I cannot imagine what has become of the original.

With all good wishes to your "Twice a Year".

Most sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 24, Marseille [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / 1. da Camara Pires. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C. E. C. I.

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Marseille le 24 Mai 1938

Chère Camarade Emma,

J'ai bien reçu tes lettres du 3 et du 19 Mai.

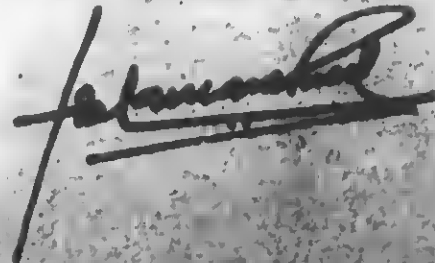
En ce qui concerne les nouvelles, je suis, moi un peu isolé et je ne suis pas particulièrement informé de source directe de la marche des événements. Ce que je peux te dire, c'est que dernièrement, à mon passage à Paris, je me suis entretenu avec plusieurs camarades, qui, eux, paraissent assez bien informés, et ils m'ont toujours exprimé l'espoir que, malgré les inquiétudes que comporte la situation militaire, un changement pourrait se produire, par suite des circonstances internationales.

Je conçois très bien ce qui se passe en Angleterre dans les masses. Ici, ce n'est pas très différent. Malgré tout, nous avons le devoir de lutter, car, du jour au lendemain, qui sait ce qui peut arriver ?

J'ai bien reçu le chèque de 960 Fr, et je m'occupe de faire le nécessaire pour l'achat et l'envoi des crayons et des blocs demandés. Le peu que cela représente sera toujours le bienvenu.

Quant au jeune homme en question, j'ai bien reçu sa visite, accompagné de la personne qui doit s'occuper de lui. Je lui ai réservé le meilleur accueil. Cependant, la personne en question m'a fait observer les difficultés qu'il allait y avoir en raison de la situation des étrangers, formalités etc. pour un séjour d'une certaine durée. En tous cas, il ne consentira certainement à s'occuper du jeune homme que s'il a des garanties matérielles concernant son entretien, comme par exemple un dépôt de fonds ici correspondant à six mois de pension. Pour le moment, il l'a conduit dans une bonne pension, où il est bien, mais il faudra aviser pour la suite dans le sens que je t'indique. De mon côté, je ferai, tu n'en doutes pas, l'impossible pour t'être agréable en me rendant utile à ton protégé, ainsi qu'en lui donnant tous conseils, aides ou renseignements dont il pourra avoir besoin.

Sans plus pour cette fois, et bien content d'avoir reçu de tes nouvelles, je t'envoie, chère Camarade Emma, mon salut fraternel.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 25, Barcelona [to Emma] Goldman, London / Germinal de Sousa and J. Prince. — 1 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

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19296

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

vía durruti, 30, 6.º - teléfono 19573

comité peninsular
relaciones exteriores

n.º 1

barcelona, 25 Mai 1938.

S a l u t :

A dater de ce jour nous vous enverrons chaque semaine notre Bulletin de presse contenant de petits travaux, des nouvelles, des commentaires, etc... autour de la situation de notre lutte et de la position de la Fédération Anarchiste Ibérique. Nos intentions en outre d'informer sont surtout de faire de la propagande et c'est pour cela que la publication de cette note dans les organes sympathisants nous intéresse tout particulièrement. Nous pensons donc que vous ne verrez aucun inconvénient à la reproduire dans votre organe — soit intégralement, soit sous forme d'extrait.

Dans ce numéro de lancement nous limitons à fixer la position générale de la P.A.I. et du Mouvement Libertaire en ce qui se réfère à la guerre et à notre attitude vis-à-vis des autres partis. Dans les numéros suivants nous traiterons divers aspects du mouvement.

Nous vous serions reconnaissants de nous envoyer votre impression en ce qui concerne ce service ainsi que les exemplaires des périodiques où seront reproduits les travaux inclus.

Nous profitons de cette occasion pour vous saluer fraternellement.

Par le Comité Peninsulaire de la P.A.I.

Secrétaire Général,

Germinal de Sousa
Germinal de Sousa,

Secrétaire des Relations Extérieures

J. Prince
J. Prince.
C. de l'Internationale
C. de l'Internationale

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 25, New Milford, Conn. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stewart [Kerr]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17549

R.F.D.#8, New Milford, Conn.,

May 26, 1938.

Dear Emma:

Your welcome letter came yesterday. I take the Times, and will be only too pleased to send you clippings. Enclosed are all in which I think you will be interested from yesterday's issue. I'll send you a package at least once a week from now on.

In the June number of Harper's are several articles which might interest you. They are:

Japan's Partner, by Eliot Janeway. It gives figures of the war material sent by the U.S. to Japan, and shows that despite the popular feeling in this country against Japan's invasion of China, the U.S. is practically assisting Japan, just as the "neutrality" of the U.S. in the Spanish conflict is practically aid and comfort to Franco.
 Capitalism without Capital. An article by George Soule.
 Communism twenty Years after, by Lillian Symes. This is a review of the latest doings of the "Communists" in this country, and its new tactics.

If you do not have access to Harper's and wish to have me send it to you when it contains articles in which you are interested, I'll be glad to send it. Let me know if you want the June number. I take Harper's regularly, but send it to a friend here after I have read it. I can get a copy from the new stand however if you wish it.

I am not very happy over the Spanish situation. It looks to me as if Franco with his assistance from Mussolini and Hitler will finally over-run all Spain, tho he could not do it if these two gentlemen would keep their hands off.

Opinion in this country is much divided about the Spanish struggle. The Catholics are on the side of Franco, but on the whole, I think, the feeling is on the side of the "loyalists." Senators Nye and Borah are trying to have the embargo, which is practically to the advantage of Franco, lifted. So far they have not been successful, and I doubt whether even if they succeed it will not be too late to prevent the Catholic Church and the Fascists getting the best of it.

The long predicted war in Central Europe, if it breaks out soon, would I think keep Hitler and Mussolini's hands so full that Franco would have to be left to his own devices. I doubt very much whether "the next war" can be staved off much longer. All hands seem to be getting ready for it. What a state of affairs!

Affectionately,



The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]38 May 26 [London to] Tom [Edmond, Plymouth, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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18266

May 26th 38

Dear Tom, I wonder why I never hear from you again, or from Phyllis, Mrs Avery or anybody. Can it be that you people have cast me out? I know this is not the case. Or have you been ill, or distressed with family illness. Or what is it? True you have the right to retaliate and say that I too have not written. That is true. But then you know how hectic my life is. I can honestly say since I returned the second time from Spain last Nov. I have worked often sixteen hours out of 24 trying every thing to awaken interest in the struggle of the Spanish people and especially in our comrades and their daily sacrifices. But I have achieved very little indeed. We had two fairly well attended meetings, a literary evening for the work of International Anti Fascist Solidarity. We had made a good showing in the demonstration on the First of May and we had a large crowd in Hyde Park. We had one Exhibition and now have another. We have organized a Reading Room for twice a week. We have published a special Bulletin of the International Anti Fascist Solidarity copies of which I inclose. We have sent out thousands of copies of CNT and U G.T material to trade union branches. We have done all that. But the result is imperceptible and certainly does not compare with the amount of labor and expense put into all these efforts. Yet we must go on. It is a little enough we can do in the face of the suffering and sacrifice of our brave comrades in Spain.

We have a tentative plan for this summer. It is to hire a car and go from city to city speaking out of doors, making appeals and selling literature. We plan to begin with week ends. And if the venture proves worth continuing we will devote some weeks to cover the ground. The main thing is to find out what the municipal requirements are. Could you find out, or get Avery to do it? I mean if one needs a permit for selling literature Sunday or making appeals for funds. I wish you would my dear. We do want to come to Plymouth for a week end anyhow. If our plan comes off we will ask you to print bills and have them distributed so as to prepare the crowd for our coming. It would not be before July. Still I would like to hear from you not only about the matter in question ~~but~~ but about yourself, the family and what has become of the little group.

Give my love to Mable, Phyllis, Dorothy the boy, Miss

Avery.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 26 [London to Max Nettlau, Ascona, Switzerland] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17616

May 26th 38

Dear Comrade.

Thanks for your letter. I suppose you did not see the Dutch comrades when you are in Holland or they would have told you that C had been expelled. It was in thirty three shortly after Hitler's unholy ascendency. I came for a series of lectures about Hitler the collapse of German culture as a result of National Socialism and kindred subjects. I delivered three lectures in different Dutch towns. When I arrived at the fourth I was met by police in the good old American way and told that I must come along. "Naturally I did. In the police station I was presented with an order of expulsion. I argued that I would have to return to the Haag where I was stopping with friends to pick up my things. After much difficulty I was permitted to go back to the Haag in the company of a detective. I must say for him he was very polite. The next morning the detectives were at my friends house and I was escorted to the train and shipped out. However, I suppose if it were a question of doing work in the Amsterdam Institute the authorities would probably let me return. But certainly not for any sort of activity.

You are quite right when you say that America is also closed to me. True friends are trying to get a visa for me, which may again let me in for a short period. It was for three months for years ago. But I am by no means very optimistic about my chances. I am inclined to think however that if I would say I am coming on a visit to my people and friends, or to work in the New York Library permission for me would be obtained. That is precisely what I will never consent to. It were different in Holland. Speaking in German or English there was not very satisfactory anyhow. So I would not miss lectures. But in America it is different. My whole life is bound up with it, thirty five years of my public activities. Anyway I did not have myself so much in mind when I said Alexander's writings belonged there. I had in mind American students who might want to make some study of A.B.s writings. Or someone who might want to write a biography of him. However I am not exactly set on giving the material my old pal left to the New York Public Library. I wanted it to go where it can do the most good.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 26 [London to Max Nettlau, Ascona, Switzerland] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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17617

Dear comrade I can see that you also do not know that I have sold my place in St Tropez. I was forced to do so because I was very hard pressed, because my absorption and concentration to Spain made it impossible for me to continue living in my house. And no more important still the memories were too painful to endure. And so I had to let it go, for very little at that. For this reason I could simply not afford a special trip to St Tropez to assort our material. It were different if the Institute were really interested and were willing to pay the expenses of travel to St Tropez and also the shipment.

Yes, you are right our old collections of which there was a great deal were taken away by the Federal authorities in the raid of our office in June 1917. But there are outside of A.B.s MSS a lot of my own stuff, such as old nets of the Free Society, some letters of Peter Kropotkin, my correspondence of recent years with Havelock Ellis, Prof Laski, a letter from George Bernard Shaw, Maxine Kevinson, Wells, and some other known people in America and England. I do not know whether these have any value for the Institute. You might if you wish to talk it over with the representative people, I mean when you return to Amsterdam. There is no hurry.

I am definitely planning of sailing to Canada in the autumn and perhaps to the States if my friends succeed in their effort for a visa. I have written the comrades in Barcelona to let them know of my plans. It is not as if anything were lost here. I have worked like a beaver for two years for Spain but the result is heart breakingly small. Perhaps it is my fault. I simply do not know how to rouse the British masses. They go only in large bodies, at the behest of their leaders in the Labor party and trade unions. And the intelligentsia here is poisoned by Russia. Anything attempted outside of these is boycotted by a complete conspiracy of silence. You may believe me when I say the struggle has been bitter. It has actually affected my health. However our efforts were not entirely in vain. Whatever is known of the CNT-FAI and the SIA came through the work we did. When I say we I mean only very few of us. For there is no Anarchist movement in England and very few isolated ~~men~~ comrades who while willing enough are too poor materially and intellectually to do anything at all.

We have established a center with a reading room and a bureau where people can come and get the information they want. That even did not exist in England when I came from Spain in Dec 36. SPAIN AND THE WORLD has an office in the same building. That too was necessary. In addition we sent out ten thousand copies of the CNT material as per inclosed. They went to trade union branches. Also they were distributed in tens of thousands of copies at meetings and demonstrations. We also held meetings in re Spain and raised some money for the SIA. But it all seems

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 26 [London to Max Nettlau, Ascona, Switzerland] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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17618

insignificant compared with the needs of our comrades in Spain and even with the tremendous amount of energy expended on the work. I am writing you all this only to make it clear that my decision to leave England for a time will not mean a loss to the Spanish struggle. Certainly not if I should succeed in reentering the U.S. For there I could achieve in one month more than in a year in this country. I have written the comrades of the CNT and SIA and am now awaiting their reply before I will make arrangements for my departure for Canada.

I did not know that Friedeberg is still alive. I take it he is the same whom I met at the Amsterdam Congress in 1907. Please greet him for me heartily.

As to the other matters I have come to the conclusion that the only solution when people are worlds apart in their views and their approach to others is to ~~agree to disagree~~ agree to disagree.

I hope you are having a real rest.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 26 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].—

1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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18861

26. Mai 1938

Liebe Emma,

erlaube mir, dass ich Dir einen Einzelfall eines deutschen Genossen aus-
einandersetze, dem vielleicht geholfen werden könnte, aus der Schaar der
hoffnungslosen Unterstützungsempfänger auszuschneiden und sich selbst durch
Arbeit eine Existenz aufzubauen.

Es ist dies ein junger Fotograf, der aus Kassel erst voriges Jahr und auf
Anraten unserer dortigen Genossen in die Emigration ging und für dessen
Ernsthaftigkeit ich bürgen kann. Er könnte hier in Paris als Entwickler u.
Kopierer von Amateurfotografien eine Existenz aufbauen, falls er die Mög-
lichkeit hat, sich ein bescheidenes kleines Atelier aufzurichten. Ich
habe einen gut ausgearbeiteten und belegten Rapport des Genossen über die
Sache geprüft und bin überzeugt, dass er Recht hat. In dieser Branche
herrscht vor allem in der jetzt beginnenden warmen Saison eine enorme Ar-
beitsüberlastung in Paris, und es können noch neue Leute ihr Brot finden.

Der Genosse könnte die Sache aufbauen mit Hilfe von 2 000 Franken. Diese
könnte er im Laufe der Saison aus den Einnahmen der Arbeit wieder zu-
rückzahlen.

Ich habe nun beschlossen, an verschiedenen Stellen zu fragen, ob dem Genos-
sen ein solches Darlehen gegeben werden könnte. Ich füge hinzu, dass eine
besondere Sicherheit darin besteht, dass der Genosse als einer der wenigen
ganz legal hier ist und Aufenthaltsrecht hat.

Ich frage deshalb vor allem einmal Dich, ob Du glaubst, dass Du irgendje-
mand oder einen Kreis unter Freunden, Sympathisierenden o.ä. in England für
ein solches Hilfsprojekt interessieren könntest.

Ich bitte Dich aber, dies ganz privat zu behandeln. Sicher würde man, wenn
das CSI es erführe, sagen, das sei eine Bevorzugung eines Genossen und be-
schneide den anderen die Solidarität. Ich sehe die Sache allerdings anders
wenn einem Einzigem geholfen werden kann, sich Arbeit zu beschaffen, so
ist das mehr wert als zwanzig Mann lange Zeit eine Unterstützung, von der
sie alle nicht leben und nicht sterben können.

Schreibe in dieser Sache an meine Privatadresse, nachdem Du sie überlegt
und ev. mit anderen besprochen hast. Ich betone noch, dass ich keineswegs
aus besonderer Freundschaft und Begünstigung diese Anfrage stelle - ~~sondern~~
~~sondern~~ mit dem betr. Genossen ~~keinem~~ verbindet mich nichts Persönliches,
nur eben glaube ich die Gelegenheit zu sehen, dass einem Genossen etwas
wirklich Praktisches verschafft wird. Übrigens eilt die Sache - denn das
alles hängt zusammen mit einer richtigen Ausnutzung des jetzigen Regimes
der Saison.

Liebe Emma, bitte sei mir nicht böse, dass ich Dich auch noch mit solchen
Anfragen belästige... und versteh bitte, dass ich es nur tue, weil ich
die Möglichkeit sehe, einem Menschen dazu zu verhelfen, seinem elenden Un-
terstützungsdasein ein Ende zu machen, und das wäre viel wert, selbst in
einem einzigen Falle. Bitte antworte hierzu bald, sei es auch ablehnend,
damit ich dem Genossen etwas sagen kann (ich habe ihm hiervon nichts Kon-
kretes gesagt, nur versprochen, in allgemeiner Form, dass ich mich für ihn
umsehen werde.). Viele herzliche Grüsse! Helmut Rüdiger

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[Letter] 1938 May 26, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].--

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18860

Paris am 26. Mai 1938

Liebe Anna, herzlichen Dank für Deine schnelle Antwort in meiner Angelegenheit. Darf ich zu urteilen steht die Sache allerdings schlecht. Die Passfrage ist schwer zu lösen, man brauchte denn eine sehr hohe Protektion, sei es durch politische, sei es durch "angesehene" bürgerliche Persönlichkeiten. Die deutschen Flüchtlingskomitees machen nichts. Ich erkundigte mich bei der hiesigen Liga für Menschenrechte, die immer noch die besten Auskünfte gibt, und deren deutschen Sekretär ich kenne. Er sagte die einzige Möglichkeit sei ein französischer Ausländerpass, der das Recht zum Reisen gibt. Dieser aber wird nur gegeben, wenn einer erst die französische Identitätskarte hat. In diese Kämpfe ich seit sieben Monaten, mir scheint aussichtslos. Erst gestern war ich wieder auf der Polizei und habe nur wieder, wie immer, die übliche Aufenthaltserlaubnis für neue 4 Wochen bekommen, aufgestempelt auf die provisorische Karte, das sog. Récépissé.

An Sonia habe ich die gewünschten Auskünfte geschrieben. In der Tat habe ich im Grunde keinerlei Absicht nach England zu gehen, sondern mein Ziel ist Amerika. Ich schrieb, dass ich nach Mexico wollte, dass dies aber schon gegangen ist. Du kannst vielleicht einmal die kleine Lebensbeschreibung lesen, die die Genossin Edelman hat... Worauf es für mich ankommt, ist ein Land zu finden, wo ich Aufenthaltserlaubnis bekomme und irgendeine Arbeit tun kann, die für mich in Frage kommt. Die bezahlte Tätigkeit für die Bewegung muss wieder aufhören und wird es im Herbst. Und hier in Frankreich, abgesehen von der sehr unsicheren Lage - ich glaube, dass mir zuguterletzt die jetzige provisorische Aufenthaltserlaubnis entzogen werden wird - ist es mir unmöglich Arbeit zu finden.

Canada: der Name des sagenhaften Genossen kann hier auch nicht festgestellt werden. Vielleicht ist das ganze nur eine Einbildung gewesen... Lassen wir also die Geschichte ruhen.

Ich habe Deine Bemerkungen über die dortigen Verhältnisse, Meltzer usw. gelesen und verstehe Deine Auffassung sehr gut. Eine "Gefahr", dass das Meltzersche Grüppchen in die IAA aufgenommen wird, besteht absolut nicht. Du hast recht, ein solcher Antrag lässt sich leicht abweisen. Bedauerlich ist nur der Gesamteindruck, der durch derartige Verhältnisse bei den Genossen hier entsteht, und Du weißt, dass ja bei uns in der anarchistischen Bewegung oftmals gerade die bedenklichsten Figuren immer wieder Eindruck machen. Natürlich wäre das Beste solche Kerle zu ignorieren, und man kann das menschlich-privat, auch tun. Aber "organisatorisch" muss man leider sogar ihre Briefe offiziell bestätigen... Aber ärgern wir uns hierüber nicht zu sehr. Ich werde jedenfalls stets die Meinung vertreten, dass wir, hinsichtlich Englands, mit Dir in Verbindung sein müssen, da Du dort ja Vertreterin einer schon bestehenden IAA-Sektion, nämlich der spanischen, bist. Ich habe auch die Kopie Deines Briefes an Mascarell gelesen.

Sonst hier nichts Neues. Ausser einigen Verhaftungen, Du wirst es in Combat Syndicaliste gelesen haben. Allerdings wäre es besser gewesen, gerade von diesen Fällen vielleicht weniger IAA zu machen, denn es handelt sich um einige einigermaßen dunkle Existenzen, die leider auch um das Comité de Solidarité Internationale herumschwirren, von denen man nie weiss, ob sie bei der Polizei wegen politischer Dinge oder wegen ganz anderer Angelegenheiten bekannt sind, die mit unseren Ideen weniger zu tun haben.

Nun genug für heute und viele herzliche Grüsse. Dein Helmut

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 26, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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25 Prospect St.,
New Rochelle, N.Y., U.S.A.,
May 26, 1938.

17425

Dear Emma:

Your letter of April 28th to hand nearly three weeks ago and should have been ~~and~~ would have been answered before this but I have not been in the best of shape to write.

Yes, I went to Florida in February and remained five weeks and spent almost another week in travelling and stopping off in Washington going and coming to see Wally. Although I did nothing more violent than walking and discussing energetically with several women in the boarding house where I had my evening meal and Bertha Howe and a youngster of 21 she had with her on Communism I noticed a swelling in the groin and when I returned had Leah's brother, the doctor, examine me and learned I had a rupture. He took me to a specialist who confirmed Harry's diagnosis and for the past five or five and half weeks I have been wearing a truss and taking injections once a week for four weeks. Harry and the specialist hope I can dispense with the truss in another couple of months but in the meantime it is damned uncomfortable and at times downright painful.

The treatment itself is not painful ~~but~~ and even the truss not bad in the morning but by the end of the day my body is sore and irritates me no end. If I could remain on my feet or even on my back all day it would be fairly easy but alas I cannot and sitting is both tiring and painful. So much so at times I read and have even written standing with the book or typewriter on the dresser so you can see how difficult it is for me. I have been to the city once a week to see the doctor and have the injection but for the most part hang around the house where I can vary the positions to get a rest.

X I have not been to see Carlo, as a matter of fact I have been promising to have lunch with him for two years but never get to it. I am sure Carlo means every word he has written you and now that he married the rich widow Mrs. DeSilya he probably has more time and possibly more money than formerly. Do you know about him going to the District Attorney with evidence to show that Juliette Poyntz who disappeared nearly a year ago was kidnapped by Communists and "taken for a ride"? Nothing has ever been heard of her and Carlo claims she is a victim of the "purge" with so many others. There was quite a news story in the papers when he went to the D.A. some months ago but nothing I have seen since. I will try and get in to see him in a week or two.

I regret to say I have been unable to do anything since writing you on your case and I don't seem able to find anyone who knows where to find Van and like you I don't like to talk with people about joining that committee until I do see him. I saw and talked with Sax a week ago and he is as pessimistic over your chances as most others of you ever getting a visa or permit to come in.

Agnes Ingils was here on a visit of several weeks but I did not know it until she was about to leave. However, I heard in time and went in to see her at the Hotel Albert, University Place and spent two hours with her just before she caught her train for Ann Arbor. She asked me to send her a photo of myself and I finally got three for a dollar here in New Rochelle and enclose one of them so you can see

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2

17426

for yourself the ravages of time in an old friend. I didn't realize myself how old I look even though I see myself in the mirror every day while shaving. Incidentally Agnes is the same age as myself, i.e. 67 going on 68 as the children say.

Reasoned
As to Spain and those gallant fighters for human liberty almost anything one could say would be superfluous and in contrast most of us look petty and some even contemptuous. On the off chance that you may not have seen or heard of the fight to lift the embargo I am enclosing articles from the People's Lobby Bulletin for June which arrived this morning. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Pearson & Allen authors of "The Nine Old Men" and are probably good New Deal men in spite of their attack on Roosevelt even though their column appears in the Daily Mirror a Hearst Tabloid. Pegler is ninety-nine per cent reactionary. It is certainly heart breaking to think of Roosevelt who more than any president for fifty or even a hundred years has at least broadcast the miserable condition of the mass of Americans should be the one to block the move to lift the embargo. According to the Times Borah and Nye will endeavor ~~to~~ have the Nye resolution lifting the embargo reconsidered next week although the resolution was tabled by a vote of 17 to 1 in the committee. In the meantime "they are hanging Danny Deever in the morning." Fortunately sympathy for the Loyalists is growing; in a ~~recent~~ recent poll of newspaper men 410 favored the Loyalists, eight no opinion and only one, Gertrude Atherton favored the Fascists. Of course by the time anything tangible is done another hundred thousand or so will have been killed. In an A.P. story from Alicante this morning in the Times 250 dead and 1,000 injured many or most of them women and children, by bombing planes. "How long oh Lord, how long?"

From what you write about Citron it is hard to say whether the American Labor Movement is any worse than England's but there is one thing that must always be taken into account and that is that the Labor Movement has and still is controlled naturally enough by the Cities and every Central Body I ever saw is run by the Irish and they are for the most part catholic and reactionary. The C.I.O. is too young to have opinions on these subjects and besides they are trying to build a Labor Party and that takes most of their time and money. The Jewish Unions have money and influence in New York and perhaps one or two other cities but by and large the Irish control. Incidentally I would not be surprised to see an anti-catholic movement develop within the next few years for the Church is mixing more and more in public affairs and always reactionary.

I have neither seen or heard from Abe but a paper called Challenge is being published at the same address as the Anarchist Centre, 229 Avenue A. Vol. No. 3 came to hand a few days ago. I don't know if Abe is connected with it but it is rather a poor paper and unless they have people to get out and peddle the paper I don't see how it can succeed.

Leah is well but Elsie has been feeling poorly of late and decided to take a couple of months off from work and she and Jessica are at Mohegan now. My youngsters like myself never knew how to handle money so it will be a tight squeeze for her to take off two months, But?

Write me when you have time. I will write you when I feel better. I feel pretty sore right now from sitting writing this letter. Love to you and Sonia is you see her. — As ever,

Harry

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 26, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Michael Ryerson. —
1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.
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Emma Goldman
S.I.A.
21 Frith St.
W.1.

26th May 1938.

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter and
cheque. I enclose four 6d tickets as re-
quested.

These seats will be reserved
for you up to 7.50.

I am sure you will find this
a most interesting meeting, as we will have
experts taking part in the discussion as
well as speaking.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Ryerson

Michael Ryerson
Organising Secretary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880207050

[Letter, 19]38 May 26, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein. —
2 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

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Emmy Eckstein
Amexco NICE A.M.

24422

May 26th 38.

My dear Emma,

I received the corrected check and thank you for it. I got also your little card. I hope that you are better now, and I was most astonished to hear that your heart is not so good. Maybe even you should drink less strong coffee. Think of that black stuff you are taking every morning?

I liked the program and it must have been an interesting affair. Hope you were satisfied with the result.....

My health is so, so. But, really I made up my mind that I will never be well again. I am, that is true, IN A WAY better than before, because before my operation I was worse than dead. But, quite the same I suffer still fiercely..... I am giving some English and French lessons and that helps a bit. But life is expensive here, Emma, you would be surprised if you would see that. I heard that in England it is cheaper.

Though here are plenty of English people it is crowded with them wherever one may turn..... I will let you know what the doctor says about the second operation. How sick I am of all that, Emma, you may believe me. Sasha is much better off. All is finished for him.... What Sasha really was, I never knew so well as I know now. Nobody ever will be as high as Sasha was, at least I did not meet a single person who could be compared with this noble soul he was.... I feel the benefit of my union with Sasha all along my life. And that is very wonderful, and it helps to go my hard way, Emma.

Now, my dear, as far as your cross answer concerning handwritings is concerned, I surely will not ask you further, but you should not feel about this as you do, because dearest Emma, this man has made very serious studies and knows his work splendidly. I got just now the most charming answers from Romain Rolland, Somerset Maugham and a few well-known stars and Musicians... they, after all would never write how fine his work is, if they would think so or even would think little of this splendid man... He characterized your handwriting to me, personally, very, very well, indeed. But please forget about it. I will get myself one day the samples I care for, if ever possible. But nobody will think that you are "gaga" as you answer me gently, if you would ask for a test....

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]38 May 26, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein. —
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24423

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It is getting hot here, dear. Summer coming, going, winter approaching. Life is a nuisance if one suffers, and one should have Sasha's strength to finish it all.

Quite the same I like to work, and so I do now, and I get its blessing as much as I can. My lessons are well appreciated, and at least some friends I have, even if you do not believe it.... at least this.

I have already one friend, inspite of the tremendous difference of thinking and feeling, and that is YOU. You are very kind to me, and that only can do a real good friend. That, and that only alone I feel deep down within my heart, and that is the main thing. Quarrel I suppose we always would, Emma darling, because you can be so harsh, even if your heart does not want to be.....

What I want to tell you is that, inspite I do not write I think of you, and it is only and alone my physical condition that disturbs my mind....

I send you my love.

EMMY

P.S.

Emma, my dear: if ever I could get: 1 black ribbon corona portable and black carbon with anybody who might come to France, I would appreciate it highly. It is a shame what ribbons and carbons they have got here. Please reduce it from the monthly money.... Can there be such a chance, sometimes?

I met yesterday Mme Bernart, she is here with an Irish writer with name Melony, who is very poor and for whom I may type for a very low rate, because he is an anarchist and as this his works are not exceptes... Has aritten a book, but I fear it is too radical to be accepted..... so I think I will do the typing to low prices because his work should be spread, I think, and Sasha would want me to help in this...

He also is procuring me interesting handwritings and my friend, the graphologue went over there and he got very interested.....

Emma, let me know, PLEASE, if your heart is getting better. I think of you and want you to be well.

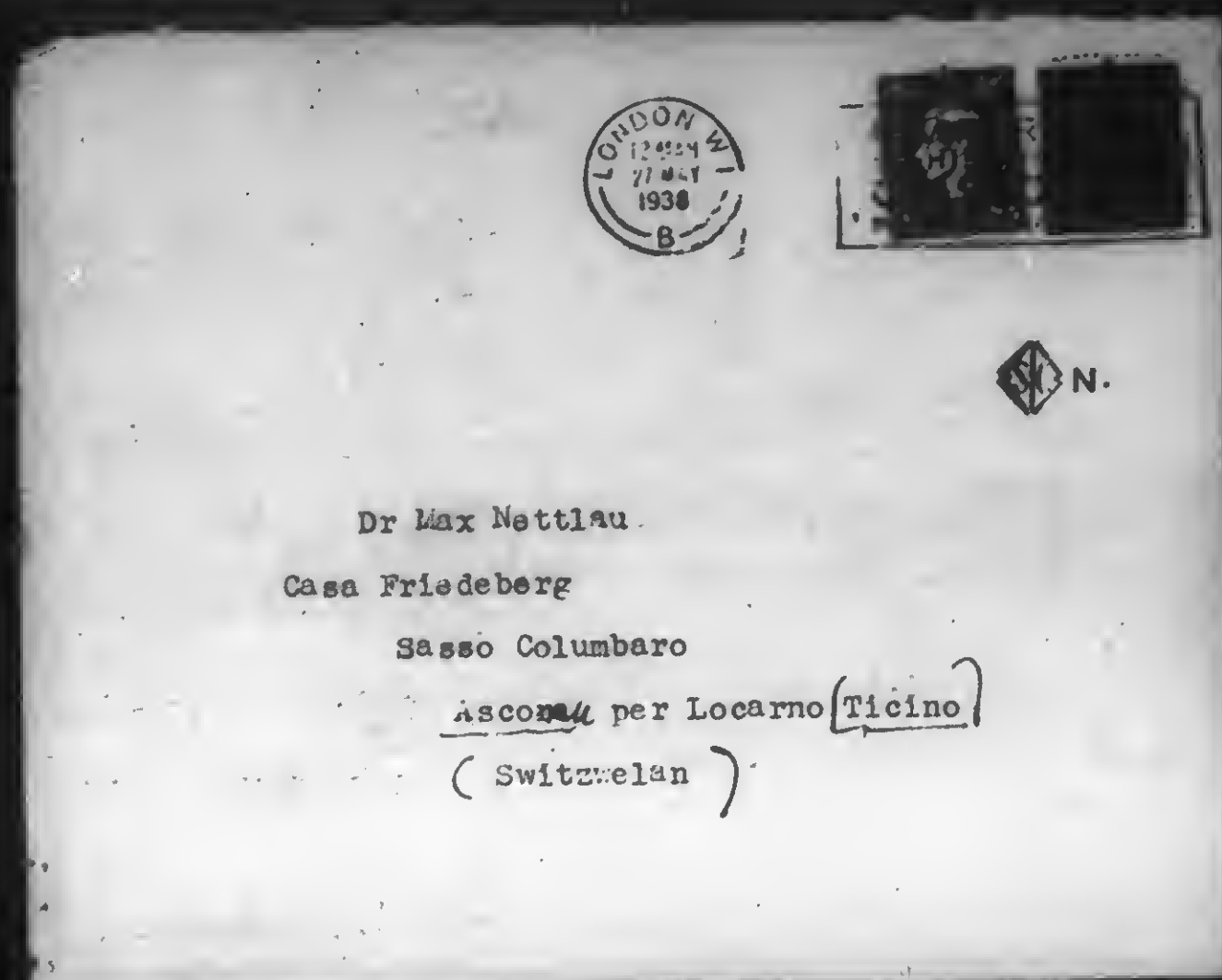
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1938 May 27, London [to] Max Nettlau, Ascona, Switzerland / E[mma]
G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 12 x 15 cm.

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E. G. Goldman
21, Firth St.
London W. 1
England

Ascona
28-5-38

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 27, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Roc

F. A. I.

OF LABOR

IONA

May 27/38

Dear Rudolf
Your silence to all my
letters is most depressing. I
know your material struggle,
the uncertainty if your continued
stay on d. e. lecture work are
not conducive to correspondence.
Still I have asked you a
few things rather urgent
I am surprised you did
not have an answer to reply.
Here are some of my letters

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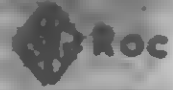
I have just received a letter
from your friend [?] asking
me your last biography
and your remembrances
of your internment have
been translated and are to be
published. He wanted to know
what we can do here. I was
as it was I had to be sure
I wrote him that H. [?] is
absolutely unknown in
England and that [?] is
so busy preparing the new
world carnage no one can
do what [?] He last
week at the [?]

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[Letter, 19]38 May 27, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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... do not
... work
... piece is

This is the worst cause
in the world for breakfast
the masses had nothing
but their party pay
y they are not paid to buy
leaves anyone but 2/6
affect Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 27 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 20 x 17 cm.

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1936

27th May 1938.

My dear Martin,

I have two of your letters Nos. 687 and 705. Both came right after I had mailed you a long letter dated May 1st and as I have been busy with a number of things I delayed writing you. Mrs Adams came to see me after her return from Spain. She told me that she had called on you and that she had told you about the Album. I am terribly sorry my dear that without asking whether we could make use of the Album you kept sending such a lot. Frankly I don't know what to do about them - they simply do not sell, and we have no money to pay for them unless we do sell. We will make one more effort to advertise them in Spain & the world at 6d. That will be less than half of ten francs, and I am not sure whether we will have demands for it. It is certainly a great pity to have them lie around, so you had better let me know whether we shall let them go for 6d. Come to think of it I had better wait till I hear from you before we advertise. Unfortunately we have not much more luck with the Urruti 10000 silk woven photographs. We will let you know later how many we have disposed of; but I can tell you they are not many. You have no idea my dear how rotten England is for our literature, and for any of the things that come out from Spain. We have tried and tried at meetings and on all occasions to push whatever we have and the woven photograph of Urruti; but people will simply not buy them. We still have hundreds of the Stamps Albums. I don't know what we are going to do about them.

About the young son of the comrade in Barcelona. His friends who have been paying for him here have received a letter from the father to the effect that the boy should be sent to Marseilles where he will gain by being with friends who will look after his keep. I therefore suggested to the Spanish people to go to the consul and get the boy a passport which they succeeded in obtaining. I also gave him a letter of recommendation to Camara who lives in Marseilles. You will remember I told you how kind Camara treated me. I am sure he will do what he can for the boy. He may have left already - I am not sure.

I am sorry to tell you that our affair for the S.I.A. was poorly attended, and left us in a very small margin over our expenses. With the summer so near we are quite distressed what we must do. So I am a plan and still do of hiring a car and go out week ends, Sat-

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2

19365-

urday and Sunday, to different provincial towns, to speak on Spain, and make appeals.

Today we had good news - a card from Frank that he is already in France and will be in England soon. Also that the film was sent. In fact I have received notice that it has already arrived. It is a great relief to us because we feel that a constructive film might help us for the summer, and at the same time show the other side of the Spanish struggle. You have no idea, nor have the other comrades at your end, how little is known about the collectivisation of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. No other way we had a labour man call to see the collection of photos of the collectives. He was astounded to find that such things existed in Spain even today. He had never read or been told that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. had begun collectivisation immediately after July 19th.

I have repeatedly written about the conspiracy of silence in all the papers including the Daily Herald and the others who pose as liberals. True last year the Manchester Guardian had a few articles by their correspondent about the collectivisation. Unfortunately the Manchester Guardian is not read by the workers, and the workers have been kept, and are being kept, in complete ignorance about the constructive side in Spain.

The film, if it is anything, I hope will do a great deal towards dispelling this ignorance. I can hardly wait till Frank arrives. I also heard from Ilse. She too hopes to be in London. She certainly could be a great help with translations.

Early next week I will write you to the S.I.A. and the C.N.T. enclosing our accounts. I am terribly sorry that the surplus much smaller to the comrades at your end as they may have anticipated.

I hope I do not have to assure you, or them, that we have worked like beavers trying everything possible to make the S.I.A. and C.N.T. known, and to get membership for the S.I.A. The result has been disastrous.

Under separate cover I am sending you cuttings from the "Posledny". They contain tremendously interesting material about our tragic Russia. The reminiscences of a communist - about the that are used to prepare a trial are horrors. They gave me the night-mare. Another series "The reminiscences of a Soviet General" written by someone who is evidently outside of Russia and can afford to sign his name. It is all so sad. The most tragic of all is that our people in Spain have to continue to submit to the "blessings" of that dreadful man on the Russian throne.

I did not realise how much they are in his clutches until I heard from A.S. that something is still coming to Spain from that part of the world. A.S. assures me that the communists in Spain have lost prestige. I hope it is true and not merely a wish or his statement.

Dear Martin, when you write me again tell me what is A.S. doing. Has he a situation in Barcelona or has he returned to Valencia?

Will you please see our comrade Lucia Sanchez Caornil. Give her my fraternal greetings and tell her I have received her letter, and will answer it when our statement of account is ready for the S.I.A.

Also you might tell her we have sent to the Consejo General de S.I.A. everything that we have published for the S.I.A. I am not sure whether "Spain & the World" goes to this organisation. I will speak to the comrade of the paper when he comes in and ask him to send a set as much as he can spare.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 27 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 20 × 17 cm.

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miss hearing from him often. Give my fraternal greetings to Herrera. I shall
SALUD

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[Letter] 1938 May 27 [London to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

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23854

27th May 1938.

Dear Samuel,

While I have not had an answer from you in reply to my last letter, I am writing you again on an important matter. It concerns the campaign for my return to the States. Several weeks ago I received a letter from Carlo Tresca offering to support the campaign. A few days later I received a letter from Margaret de Silver, who I believe is Tresca's wife. She sent some money for our Spanish work, and spoke very kindly about my return to the States. Thereupon I wrote asking her whether she would undertake to get together the necessary committee. She has important connections that neither you nor any of the comrades have and she could, if she would undertake it, create a real representative committee; but its not her I want to write about, its Carlo.

I don't know whether you remember the quarrel that developed between him and his paper on one side, and Borghi and "L'Adunata". Tresca was charged with being "spy". It Borghi who wrote me and comrade Berkman about the matter asking us to conduct a campaign against Tresca. We refused most emphatically. We said that we could not put such a terrible charge against a man unless we had convincing proofs before us. In addition we know Tresca for years, and while we knew in some rather slight in his ideas, we could not charge him to be guilty of spying. I have heard nothing since that time, about seven years ago; but recently "L'Adunata" had an attack against him, supposedly that a letter I had written to Tresca praising him for having taken up the case of Miss Poyntz and the miserable action of the G.P.U. in the States. I have written no such letter to Tresca, although I would see no wrong whatever in having done so. I did write Van, I believe, expressing satisfaction that Tresca had taken up the insidious work of the G.P.U. in America. All this would have no meaning whatever, and I should not bother you with it; but the only thing is, you must know our attitude, and that of the other comrades to Tresca. We certainly do not want to get into a stamp when I arrive at into the States, if I do, if the British potentialians start a counter-campaign against him which they are capable of doing; because it will be win to Tresca's effort that I might get back to America.

So far several people among them Rose Posseta have written me that Tresca would be the proper person to undertake the campaign. Of course its understood that he is to do it in co-operation with you and the comrades of the anarchist operation and Van; but inasmuch as none of you have the connections that are of importance for the possible visa, it seems to me that Tresca and Margaret de Silver should approach their people, and you and the others those whom you can reach. In any event I want the whole thing kept clear from any miserable charges and counter-charges because of old squabbles between the socialists and the anarchists.

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[Letter] 1938 May 27 [London to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

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23855

Will you let me know quite frankly how you feel about Tresca and do so very soon; because I will have to definitely let Tresca and Margaret de Silver whether they are to go ahead or not.

Has nothing been done about the fund? I know that when you people heard that I was going to Spain again last year you discontinued your efforts; but you wrote me that you would take them up again. Just what has been done? I wish dear Samuel that you would not delay and write me. I really must know how I stand regarding the fund and also the possibilities of co-operation between my own comrades and friends of mine outside of our ranks.

I do not know what is the matter with Van. He used to be a very regular and dependable correspondent. Now it takes weeks and sometimes months to get an answer from him. I wish you would see him Samuel and tell him I must know what he has to say regarding this wretched "L'Adunata" charges, and will it be all right to have Tresca handle my case.

I hate to mix any private affairs; but Van is not merely a private person; but stands in the movement. Therefore I look to you to be frank with me and tell me why he is so often forced to go to the hospitals. Is it because he is drinking heavily? I am very fond of Van, and he has in the past proven a most faithful and devoted friend. It would be too bad if he goes down because of liquor. In any event it would be difficult to let him have anything to do with the campaign for me if he is constantly under care. This of course is only for you, so please do not mention the matter to the other comrades. In the last analysis it is Van's business what he is doing with his own life. I only consider it a great pity because he is of value to the movement.

We will have to soon settle with Warburg for the 25 books that you must have received long before this. Will you therefore send us a statement of what we owe you for the two Rocker's pamphlet, and for Sasha's A.B.C. Communist Anarchism. Bear in mind however that we cannot sell these things here at 8d for the Tragedy or 4/- for Sasha's book - so you must have a heart and give us some reasonable discount. It is not that we want to make money on it. We are only too glad that these things should be in circulation; but neither can we lose on it. Please do your best to send us a statement right away.

I have had a letter from Yaffe telling me that and the comrades of Los Angeles are contemplating publishing Rudolf's "Life Of John Most" and his book on his imprisonment. I hate like thunder to disappoint Yaffe; but I had to tell him frankly that I do not believe England is a market for either of the works, and comrade Ralph Barr agrees with me in this. Most is absolutely unknown except to a few of my generation and that not well, and the horrors of the last war have been forgotten now that the world is faced with a new war. I said that all we could do is to take some copies, if we will get them at a reasonable price, and try to sell them, if the comrades will publish these books.

Now be a dear and sit you down and write me a letter answering my questions.

Fraternat greetings to the comrades. Affectionate greetings to your family and to you.

SALUD.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 27 [London to Olga Y.] McClelland, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18267

27th May, 1938.

Dear Miss McClelland,

/S.I.A.

I am sorry to have delayed answering your letter of April 28th. I have been waiting to hear from my organisation in Barcelona, the Consejo General. I have sent them a copy of your letter. I had hoped they would reply at once, but so far I have not heard from them. I have decided therefore not to wait any longer.

I had no doubt whatever that your organisation has been doing and is doing its utmost to protect the Basque children and not to let them go back to Franco unless absolutely compelled to do so by the claim of their parents. I confess I am surprised that the parents should want the children to be sent back to the dreadful conditions awaiting them in Bilbao. I only hope that the letters claiming the children were bona fide and not written under duress of Franco and the priests.

I am afraid that you do not know our limited material means. Our work here has met partly with a boycott and partly with a conspiracy of silence of the Labour and Liberal Press. While your organisation and the Spanish Medical Aid Society have been given columns of publicity, the S.I.A. and the National Confederation of Labour, both of whom I am representing here, have been deliberately ignored. We have worked against often insurmountable odds, and what we have succeeded in raising is so little that we cannot possibly contribute towards the work you are doing, splendid as it is. However, we have contributed to a group of the Basque children, 41 at Street Colony, under the protection of the Independent Labour Party. We contributed £50 last year, and we hope to do as much just as soon as I hear from my organisation.

Your scheme of "adoptions" is indeed very good. Our paper, Spain and the World, published in this city, has launched this scheme over a year ago, and has since taken care of 40
adopted

The Emma Goldman Papers

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children. I visited the Colony last October and can testify to the splendid conditions in the way of housing, feeding and care the children were under. It is for this reason and not because we are not interested in the work you are doing, that we cannot also contribute to the fine efforts you are making for the Basque children. However, my people in Barcelona may stretch a point and instruct me to make a contribution. Naturally I shall be most delighted to do so.

Yours sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 27 [London to Roger] Hall, [Fall River, Mass.] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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27th May, 1938.

Dear Comrade Hall,

Your letter of the 10th instant reached me some days ago. As I happen to have a moment free I want to answer it at once. First of all let me thank you for your confidence in me and your belief that I might be able to help you in your struggle regarding the question of "violence to achieve Anarchism".

I understand perfectly your distressed state of mind. With so much organised violence in the world, in fact with violence raised to the very pinnacle by the dictatorship, it is indeed very harassing to find one's bearings in relation to one's ideal. You are of course right when you say that violence is contradictory to Anarchism. As a social philosophy, as a theory of the rights of the individual and the freedom of the collectivity, Anarchism is the only philosophy which does not propagate violence. But in coming to a correct understanding of the relation between Anarchism and violence it is necessary to face the fact that the present system in all its ramifications rests on organised violence, and that neither individual nor even group passive resistance can possibly change the course of the system.

In order to understand the inevitability of resistance to organised or legalised violence it is necessary to understand the real nature and meaning of revolution. So few people realise that it is not anything willed. Revolution is as a matter of fact the expression of the preceding accumulated evolutionary forces come to a breaking point. Revolution in society is exactly what a cloudburst, an earthquake or a tornado is in the atmospheric realm. Nature breaks loose as a result of the elemental forces that have accumulated to the breaking point. I therefore maintain and have maintained that revolutions are inevitable, whether we are in favour of violence or against it.

Now what are the accumulated evolutionary elements that inevitably lead to revolution? On one side are the abuses maintained and perpetuated by our very system of violence. On the other side is the awakening of the masses to the need of some

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[Letter] 1938 May 27 [London to Roger] Hall, [Fall River, Mass.] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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17696

fundamental change. These two are bound to clash and do clash whether we like it or not. If we do not resist or resist only passively, the revolution will sweep over us just as the tornado will sweep over us if we are in its way. In other words, if any fundamental change is to take place the awakened masses must needs put themselves in harmonious rapport with the revolution instead of standing passively in its way or using what you call "militant non-resistance". (I do not see how non-resistance can ever be militant.) The function of Anarchism in a revolutionary period is to minimise the violence of revolution and replace it by constructive efforts. This has been done in Spain.

You say the Spanish comrades should be given every help because they began with violence and nothing else can be done now. In point of fact the Spanish people did not begin the use of violence. The violence was used against them by the military clique and the Spanish Fascists. The general attacked the masses with arms. There was only one of two things that the workers could choose. One was to be exterminated and the other to resist. Fortunately our own comrades chose the latter. Otherwise Spain would have been saddled by Fascism just as Italy, Germany and Austria. For you must bear in mind that in Germany and Austria not a single hand was raised in any form of resistance against Hitler. The only reply the poor Austrians can give is that many of them are committing suicide. You see, it saves Hitler the task to kill them off. The workers in Spain were traditionally and temperamentally unable to permit the fascist general to impose the black scourge on Spain and the Spanish people. That is why it was a question of life and death for them to resist Fascism.

It is a mistake to assume that our Spanish comrades believed that they could establish anarchism on top of feudalism and the power of the Church and that they could do so by means of arms. The arms they used were merely a means of clearing Spain from Fascism. The Anarchist part consists entirely of the marvellous constructive work which our Spanish comrades began almost immediately after the Fascists had been driven out of Catalonia and Aragon.

I will grant you that an individual may free himself from his manacles by "militant non-resistance", though the frightful odds to do so may so break him that he will have no strength left to make use of his freedom. But the mass, as such, cannot gain its freedom by non-resistance; for whatever step it takes, even the simplest strike, organised violence will drive it to resist with more drastic measures than folded hands. Every stay-in or sit-down strike has proved that. Surely these were peaceful methods. The whole machinery of government was brought down with a bang on the strikers, and there was nothing else to do but to resist.

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Your supposition that were the Anarchists in the United States to attempt a violent struggle, their efforts would be drowned in rivers of blood is only too true. But that would, however, depend on the numeric intelligent and determined strength of the anarchist movement. Supposing the anarchists had reached the position of the U.N.T.-F.A.I., could they not play such a constructive part as our Spanish comrades?

I note your examples, such as Gandhi and his followers, the Dukhobors and the others you mention in favour of non-resistance. Unfortunately the actual facts in these cases disprove your point. It is quite true that Gandhi is a great moral force, although even he finally compromised by urging his followers to take part in Congress, by himself taking part, thus actually recognising the very Government that is holding India in bondage. On the other hand, the organised violence used against the followers of Gandhi has finally forced them to use violence, much to the distress of Gandhi. Whatever concessions Great Britain has made have been wrung from her by the determined stand and determined action of many of the followers of Gandhi and the other revolutionists. As to the Dukhobors, their non-resistance had no effect whatever on their social surroundings. True, they carried out their scheme by passive methods, but they had to do so by withdrawing within themselves. They had no effect on the rest of the community. Nor were they able to establish communal relations. In other words, all those who have in the past engaged in passive resistance or non-resistance, while they may in rare instances have been able to live their lives in their own way, they have remained a group apart, and they have not advanced any social changes that had any bearing on society at large.

Most important of all is the fact that mechanised warfare and violence used by the state make non-resistance utterly futile. What do you think could non-violence do during bombardment from the air - a daily occurrence in Spanish cities and towns? I can see no other method than planes that could bring down the German and Italian monsters that have already destroyed tens of thousands of lives.

In former times individual non-resistance was possible, though it rarely accomplished its objective. But our mechanised age makes it utterly futile, it seems to me; and therefore as a method of combating the complex social injustices and inequalities non-resistance cannot be a decisive factor. If fundamental social changes are to take place, it will only be through the overthrow of the old regime and that only the social revolution can do it.

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Yes, I realize that it means a lot of confusion, loss of lives, great deal of suffering, but it would mean the same if it were possible for large masses of people to practise non-resistance. You admit yourself that it probably would mean more suffering.

I agree with you, dear comrade, that education, especially from an Anarchist point of view, will go a long way, but it is not enough. People must also intensely love their freedom, be willing to die for it if need be, and to die for it in the consciousness that they have contributed to the clearing of the ground for the new social structure that is to replace the old.

Certainly, if one judges revolution by the frightfulness in Russia, one has reason to be discouraged, but when one considers that the Russian Revolution was not given a chance to assert itself, that it was almost immediately tied to the coat-tails of the Communist State, then one will understand the abyss which exists between the Russian Revolution and the Soviet regime. No, it was not the Revolution that failed: it was the Soviet regime, the dictatorship. In point of truth we Anarchists and our ideal have been vindicated by the results of the dictatorship.

Spain, on the other hand, has demonstrated the superior value of the free initiative of the workers. For it was that which has made possible collectivization and socialization by the workers and under their management. I go so far as to say that this beginning which the O.N.T.-F.A.I. have made has taken root in Spanish soil and the Spanish people so deeply, whatever the outcome it will continue to bear fruit. So you see, dear comrade, that wherever a Revolution lays greater stress on construction rather than destruction, it is bound to express itself less in violence than in real living and building of the new life on the part of the people.

I know, I know, the frightful price our comrades have paid, the odds still against them, the danger and death staring them in the face. All the greater the miracle the O.N.T.-F.A.I. have brought about by their collectives and their emphasis on the need of building the new edifice immediately, and not to wait until all else will be equal.

~~Summary~~ To sum up, I wish to say that while it is true that violence and Anarchism seem contradictory, it is none the less a fact that every revolution brings humanity nearer to the libertarian ideal. Think what the French Revolution has given

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17499
in the world in thought, social ideas and ideals, in culture and in the conception of the rights of man. And the Russian Revolution, regardless of all the horrors of the Communist State, has struck deeply into the mind and the hearts of the Russian people. That will assert itself in the next social upheaval that is bound to take place in Russia. And now the Spanish Revolution — nothing has advanced the conception of freedom as conceived by Anarchism as all these great historic events. You may think that I am seeing through roseate glasses in the face of all the violence of Fascism, Nazism and Bolshevism. I will grant you that they make it almost impossible to believe that underneath it all the restless spirit of man for freedom, for harmony, goes on none the less.

Dear comrade, you owe me no apology for writing me. I am always glad to help young comrades. Nor do I think that I am wasting my time in writing to a young comrade. On the contrary, I always wanted to give much to the young generation, for well do I know that I will not live to the day when my ideal will be realized. The future belongs to the young generation. I only wish we had more who take such deep interest in our ideas and who long for clarity in their own vision as you do.

Thank you for wishing that I might be back in America. Perhaps your wish may be fulfilled if the friends who are working to get me back succeed.

Dear comrade, I enclose two reviews of a very valuable book by our comrade, Rudolf Rocker, on Anarcho-Syndicalism. I suggest that you read the work. You can get it through the Dr. Ab. Stimm, 45, West 17th Street, New York City. While it does not directly deal with the question of violence and anarchism, it does explain the necessity of direct action and the value of the general strike. It might help you to get a clearer understanding of the relation of anarchism to Revolution.

Fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. —
1 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.
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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

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CENTRALITA 14781
SECRETARIADO 41
EDICIONES 44-46
GUERRA DE CLASE 40
BOLETIN ESPERANTO 40
BOLETIN FRANCÉS 44
BOLETIN ALEMÁN 47
BOLETIN INGLÉS 40
BOLETIN RUSO 40
BOLETIN BULGARO 40
BOLETIN PORTUGUÉS 40

Barcelona 27 de mayo de 1938.

Comarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère camarade,

J'ai vous remis ci-joint 150 cartes de propagan-
ds.

En même temps nous vous communiquons que la
camarade E. Michaels - 163, Jubilee Street, Mile End, E.1 -
lequel nous a demandé des cartes de propagands.

Nous supposons que vous connaissez à ces cama-
rades. Nous l'avons écrit que pour tout ce qui concerne la
propaganda il doit s'adresser à vous et nous espérons que
vous allez lui donner toute l'information qu'il vous deman-
dera.

Recevez nos salutations bien fraternelles,



PAR LE BUREAU DE PROPAGANDE EXTERIEURE

Martin Gudell

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 May 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[anuel] Mascarell. —
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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 873/BU/BG.

18978

París, el 28 de Mayo 1938.

Emma GOLDMAN
21 Frith Street
Shaftesbury Avenue
LONDON - W.1.

Querida compañera:

He recibido tu carta 19 de los corrientes así como el cheque que me mandaste al que te mandé en mi anterior.

He leído con atención tu carta en la que me das detalles sobre el movimiento obrero en esa y comparto tu opinión cuando me dices que es difícil convencer a los líderes. Y no solamente son estos, sino que la más dolorosa son las mismas masas que no saben comprender la importancia que tiene el pueblo español de que se le ayude moral y materialmente para vencer al fascismo, sino que tampoco comprenden el peligro que tienen para que este fascismo, un día más tarde, no invada a ellos mismos como ha invadido al proletariado italiano.

Efectivamente -creo que ya te lo decía en mi anterior-, la voluntad de nuestros bravos camaradas se ha restablecido. Ha vuelto a reanudar el entusiasmo para luchar y obtener la victoria definitiva. Yo conozco perfectamente la situación internacional vis-a-vis del proletariado que éste no está en disposición para hacer un gesto que le dirija al mundo. Pero desgraciadamente no así lo comprenden los camaradas que van en España y que, absorbidos por la guerra, están completamente fuera del movimiento obrero internacional. Ellos creen en la posibilidad de que se pueda hacer algo que vaya a solidarizarse con nuestra causa, pero sin hacer los que sin estar absorbidos por las trágicas circunstancias de la guerra, vemos con más claridad la política internacional que el proletariado. Nada. Solamente -como tú lo haces- podemos advertir que no se formen ilusiones.

Comprendo fácilmente el que los ingleses no quieran ser parte de la lucha empleada por los trabajadores españoles y de la que el único proletariado del mundo que en sus luchas contra el capitalismo ha empleado ese método de acción directa, ha sido el nuestro es una cosa de temperamento y de psicología del mismo. Pero, repito, que no me sorprende el que los ingleses no quieran ser parte de ella.

Me doy cuenta de lo violento que sería para ti el que existiera una delegada de la C.N.T., a la reunión que se celebró para discutir este complicado punto de "no-intervención" sin que pudiéramos hablar y exponer nuestras opiniones. Y me doy cuenta porque yo sé lo que representa estar en una reunión y comprobar que en el transcurso de la misma, solamente se divaga y se pierde el tiempo y no pueda advertirlo.

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18979

GOLDMANN - LONDON E.I.

El 28 de Mayo 1938.

De acuerdo. Lo que me escribes, tomo buena nota para la utilidad del Secretariado de la A.I.T.

Sobre el Iero de Mayo, supongo que el de ahí, habrá sido, más o menos variantes, como el que ha celebrado el proletariado internacional, excepto el español, porque el Iero de Mayo fue un día de lucha y coraje, para vencer al enemigo que tenía en frente.

Calibre el informe que me das respecto al movimiento en España, vía de la A.I.T. y que el mismo llegue a convertirse en grupo del sindicalismo y pidan su ingreso a la A.I.T. para que les pueda permitir el derecho de estar presentes en el próximo congreso y, como delegados, intervenir en todos los puntos del orden del día.

Yo espero, por lo que hace referencia a ti personalmente, que nada influirá para que tú puedas estar presente en el próximo congreso de la A.I.T. y que en él puedas llevar la voz cantante de lo que debe ser el movimiento anarcosindicalista.

Haces bien en no querer asistir al Congreso.iendo la impresión que tú has sido utilizada como un soporte moral para defender la Delegación española de la C.E.T. Estoy completamente de acuerdo contigo.

Espero, respecto al viaje que debes efectuar al Canada con una amiga, que me lo comuniqués para tener noticias directas tuyas y, a la vez, para que me des el resultado de todas tus gestiones por aquellas tierras.

Las únicas y últimas noticias que puedo darte de España es que las cosas, desde el punto de vista político y militar, siguen un camino muy alagüeño y que las cosas tienden a cambiar. Por una parte, lo más interesante es que la moral de nuestros compañeros se ha elevado a tal punto que no hay diferencia entre la que poseen ahora con la que poseían en 19 de Julio de 1936.

Estáte tranquila que todas cuantas noticias tenga de valor e interés de nuestro país, te las comunicaré como lo hago ahora.

No restándome nada más a comunicarte por el momento, te saluda cordial y fraternalmente.

POR LA DELEGACIÓN PERMANENTE DE LA C.E.T.-P.A.I. EN
PARÍS.

M. MASCARELL.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 28, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Manuel Mascarell]. —
4 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris, 28 May 38. 1898

Dear Emma,

I received your letter from the 19., further the cheque, equivalent to the sum I previously sent to you.

I have read with great attention your letter, where you give details on the working-class movement in England, and I share your opinion, when you say, that it is difficult to convince the leaders. And not only this, but - and this is more painful - the masses themselves do not understand the imperious necessity of the Spanish people for moral and material help, neither do they understand their duty, that one day fascism might invade them, as it attacked the Spanish proletariat.

Matter of fact, I told you this already in my former letter, the morale of our brave comrades, is reestablished. The belief and the enthusiasm to fight and gain the final victory has been reborn. I understand perfectly the international situation vis-a-vis the proletariat and know, that this is not able to make a gesture that dignifies it before the world. But unfortunately our comrades that live in Spain do not understand it so, absorbed by the war, they are completely removed from the international working-class movement. They believe, that it is possible to do something, that we might find solidarity with our cause. What have we to do, not absorbed by the

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1897a

tragicol circumstances of the war, and therefore ~~of these~~
clearly the ~~the~~ int'national policy the proletn ~~riote~~
is following? Nothing. Only - as you do - we might inform
them, that they dont form illusions.

I understand easily that the English
dont like to hear speaking of the struggle put forwards
by the Spanish workers and the direct action. The only
proletariat of the world that in its struggle against
capitalism has used this method of direct action has
been the Spanish. Perhaps this is a question of tempera-
ment and of psychology. Therefore, as I said, I am not sur-
prised that the English dont like to hear of it.

I can understand, how you felt, assistin_g
as delegate of the C.N.T. at a mitin, celebrated to over-
throw the fantastic non-intervention pact, without being
able to speak and give your suggestions. I understand well
what it means, to be in a mitin and to find out that one
only wastes time, and yet not being able to say it.

I agree, re what you write to me. I kept
a good note of it for the use of the Secretariat of the
A.I.T.

As to the 1. May, I suppose that the day
here, has been more or less the same as the whole inter-
national proletariat has celebrated it, with the excep-
tion of the Spanish, for the 1. May was for them a day of ~~afre-~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 28, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Manuel Mascarell].--
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10976

fight and courage to win over their enemy.

I am glad to hear the information re the movement there vis-a vis the A.I.T. and that it converts itself into an anarcho-syndicalist group and ask for admission to the A.I.T. to be entitled to representation at the next congress and have the right through their delegate to take part in the order of the day. (Zusammenfassung).

I hope as far as you personally are concerned, that nothing and nobody interferes that you can be represented on the next congress of the AIT. and also your voice as to what you think the anarcho-syndicalist movement ought to be.

You are doing well, not asking to assist at the congress, much giving the impression, that you have made use of a moral support to defend the Spanish delegation of the C.N.T.I. I am fully agreeing with you.

Re the journey to Canada, I hope that you will communicate with me so that I have direct news from you and at the same time, that you give me the result of all your activities in this part of the world.

The only and last news I can give you from Spain, are that from a military and political point of view things follow a more cheerful way and tend to change. The most interesting is that the moral of our

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4 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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18976

... has shown to such extent that there is no ...
... between to-day and the 15 July. ...
... I can assure you that any news of in-
... I get from our country I will communicate to
you .
Not having further communications for
the time being, I greet you cordially and fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 28, London [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Olga Y. McClelland. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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17483

NATIONAL JOINT COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH RELIEF

CHAIRMAN: THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, M.P.
VICE-CHAIRMAN: THE EARL OF LISTOWEL
MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.

NON-SOCIETARIAN
MR. S. R. GOSWELL, M.P.
CAPT. J. R. J. MACNAMARA, M.P.
MR. WILFRED ROBERTS, M.P.

NON-TREASURER
VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHILWOOD, P.C., M.P.

NON-ADMINISTRATOR
MR. G. T. GARRATT

ORGANISING SECRETARY (SACRED CHILDREN)
MISS BETTY L. ARNE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
MISS OLGA Y. MCCLELLAND

53, MARSHAM STREET,

LONDON, S.W.1

TELEPHONE: ABBEY 2200

28th May, 1938.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you very much for your letter. One of the greatest sources of encouragement to us in our work is the support we receive from widely different organisations and individuals in various walks of life and of varying opinions.

We much appreciate the sympathy of the S.I.A. and shall always be grateful for your interest and help.

Yours sincerely,

Olga Y. McClelland
Miss Secretary.

Miss E. Goldman,
S.I.A.,
21 Frith Street,
Shaftersbury Avenue,
London, W.1.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929170

[Letter 19] 38 May 29, Neath [Wales to Emma Goldman, London] / S[am] M[ainwar-
ing]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17809

29/5/38

236 Old Rd Neath Glam.

Dear Comrade

You no doubt had my letter in reply to your enquiry about the collecting sheet for the S. J. W. Up to now I've still been unable to put my hands on it. Also in the last letter you were given the whole of the facts regarding the attitude of the miners and their being held back by the official element in the S. W. M. I. I notice that nothing is said about it in the last number of "Spain & the World." It is also noticed that nothing is said about Mexico and the financing of the bandit Cidillo by British capitalists. The matter this letter is written mostly for is the following. There is a Marxist here who takes a publication called the "New International" published in New York U. S. A. Two or three of its numbers which were loaned to me contain rather damaging and, I may say, to me, not quite startling charges against the C. N. I. & I. W. I. Those charges carry all the more weight because they are made by an

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter 19] 38 May 29, Neath [Wales to Emma Goldman, London] / S[am] M[ainwar-
ing]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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17810

Anarchist named J. M. Bell now of Los Angeles
Cal. but formerly of Glasgow. He makes the charge
that the National Committee of the C.I.T. were parties
to the shooting of members of the Friends of
Durruti and the Juventud Libertario as well
as members of the P.O.U.M. and that they did
nothing to prevent or stop the excesses of the
Stalinists. The other serious accusation is that the
National and Regional Committee of the C.I.T.
had become as hide bound a bureaucracy
as anything to be found anywhere of a
similar character. Naturally I am being
called upon to refute those charges, but the
only thing I can tell them is that the
Bulletins that one receives from Barcelona does
not lead one to believe anything of that kind.
As stated, the damage to our Cause by those
statements is being done and if what this Bell
says is true then it will take a lot of explaining
away. Maybe if you can find the time you will
make some observations on this and let me have
them. Salud
S.M.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881027046

[Letter] 1938 May 29, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Elly Goetze.—
6 p.; 30 x 24 cm.
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Elly Goetze Paris 29.5.38

23926

Paris, 29. 5. 38.

Liebe Emma!

Deiner seinen Brief verpackt erhalten
da du die Adresse nicht richtig geschrieben
hastest. Wir hatten nur schon Gedanken ge-
macht du nur nicht antwortet, unsere
erfahrungen sind wir jetzt einen Brief von
dir zu haben. Was du über Spanien redest
und über unsere Gedanken ist auch unsere
Meinung, nein, im Gegenteil. Ich möchte
nicht einmal so viel von Fehlern reden
waren ihnen doch viele Dinge zwangsläufig
historisch vorgezeichnet, an hand ihrer
isolierten Lage in Europa. Die Tragödie
der spanischen Revolution ist dadurch be-
dingt das Europa zu 1/3 feuchtkirchlich ist.
Es ist schon sehr Bedenkenvoll für Spa-
nien das statt der niedrigstehenden Weim-
Republik Hitler in Deutschland regiert
sowie Mussolini in Italien Krümmung
der Bolschewismen bleibt der Todfeind

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881027046

[Letter] 1938 May 29, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Elly Goetze.—
6 p.; 30 x 24 cm.
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und die russischen Waffen waren ein
sehrbedeutendes Schwert über der spanischen
Revolution. Die Allianz B. N. T. - U. J. T.
innerpolitisch der Schlüssel zu einem
schnellen Siege. Wir brauchten keine
neue Kammine und keine herbe
Niederlage, der geringste Teilerfolg über
den Faschismus ist schon ein Erfolg
es ist klar das man bei alledem
wahrhafter Anarchist keine Weltumwan-
dung grasslingig und rumber erhalten
will. Bei allen Kompromissen haben
unsere spanischen Kameraden wie
wir zu tiefstimmerlich jegliche Anstren-
gung mit brennenden Herzen verfolgen wie
wir in die weiteren Ereignisse in Span-
ien hart reist waren in schreibt das
schliesslich nichts ^{mitte} kann da ich
eine politische noch militärische Funktion
begleitete und nur Arbeiter und
Kommunisten war, sodass meine wichtigste
Aufgabe darin besteht mein Kind zu
retten.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 May 29, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Elly Goetze.—
 6 p.; 30 x 24 cm.
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23938

II

Durch Briefe aus publizistisch Deutschland
 gegenüber noch viel zu Armut. Künftig
 die deutschen antiautoritären Bezie-
 hungen sehr stark gerichtet sind. Vor
 einigen Tagen erreichte mich die
 Nachricht das die Mutter von Persim
 infolge von Geiselpolitik festgesetzt ist
 64 Jahre zu 3 Jahre Zuchthaus verur-
 teilt worden ist, sie ist Mitglied einer
 Organisation. Kurze vorher wurden 2
 Genossen der eine zu 8 und der andere
 der zu 3 Jahren Zuchthaus verurteilt.
 Wir haben die Hoffnung nicht aufge-
 geben das wir mit im Verlaufe
 einer deutschen Revolution, Deutschland
 von der Hitlerpest reinigen. Das ist
 doch konspirative Arbeit, das ist auch
 mit ein Grund warum ich mich
 nach Norwegen will. Denn nur im
 Zusammen Arbeit aller antiautoritären
 deren Richtungen werden wir unser
 Ziel erreichen, und von Norwegen an

The Emma Goldman Papers

881027046

[Letter] 1938 May 29, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Elly Goetze.—
6 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.
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noch dafür tun können.

Liebe Emma, auch wäre es mir in der
möglich etwas für unsere spanische
Propagandistin zu tun, dazu benötige ich
mir eines Empfehlungsbreiteils eines
spanischen Hilfskomitees, von Spanien
ist sie schwer zu erlangen und immerhin
der franz. Bewegung bin ich zu fremd
und unbekannt um dies zu erlangen.
Kannst du mich von einem Komitee aus
mir ein solches Empfehlungsbreiteil
senden. Es müsste gerichtet sein an:

Set Nordde Hilfskomitee für Spanien, Orta
Worzen R, VII. Und folgender waren

komiten: Wir empfehlen auch die Genossin
Elly Götze-Bischoff zu einer Propaganda
Arbeit für die spanische Hilfsaktion.
Sie ist eine alte Militantin, immer stark
Frauenbewegung. Sie hat in Spanien als
Arbeiterin und aktive Kämpferin gelebt.
Und während des Bürgerkrieges am ~~ersten~~
verantwortlichen Stelle gewirkt. Sie kennt die Dinge
über die sie spricht nicht aus der Antik-
oder Journalistenperspektive sondern aus

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[Letter] 1938 May 29, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Elly Goetze. —
6 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.
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dem innigsten Zusammenleben mit den
tätigen Völkern Spaniens. Sie kommt
erst aus Spanien und steht noch unter
unmittelbarem Eindruck der Ereignisse.
Können auch die Genossen für ihre

Spanienpropaganda empfehlen.

Ihre Empfehlung kann in Deutschland abge-
faßt sein.

Ihre Aktion würde mir sehr nützen
und gleichzeitig das Asylrecht in Norwegen
zu erwerben erleichtern.

Liebe Emma, wir wissen das du nicht ruhen
kannst und wollen dich mit unseren Sorgen
nicht belasten. Du der Fahrt nach Norwegen
benötige ich für mich und Annemarie
1200 fr. erreiche nicht vor deiner Abreise
Annemarie mir wäre sehr geholfen wenn
ich soviel Geld besitzen würde um bis
Rottterdam zu gelangen vielleicht könnte
mir dann die holländische Organisation
weiterhelfen. Mir fällt es innerlich schwer
für dich zu schreiben ich tue es nur um
hand der Elenden-Situation in Paris
auch würde ich das Geld mir als Geschenk

The Emma Goldman Papers

881027046

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betrachten mit meinem ganzen humanistischen Stolz daran setzen mich zu wiederholten zurückzuführen. Sollte es sich nicht nicht möglich sein so reichlich hier bitte umgegrungen, und vergesse ich jemals eine solche Bitte an dich richtet habe.

Ich nicht helfen im effektiven Sinne der herauskommen Revolution aus der ich in keinen Falle schlechtheit der Konventionen sondern nur ein Stück Individualismus, und schlechter Organisation. Es ist mir zu wahr die kollektive Not der Menschheit und die einzige Gefahr vorsträngt leider der individuellen Existenz. Wenn man sie sterben so fragt man sich selbst mit was ist unser einziges eigenes Leben mehr mehr als das der anderen, nur ist es zu dünn von der Natur ohne Sinn und Zweck vernichtet zu werden. Tiefer Verständnis haben wir für seine wertvolle Arbeit um die humanistische Sache, leider existiert nicht nur im England ist es zu schmelen gilt. Gräme sich vorhalt nicht so sehr wegen seines geringen Erfolgs in Deutschland als in seinen Kräften. Herzliche Sammelarbeitliche Grüße von Elly.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 29, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Chris [Lewis].— 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17818

37 Chandos Road
Redland, Bristol. G.
24.5.38

Dear Emma,

Your letter of the 20th of May leaves me puzzled and bewildered, not that I have any qualms, but I am just wondering what is happening your end. Either you are very careless about your correspondence or your memory is serving you some nasty tricks. I have nothing to regret where you are concerned. True I failed to get you a meeting here in March or April. But that was not ~~due~~ due to ~~any~~ any slackness on my part. I tried, but could not get the cooperation I was seeking. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to be doing something for our beloved Spain. I only wish that it were possible for me to do more. I yield to no one in my enthusiasm for Spain. In fact that tragic country is ever on my mind. Now as to your charges against me. Let us see what the ~~facts~~ facts are. Some time ago Richfield let me have "History of Anarchism in Russia" by Vareslavsky. A devil of a book.

Richfield and I were greatly perturbed about this publication. Richfield said "I wonder if Emma has seen it?". I wrote you a long letter commenting on the book and asked if anything was being done about it, for obviously the charges were false. I got no reply. I wrote you again on February the 18th inclosing a P.O. for 7/6, being a personal sub. of 2/6 to S.I.A. and 5/.. for Ralph for handkerchiefs. On the 21st I received a brief acknowledgment from Ralph. I am not complaining, for I knew that you have been busy. But why the devil do you take me up in the way you do? You must not get it into your head that when we are unable to respond to your requests that it means that we are doing nothing. I have been to XXXXX Street on several occasions. On Boxing day we gave a party to the children, each one receiving a present. Auntie sat up in her bed making things and sending out appeals to friends. Then we have had the children in Bristol in order to raise funds for the home at Street. And since

The Emma Goldman Papers

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17819

your last visit many sums have been collected for Spain. Of course I understand that all this will not meet your requirements, since you are working for C.N.T. & F.A.I. I appreciate that fact. But we are up against a terrible difficulty. There is no Anarchist Movement making itself felt in England. We might profitably ask ourselves why. Amongst individual Anarchists there is a feeling that things are being done in a casual way, even in London that there is not that unity and cooperation there should be. We are up against a tremendously organised force. And we cannot meet this force in any loose haphazard sort of way. We have to co-ordinate all our activities. The minds of the people are baffled. And now the "Peace Front" and "Popular Front" are trying to impose another illusion. And if we don't look out they will get it across. Whatever the individualist may say I am convinced that we shall have to exercise a little more self discipline and thus prepare the way for a real workers' Front. A few individuals absolutely detached from any kind of workers organisation will do nothing. This leads me to my final point, that we must have organisation. It is the only way to impress the masses.

Now as to myself. I have been very unwell. Had Neuritis for months. Then a chill. But had to keep going since Annie has been so ill. I have not been to my bed for three nights. I hope that this will put things in a better light for you. I am sorry that I cannot undertake anything more than I am now doing. And whenever I do I shall require help of a real character. We are both sorry that you are unwell and trust that you will be able to get a rest and thus recuperate.

Love from us both.

Chris.

Please tell
me that
you are
well and
happy.
I am
very
sincerely
yours
Chris.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 May 30 [London to] Pete Davis / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17984

May 30th 38

Dear Pete Davis,

I am sending you to day some of our literature. As you will see it in deals with the structure of the CNT, its negotiations with the U.C.T and also a pamphlet of our new organisation the Anarchist Syndicalist Union.

As far as the work of the CNT-FAI in England is concerned it consists of meetings, printed matter and correspondence with people in this country interested to learn what the CNT-FAI stands for.

The Anarchist Syndicalist Union is definitely an organisation for England for the purpose of spreading Anarcho Syndicalist idea and building up an Anarcho Syndicalist movement in England. So far the organisation is purely educational but it is hoped that in due time it will play a part in the economic struggle of the workers in this country. The Union meets every Weds evening at the above address. Perhaps you will care to come along and get find out for yourself what the A.S.U is doing.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Balance sheet] 1938 May 31 [London to Pedro Herrera, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 22 x 29 cm.
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S. I ENGLISH		CASH A/C
INCOME.		
1937. August. Balance from CMT-FAI Bureau A/C of collections at meetings for Spanish Refugee women & children. 257-0-0		
Less Emma Goldmans expenses to France and second visit to Spain..... 50-0-0		207-0-0
1937 Total collections donations to including Comany Hall meet- 31st May ing Jan'y 28th and Friends 1938. House Concert 29th April....		291-17-3
Total.		£498-17-3

A. NOTION		EXPENDITURE.
to MAY 31st 1938.		
1937 to 31st May 1938	Disturbances, Petty cash, Printing, Bulletins etc, including £19-4-0 cost of meeting Comany Hall Jan'y 28th.....	211- 6-4
do	Establishment charges. 21 Frith St. Redecorations, Electric power instalation. 50% with CMT-FAI Bureau.....	25- 3-0
	Electricity a/cs 18 Castletown Road & 21 Frith St. 50% with Bureau.....	6-16-10
	Telephone a/cs do.	6-12-2
	Cleaning a/c do	2-15-7
	Rent 18 Castletown Road & 21 Frith Street 50% with Bureau.	78- 2-0
Cash in hand 31st May		239- 0-0
Total		£498-17-3

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 May 31 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / E[thel Mannin]. —
2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 May 31 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / E[thel Mannin]. —
2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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Tuesday

17030

Thanks for card, dearest Emma. I will get in
touch with that girl after Whitsun; she isn't so
far away, I notice. I enjoyed yr visit, my dear,
if I was a good hostess you were the easiest of
guests, I can assure you! I hope the roses survived
the journey. I hope so much that next time you come
you will be able to use the garden. I'd got some
asparagus to cook for Sun night supper and then went
and forgot it! What sort of a hostess is that?
I hope you'll get a bit of rest at Whitsun,
dear. I must now get back to work; making such a
desperate bid to get the book done; wish Whitsun
didn't intervene; I really had these official
holidays. My devoted love, dear.

351

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June? London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 21 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19382

Dear comrade Herrera.

You seem to have magic power to be able to work in so many places. Now with the publications of *Tierra y Libertad*, I wonder where you will be next. But wherever you will be I am certain you will do splendid work and that is the main thing.

First of all I must ask you when you write me and please also call Vazquez and Lucia Samas attention to the fact that they must address me to 21 Frith Street and not 18 Castletown rd. Lately every letter from Spain went to the old address with several days delay. Besides letters get lost in that way. I must therefore ask you to tell V. and L. to instruct those who forward their letters to do so at the above address without fail.

I am delighted to know that you plan to publish comrade Alexander Berkman's book *PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST* in Spain. The trouble is his work also comprises over five hundred pages. To eliminate from such a work parts of it would I fear spoil the effect of the whole. I strongly advise against it. But if you must do so I will have to ask you to let me mark the places that might if absolutely necessary come out. When comrade Berkman ended his life he left all his work to me for my discretion in case they are to be published and whatever disposition I should want to make of them. Do not misunderstand dear comrade it is not a question with me of "property rights" it is only that having known and worked with our comrade for 47 years I am the only one who understands what he would want done with his *Prison Memoirs*.

Perhaps it would be better if I would first go through the volume. The trouble is I cannot do it now, nor do I want to keep you waiting. So I am sending the book that you can begin with the translation, I mean whoever can do it from English into Spanish. There is not a line to cut from the first part anyhow, so the translation can go on. And later I will mark the pages that might be left out and ~~xxxxxxx~~ let you know the numbers so you can instruct the translator.

About *Living My Life* eliminations are even more difficult. My private life was so closely interwoven with all my public activities I don't see how anything can be cut. Besides an autobiography must have something of the private life of the author. So I really do not know how to go about abridging thousand pages into 300. All I can do is to go over the book, I have not reread it for several years, and see what can be done. There is however an important matter the world copyrights which my publisher has. I am writing him to day to ask him to release his rights to Spain as it is certain that no one else but my own Spanish comrades will ever publish *Living My Life*. By the way Orobón Fernández had planned to find a publisher for the work when it first appeared in 1931. But he never got to it. Anyhow I will write Alfred A. Knopf and get him to relinquish his Spanish rights. Another thing is I have no copies outside of my personal one and I cannot mark that up. But

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June? London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 21 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I have ordered some copies from New York. When they arrive I will go through the book and see what can be left out without ruining the continuity of the work.

I am sending *Prison Memoirs* through comrade Mascarell and I have written him to be sure and get it to you safely and without delay. I will do the same later with *Living My Life*. I will mail this letter to the address you give at the head of your letter. I hope it will reach you safely. Perhaps I will in close a copy of the letter in the book, so if one fails to reach you the other will not.

Our friend L. Frank is here with the Film. We have already had a small gathering to see it. And next Thursday we have arranged a larger Show of the Film for the Press, various organisations literary people and possibly also representatives of the general trade. It is certain that the British Censor Board will insist on very considerable cuts. I think comrade Frank will want to add a line and to send you a copy of the French Censors demands. It is certainly a commentary on ~~that~~ France that has always prided itself on its Libertarian traditions.

Yesterday I sent off letters to comrade Vazquez and Sanchez Soarnil with full accounts of the amounts collected for the SIA and our expenses, also the expenses of the CNT-FAI. No doubt both will show you my letters.

I have received no magazine by the name "TIMON" nor have I heard from Santillan. As to contributing to it that will be most difficult. You see I have to contribute to SPAIN AND THE WORLD and to our AMERICAN PUBLICATION VANGUARD. I have a vast correspondence and as you will imagine an awful lot of work for the SIA, and the CNT-FAI especially now with the new Film. So you see that I do not have much time for writing. Recently I have written a five thousand word article for VANGUARD in reply to a most ~~smug~~ contemptible attack in a T. Magazine against the Kronstadt sailors who lost their lives in 1921. By the way did you ever receive my Preface to Berneris book published in Paris recently. I believe I even sent you two copies. Please let me know if they reached you. Come to think of it I will better send this to Mascarell for him to forward it. I am afraid it may not reach you if sent direct.

Comrade V. will tell you that I asked if I might come back to Spain before sailing for Canada, possibly early in August for a few weeks and if it can be arranged for me to fly again as last time to save time and annoyance at the border. Please explain to V. that it is most important. It could again be arranged through comrade Roca or Camara, in Marseille. I would like to know soon so I can arrange our affairs here.

Please give my fraternal greetings to Santillan and to all the comrades of the Tierra y Libertad.

With affectionate greetings to you.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June?] London [to Milly Witcop Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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London Office

21 FRITH STREET
SHAPTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London,

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2036

Dearest I wish you were right when you speak of my strength and energy. The fact is recently I began to have very little of either. I tire easily and my damned old heart is no longer so "frisky". It is not serious I am sure. It is only that some days I am no good at all. Though the work for Spain has been sheer drudgery I do not believe it is that which has exhausted me. It is the worry and the anxiety about our people in Spain. It is also the inner conflict between my passionate desire to help our comrades and ~~my~~ my conviction that all their ~~comrades~~ ~~will~~ that have not availed them and have done them much harm inside and outside of Spain. The rotten Trotskyists are using ~~it~~ ~~it~~ for all it is worth. I cannot tell you how I suffer over the whole tragic affair. Yet I agree with you that now is not the time to criticise or condemn our people. It would be treachery of the cruelest kind.

Yes, the burning of Santillans book and the attitude to the German comrades are really offenses that cannot be either explained or excused from any angle. There are many other things which hurt frightfully. I cannot reconcile myself to them hence eat out my heart. I often feel I have gone back on everything I held high all my life. It makes me ill and ashamed, yet I do not know what to do at this crucial time in Spain.

Dearest you must have received three reviews of Anarcho Syndicalism, one printed ~~from~~ from the Manchester Guardian and two which I had typed from the reviews Warburg lent me. Next week I will borrow more reviews if he has them have typed copies made and send them on. You must have received my letter saying not to bother anymore about a review of Ethel Mannins Woman and Revolution. Steinberg reviewed it for SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

Next Saturday a few comrades are giving dear Polly a little send off. I let them use our large room and I will be present of course. I am so glad she is sailing. It will do her a world of good and it will do you and your sister much good to have Polly. She grows finer and finer with the years. I love her very much.

You will be glad to know that our Spanish comrades feel my sailing for Canada will be of "the greatest importance". Their usual childish optimism. I grow then not so young and impossible. I may

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have no better success than I had here. Still I am glad that they agree with my plan. I wrote Vazquez asking to let me go back to Spain for a few weeks in August unless the situation changes for the worse. It would help greatly if coming to Canada I could say I am coming straight from Spain. Besides I need new impression to get rid of the frightful hopelessness my efforts in this horrible country have filled me with. I hope the comrades in Barcelona let me come. Then I would sail the end of Sept.

I don't know how Rudolf stands with the most disagreeable group of the L'ADONATO. They are individualists and have attacked me on several occasions though why I don't know. Well, that is not what bothers me it is something else. They have been fighting Tresca for years and charging him with being a spy and all such rot which they have of course never proved. They wrote to Sasha and me in 1930, I believe, trying to make us say that Tresca is a spy. We refused. We said that we know Tresca and while we know him to be flighty in his ideas we cannot believe their charge. In any event we should want weighty proofs before we will lend our name to their quarrels. We heard nothing more from them.

Now that Tresca and Laragret de Silver, his wife, have offered to start a campaign for my return to the States those petty L'ADONATO group may start a counter campaign that would do no end of harm. I wrote Freedman about the matter and he suggested that Rudolf should have a talk with them. Not now of course but later when the time comes. I myself am in favor of ignoring the idiotic outfit who in these frightful times have nothing else to do but engage in slander and recriminations. Rose Pesotta, Harry Kelly and Freedman agree that I could have no one more able and with the same kind of access to all sorts of people than Carlo Tresca. So it is nonsense to care what an Italian group of cranks ~~have~~ are likely to do. I am certain if I will be granted a visa it will be through Tresca's efforts. I have no one else outside of our ranks who will do any thing and our ranks will not achieve anything even if they tried. Please impress on Rudolf that I want his opinion in the matter, and if it should be necessary will he have a talk with the L'ADONATO group. For the present the whole thing is to be kept quiet.

Dearest please go after Rudolf to write a critical analysis of Herbert Read's book. He can do it in German if he will not do it in England, Doris Zook translates well I will have her do it. Only let him write it as soon as the book arrives.

Give him my love and tell him I am not forsaken and for
often me. Love to you my dearest.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June?] London [to] Herbert Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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7/17/1938

S · I · A

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Telephone: GERard 2636

Tuesday

Dear Herbert Read.

Inclosed is an ~~exerpt~~^l from a letter from my very good friend Evelyn Scott, and her last letter which reached me last week. I know she will not object to my sending you both because parts of her letters deal with you and your POETRY AND ANARCHISM.

Evelyn has been a devoted friend of mine for years, and as I consider you a friend of mine I want very much to bring you two together. Perhaps you will write her when you get a chance.

We all missed you at the party and we were sorry you could not come. Of course you are coming to the meeting. Be sure to, not only because I want you to have something to say on the occasion, but also because we may not have John McNair and I cannot possibly speak for two hours.

Please return the inclosed full size letter.

Cordially. *cf G*

also
I am ~~only~~ sending you copy of a letter I have received that will show you the frightful villany of the Stalin gang in Catalonia. I am having another letter translated which gives the demoralisation in the army brought about by Communist favoritism and preference. All this proves that the gang has assassinated the Spanish Revolution. *cf G*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June?] Brooklyn, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Margaret De Silver. — 2 p. ; 14 × 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17486

MARGARET DE SILVER
60 JEROME STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
CARE 4-0222

Dear Emma Goldman:-

I enclose herewith a small contribution for your paper. The situation is so tragic and I don't see how you and Carlo and others have the courage to go on hoping. You are really wonderful.

Evelyn Scott is living with her son at 44 Commerce St., New York City. She is working on a novel of the French revolution which I know will be a great book but she is working against tremendous odds. I know she would love to hear from you.

I think a committee should be formed to work for your reentry permit. Roger says Perkins is not going to let it until she gets thru some sort of legislation, but with the President's new gesture for political refugees something should be done to be done.

Fitzgerald was here one night for dinner. But there was such a jam of people here I didn't get much chance to talk with her.

Carlo appreciated your letter very much because so many revolutionaries reviled him for government collaboration. And of course the Stalinists will probably make it pretty hot

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June?] Brooklyn, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Margaret De Silver. — 2 p. ; 14 x 12 cm.

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not for him before they get thru.

17406

Best wishes to you. You have a real
admiration as always.

Sincerely

Margaret De Silver

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June?] New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Carlo Tresca. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17535

CARLO TRESCA

2 WEST 15TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.
TELEPHONE: ALCONQUIN 4-5384

My dear Emma, I beg you to forgive me for answering your letter with such a delay. I waited day in and day out for some good news from Washington where I have some of my friends at work in your case. So far only promises and - wait, wait for better opportunity. I had pity in my house of waiting, hoping to get something concrete and efficient done but pity, I believe, is not in a more to the any steady, tireless and constructive line I have in my mind to do. Well! Better to write to you without anything definite. If a few more days go by my answer will come to late.

First of all, my dear Emma, let me tell you that although I have not written to you all this year I have always kept in my heart a very warm affection for you and I have followed you with keen interest and admiration at all your wonderful work done for the cause with ardor, devotion and intelligence that is only yours.

And when you may have thought that I was in the number of the people that have thrown stones at you and Goldman for the stand taken in regard to the Russian Dictatorship, even then - I mean when I really got lost in thinking that some light may have come to the world from Moscow - even then I follow you like a wonderer in search of light and - I gladly confess - much light did come to me from your attitude and your work. Bless you, Emma.

What Miss Point's affair I am having all that you expect me to get, and more. The more come to me from the "republican of New York". They hate me just as much they used to hate Estelle. But this is a matter that I prefer not to talk about. What Point was murdered in New York recently by agent of CP who feared here that she was working also for the Department of Justice. I have this information from a very reliable source. So far, I have succeeded in breaking the conspiracy of silence. The Daily Worker, the New Republic, The Nation, alone. It keeps the lip tie. In connection with the Point's affair I have made an expose of the activity of an other member of CP, Captain George Mink, member of the Communist Party of N.Y., the murderer of Barker. Enclosed you will find a free translation of an article I write in El Martello.

And now let's go back to the most important matter of the day. You must come back to New York. It is my opinion that to succeed we must organize a drive. To rely entirely to one or two persons is a mistake. I have done all the necessary things to the press Baldwin or Ernest to act. Others have done the same things with them or others but, so far, we have promised and promise. I believe that a Women Committee for Emma Goldman return to America should be organized. I am ready to do it. But I need your authorization to do it. I will coordinate the existing forces - if you tell me who they are - and from such organizing effort will come I believe the next side by side with the Women Organization a Committee of Writers, a Trade Committee all cooperating. I will do it. But you must tell me: go at head.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1938 June?] New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Carlo Tresca. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I hoped to you, Emma, that only a organize drive would do
in very opportune do to the fact that the Roosevelt request for the
of the refugees from Austria created a very sympathetic
Let me know what you want me to do. I am at your
Please let me know what you want me to do. I am at your
Love to you, Emma.

Sincerely yours
Carlo

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929133

[Letter, 1938 June?] Oxford [England to Emma Goldman, London] / B.K. Soper. —
2 p. ; 17 x 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17750

TRINITY COLLEGE.

TEL 3118

OXFORD.

Dear Comrade,

I handed for the leaflets; but
I'm afraid they aren't much
use. The only people one can
hope to influence here already
approve of arms for Spain
And - illogically enough -
they are ~~so~~ upset by the grammar
& spelling

Copies of something on
the Anarchist attitude to a
popular front, especially in
Spain, less condensed reading
than the U.G.I. C.N.I. proposals
would be best.

Have heard nothing from Spain
& the World.

By the way have you anything

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June?] Oxford [England to Emma Goldman, London] / B.K. Soper. —
2 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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on the Moscow trials? I'm ⁷⁷⁵¹
attaching them at a Labour
Club meeting on Thursday.
Yours fraternally
B.K. Soper

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June? 1? London to] Lucía Sánchez Saorní[?], Barcelona / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20553

Lucía Sánchez Saorní,
Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista,
BARCELONA.

Querida camarada:

Muchas gracias por tu genta carta No. 605 y cuanto en ella expresas con respecto a mí y el trabajo por la S.I.A. Siempre tendré que agradecer las numerosas atenciones recibidas de nuestro querido camarada Herrera y ahora de ti. Mucho más de lo que yo me merezco.

Cuando pienso en el heroísmo y sacrificios de nuestros camaradas de la C.R.T.-F.A.I., de las Juventudes y de la S.I.A., el trabajo que yo realizo me parece muy inadecuado. Sólo me consuela el convencimiento de saber que pongo todo el empeño de que soy capaz a fin de despertar el letargo de los trabajadores británicos, haciéndoles ver el titánico esfuerzo que sin ayuda de nadie vosotros realizáis en defensa de la libertad del mundo entero.

Adjunto encontrarás un estado de cuentas de la S.I.A. correspondiente a la campaña realizada hasta el 31 de Mayo de 1938. Será necesario que lo vea el camarada Herrera, ya que él sabe y podrá darte detalles de la suma de 257 libras que quedaron en nuestro poder como saldo, después del primer año de trabajo en solicitud de ayuda para las mujeres y niños refugiados. De este importe le hablé a él y al camarada Vázquez la última vez que estuve con ellos en Valencia. La verdad que si no hubiésemos tenido este sobrante de la campaña anterior, los resultados este año serían muy pobres, pues los ingresos por todos conceptos han disminuido considerablemente, mientras que por otra parte, los gastos, a pesar de la economía observada, han absorbido gran parte de los fondos.

Sobre una partida de estos gastos principalmente, deseo hacerte algunas aclaraciones por referirse a mi perso-

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20554

nalmente. Se trata de la suma de £50 gastada con motivo de mi viaje de ida y vuelta a España el año pasado, y quiero hacerte presente, tanto a ti como a los demás camaradas de la S.I.A., sólo cubre aquellos gastos en que ineludiblemente hube de incurrir, tales estancia en París en espera de la visa para mi pasaporte, mi desplazamiento al Sur de Francia a fin de atender a asuntos de importancia, estancia en París de una semana a mi regreso de España, y, finalmente, regreso a Inglaterra.

Como podrás observar en la columna de los gastos, éstos representan el 50% de los incurridos durante nuestra campaña, habiendo sido soportado por la Oficina de Londres de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. el otro 50%. Hemos tenido que distribuir así los gastos porque la suma asignada por la C.N.T.-F.A.I. no era suficiente para cubrir en su totalidad los desembolsos producidos por la campaña realizada en nombre de las dos organizaciones, y a fin de no cerrar la cuenta de la C.N.T. con un fuerte déficit, fué decidido repartir los gastos en la manera expresada. Sin embargo, tu podrías discutir el asunto con Vázquez, por si entraba en sus cálculos relevar a la S.I.A. de algunos de los gastos. Tal y como las cuentas están ahora tenemos en nuestro poder £209.8.3, por cuenta de la S.I.A., según extracto adjunto.

Hace algún tiempo escribí a Herrera preguntándole si la S.I.A. estaba dispuesta a contribuir algo al mantenimiento de la guardería infantil que cerca de Londres ~~tiene~~ su cargo la INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY (Partido Independiente Obrero), y me contestó que lo dejaba a mi discreción cuando estuviera en situación de calcular los ingresos por cuenta de la S.I.A.; pero yo preferiría que ese Consejo General me fijase la suma que habría de ser entregada. Además de que la I.L.P. nos ha ayudado en nuestro trabajo en varias ocasiones, los 41 niños que constituyen la colonia son en su mayoría hijos de miembros de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., y nada más justo que se les apoye en su benéfica empresa. Así, pues, ruégote me indiques la suma que debo entregar a estos fines y lo que deseas haga con el saldo.

Dile a Herrera que la tan esperada película ha llegado al fin y que esperamos a Louis Frank de un día a otro. La temporada ahora no es propicia, pues estamos en plenas vacaciones de verano; pero no obstinate, confiamos poder realizar un buen trabajo y hacer uso provechoso de la película en pro de la S.I.A. y C.N.T.

Tanto Herrera como Vázquez están de acuerdo con los deseos que les tenía expresados de hacer una visita al Canadá durante el Otoño, y con su peculiar entusiasmo me escriben diciendo que dicho viaje será de "gran importancia". No tanto como eso; pero sí creo poder despertar entusiasmo por vuestra causa entre las filas de los trabajadores canadienses, sobre todo si logro ir a British Columbia, centro de las principales industrias del Canadá. Por otra parte, amigos en los E.U. hacen gestiones encaminadas a conseguirme una visa para poder entrar

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June? 1? London to] Lucía Sánchez Saorní[?], Barcelona / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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- 3 -

20555

en dicho país, y si lo consiguen, entonces sí que estaré en situación de realizar una buena campaña por vuestra lucha, incluyendo las actividades de la S.I.A.

Estoy haciendo arreglos para dejar a una camarada de confianza encargada de los asuntos de la S.I.A. durante mi ausencia, y oportunamente te daré a conocer su nombre, pues precisará que le sea extendida una credencial. Yo también necesitare credenciales para los E.U. y Canadá cuando vaya; pero no corre prisa todavía, ya que no embarcaré hasta fines de Septiembre.

Le he rogado a Vázquez que vea la forma de conseguir que yo pueda ir a España aunque sea por un corto espacio de tiempo, al objeto de recoger nuevas impresiones que me sirvan de base en mi campaña durante el proyectado viaje; parte de que tanto nuestros amigos como el público en general quedarían más satisfechos si les puedo decir que vengo directa de España. Si te parece, explícaselo a Herrera y que él trabaje con Vázquez mi ida a ésa.

He recibido un folleto con los escritos de Mercedes, y te agradecería que le dices las gracias en mi nombre por su envío, diciéndole que tengo en preparación un boletín que contendrá material de "Mujeres Libres" y de la S.I.A. Pensaba organizar una exposición de "Mujeres Libres"; pero he tenido que desistir, primero porque no cuento con suficiente material y segundo porque nuestras exposiciones no han producido resultados en proporción con los gastos de organización. La última que hicimos, con haber obtenido mucha ayuda gratuita y todo, los gastos indispensables de anuncios e imprenta subieron a 45 libras y los ingresos no sumaron la mitad de dicho importe. Pero cuando vaya al Canadá pienso llevar todo el material que pueda de "Mujeres Libres" para hacer allí una exposición.

Espero que Mercedes se encuentre mejor. Dale recuerdos de mi parte, lo mismo que a todos los demás camaradas.

Fraternalmente,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 1 [London to] Anarchist Syndicalist Union, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18281

June First 38

Dear Comrades.

The inclosed, almost minute account of your meetings in a Catholic paper was a great shock to me. It is certain that you have someone among you who comes for copy and not because he is interested in the Anarchist Syndicalist Union. Not that you have "secrets" But it is an extremely unpleasant feeling to know that there is someone who does not belong in your ranks or in this the CNT-FAI Bureau who is responsible for the premises.

I suggest that you discuss the need of making sure who ~~you know~~ those are who apply for membership to the A.S.U. Surely that ought not to be difficult. For it is no use having many members among whom there are Fascists, for it is certain that whoever wrote the article must be a Fascist or a Catholic paper would not have published it.

It is different about your study class. It might even do a Fascist good to learn about Anarcho Syndicalism. But for your business meetings you should keep your ranks clear.

Fraternally

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 1, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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21051

**SOLIDARITE INTERNATIONALE
 ANTIFASCISTE
 Conseil Général
 P^r Pi Margall 20.**

Barcelone le 1er. JUIN 1938.

Circulaire n° 11.

A toutes les Sections Nationales de S.I.A. et Commissions Organisatrices.

Chers camarades:

Notre Conseil Général observe avec satisfaction l'effort que réalisent la plupart de nos Sections pour faire plus efficace l'aide pour le peuple espagnol. Il a pensé de collaborer à cette émulation en servant de médiateur pour l'échange des projets et des initiatives.

Nous commençons aujourd'hui cette tâche en remettant avec cette circulaire la copie du manifeste dans lequel la Fédération des Comités Espagnols d'Action Antifasciste de Perpignan, adhérente à S.I.A. a lancé l'idée d'une Souscription d'Honneur en faveur de l'Espagne. Cette intéressante et originale initiative pourrait bien être adoptée par d'autres Sections de S.I.A. et aurait sûrement des possibilités de succès, si on la présente bien.

Aussi en visant toujours le même résultat — le maximum d'efficacité de l'aide — nous faisons remarquer aux Sections de ne pas initier des campagnes, des collectes avec une consigne déterminée, par exemple: l'acquisition d'un tel ou autre article. Cela pose d'ailleurs l'inconvénience d'obliger à verser le total recueilli en un article déterminé.

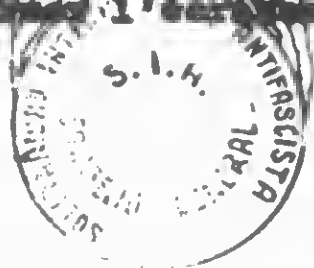
C'est par les indications de notre Section Espagnole, que nous faisons cette observation. Il est fréquent que par ce procédé il arrivent des quantités d'un produit qui n'est point nécessaire — avec le risque de que le Gouvernement le retienne — pendant que d'autre part on manque des articles indispensables.

Il convient donc de ne pas initier les collectes avec une consigne déterminée ou en tout cas, par notre intermédiaire, demander à la Section Espagnole quels articles lui sont nécessaires en ce moment.

Nous ne nous fatiguons de répéter que tout cela va en vue de coordonner l'effort de nos Sections en le faisant plus pratique et efficace pour les nécessités du peuple espagnol. C'est si logique tout ce que nous exposons ici, que nous croyons qu'aucune de nos Sections oubliera cette observation.

Et à la fin, nous croyons que ce n'est pas nécessaire de stimuler avec la littérature plus ou moins brillante les activités propres de nos Sections; mais, nous voulons souligner que son dynamisme, de l'efficacité de son action dépendent en grande partie, les possibilités de résistance du peuple espagnol; et en disant les possibilités du peuple espagnol c'est affirmer l'échec définitif du fascisme international.

POUR LE CONSEIL GENERAL DE S.I.A.
 Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — Secrétaire.



Lucía Sánchez Saornil

[Letter, 19]38 June 2, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
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H. Rindlin
June 1: 1938

London, June 2nd 38.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

my dear helmut.

I received your letter of May 26th a week ago¹ but did not reply because I wanted to approach a few people who might contribute towards the needs of ~~yourselves~~ the comrade from Kassell. I spoke to Sonia and she promised to see a French friend of hers who is well able to contribute and someone else. But our dear Sonia though willing enough moves very slowly. I just talked to her over the phone. So far she has not seen her Frenchman. So I do not want to keep you waiting much longer. However you will be glad to learn that I have made a beginning. Someone gave me £5 and ten shillings which at the present rate of exchange is amounts to about 800 ~~and some odd francs~~. Just as soon as I hear from Sonia if she has succeeded and how far I will send you a check in francs on the Seligman Bank in Paris where I have francs. Frankly I did not think I would be able to raise anything. The few comrades we have are absolutely poverty stricken. I could get nothing from them. And I could not approach any of the middle class English people I know, not for an individual. I myself agree with you that if it is possible to help someone to become self supporting it is more important than doing our ~~own~~ ^{ours} to a whole group. Yet there is nothing more difficult in the world than to arouse interest in the tragedies or suffering of an individual unless it is some very outstanding person in the movement, or in any walk of life. Anyhow I hope Sonia hat "Gluck". But please do not rouse too much hope in the comrade except the 800 francs or thereabouts which I already have.

Now about you my dear which I naturally have closer to my heart. I don't know what to advise you about a pass port. Have you tried Chapiro or do you not want to approach him. He knows a lot of people who might care to help. Then there is Delie. I do not know whether I spell his name correctly. Mollie knows him. He has done a tremendous amount of work for all our foreign comrades including Mollie and Senia. If Volin were in Paris he could and I am sure would take you to Delie. Talk it over with Mollie and Senia. And while you are with them ask them to give you comrade Abrams' address in Mexico City. He is one of the men who was imprisoned together with Mollie and then deported to Russia. He came out and went to Mexico where he has been living for a number of years. He was in Paris I believe two years ago. He said he could arrange meetings for Rudolf and me. He was most enthusiastic about the present Mexican Government which is supposed to be very liberal. I have a feeling that Abrams could get you

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a visa that is if you still want to go to Mexico. It was too bad your applying for a visa. Nowadays it is impossible to get such things without protection of some sort. Abrams seems to have access to the authorities in Mexico so he might easily help you to a visa. Anyhow you will do well to write him and get Mollie to give you a note of introduction to Abrams or I will give it to you.

America, how do you expect to get there even if you had a French Reisepass? True Roosevelt has made a large gesture with his announcement of asylum for refugees from Germany and Austria. But I fear you will not come under this rubric. So how do you intend to enter the States? I have an idea which is only worth using as a last resort. It is to go to Canada. It is of course much more difficult ~~to~~ now to get over than it was some years ago. Yet I know several who have done it and are living in the States without trouble. I hope to be in Canada the latter part of Sept. I might be able to help you. Meanwhile try Mexico through comrade Abrams.

I think I wrote you that I have written Vazquez about my plan to sail for Canada. I had a letter from him yesterday saying that it was a great plan and in true Spain optimism that it would be "von gröester Wichtigkeit" for Spain for me to tour Canada. Of course it is nonsense to say that. Still I might really be able to rouse some of the workers in Western Canada for Spain. It is the industrial part and it has always been more awake and energetic than the East. So it is certain as far as anything can be certain in this stage of Europe that I will sail for C. the end of Sept. I have written V that I would like to come back to Spain for a few weeks at least to refresh my impressions and to be able to say in Canada that I am coming from Spain. I hope the CNT will consent. If not I intend to meet V and others of the CNT in Paris during the I.A.A Congress, if it takes place. I have definitely decided not to attend it unless I can do so as a bonifide delegate. I don't want to go through the disagreeable experience of last time when Sania openly charged me as having ~~comexxxxx~~ permitted the CNT to use me as a moral prop and the French comrades objecting to my being even the right to speak. But whether I attend the Congress or not I can meet with the Spanish delegates to talk over my Canadian venture with them. I do hope though the CNT consents to my return to Spain for a few weeks. I will let you know. Meanwhile I am hoping that my friends in America will succeed with their efforts to get me a visa for the States. That would indeed be "von grosser Wichtigkeit" for the CNT-FAI if I could tour America. Fortunately I do not permit myself to be carried away by my hopes.

My dear it is with a heavy heart that I have to tell you that both Vazquez and Herrera have refused to let me contribute something from their funds for our destitute comrades in Paris. It is true that in spite of the most strenuous efforts we here have raised nothing for the CNT except £50 for arms.

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whereas the expenses for the CNT-FAI Bureau, the printing postage, meetings, advertising, rent, light and a thousand other matters have consumed a large sum of money although we tried our best to economise. Of course I know this is not the reason for Vazquez refusal it is the childish Spanish pride that no one outside of them should have the decision of money contribution. As V wrote "just think how it will look if you send money from England for the refugees instead of the French comrades having that in hand, or something to this effect. On the other hand it is also true that we did not raise much for the SIA. Anyhow I felt most unhappy over V's refusal and also Herreras.

It is certainly terrible that that CNT does not keep its promise to make of the I.A.A. a real International force. It is cutting its own nose to spite its face. I cannot see how it can hope to build up an International on Moscow lines when this dreadful institution has failed so miserably. As to wasting money on the delegation in Paris that is too sad. We here have held on to every penny. I did not even permit myself a regular secretary. I had her for once or twice a week and worked many hours doing the rest myself. Not that I care what is being contributed to the Paris Bureau but that such reckless expenses merely corrupt people. But there seems to be now way of bringing men like V, and the rest to their senses.

You will smile when I tell you that the FAI in two recent letters asks me to give them my opinion about their position and their work. A fine chance do I have of being understood by them or my criticism approved. Believe me I would write them straight from the shoulder what I think of all the silly compromises the FAI has made for which there was less excuse than for the CNT which is after all a purely economic organisation with a bulk of membership far from completely Anarchistic. But I do not think it is of any use to argue with the FAI now. Do you? ~~Eliaxixixixixix~~

Two letters from Mascarell also informed me about Russias renewed delivery of arms. But he insists that the influence of the Communists has declined rather than increased which of course I do not believe. Stalin will do nothing if he is not paid hundred times over. Yes I too received Negrins 13 points. I just threw them in the waste basket. The one bright spot was the stand taken by the FAI although it was pretty weak. Still it was better than nothing. Such brazen and contemptible rot of Negrin. Of course it was done to appease the Chamberlain gang. I am sure he meant all he was going to reintroduce, the Church, private property and the rest. Our poor unfortunate comrades will they have the strength and force to stop Mr Negrin when the war is over? Or will they not be so depleted physically and morally that they will be unable to stop the complete destruction of their revolutionary achievement. It makes my blood run cold when I think of such end of a marvelous beginning.

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aprops of tying our hands against the Communists. It will interest you to learn that I never heard from V's in reply to my letter that I could not consent to being silenced about the Communists. I just went on in my own way giving those gangsters my opinion whenever the occasion required. Two weeks ago I wrote a long reply to that miserable creature Leon Trotsky and one of his followers. Both had scurulous attacks of the Kronstadt sailors, the butchery of 21. I had occasion to point out the fact that Stalin is merely ~~rax~~ perpetuating the deadly dictatorship begun by Lenin and Trotsky that in fact they are all alike. ~~It~~ The article was for VANGUARD our monthly magazine in New York. Speaking of the influence of the Communists it seems that the CNT is realizing this ~~and perpetuating~~ The recent German Bulletin that reached me from Barcelona resents this influence. It does so in a silly way always hinting at "certain parties" but never coming out with the truth who these "certain parties" are. Yes, it is unfortunately true that our Spaniards in their crucial position have lost their orientation, they have lost ~~the~~ the solidity of their tradition and their ideas from under their feet. Trotsky is not far from the truth when he writes the Spanish Anarchists are helping their bourgeois government to imprison and even shoot revolutionists". It is true Trotsky has no right to point a finger of scorn against our comrades when he imprisoned and shot revolutionists with his own hand. Yet the fact remains that the prisons in Spain are still filled with our comrades. It is heart breaking and for ~~us~~ those of us who have never compromised the deepest tragedy and the most awful mental conflict.

You are right my dear Helmut "wir hangen nicht an den Erfolg sondern an the Idea". But the question is what has remained of the Idea after our Spaniards have sacrificed everything only to be used to bring about the worst defeat Anarchism has yet suffered. For Spain was our one and only glowing hope. And if that too will be crushed where will our Idea rise again? However like you I cling to the hopes that All is not yet lost as a drowning person clings to a straw. My disillusionment is Russia was terrible enough, it paralysed me for years. Defeat of our Ideas in Spain would kill me. I don't think I shall want to go on after such a blow.

As I said in the beginning dear Helmut just as soon as I hear from Sonia if she has raised some money and how much I will send the whole amount to you for that comrade from Kassel. By the way, what about Elly Goetze. Do you really believe there is some suspicion about her? After all she has been in our ranks since she was a child. There never was anything against her in Germany. While in Spain both times she made a very good impression on me as a good and really true comrade. I wish you would write me about her soon. I want to know. I got a little money for her traveling expenses and Anne Maria to ~~Germany~~ Norway

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Don't think she asked me for it. I offered to try to collect part of the amount which I did. But I would like to hear from you some of the details of the trouble between her and the group. You know how our comrades are, how careless with all sorts of charges that often have no basis whatsoever. Besides ~~now~~ when all our foreign comrades are in the same boat, the same misery, the same uncertainty they should be more tolerant of each others short coming.

Remember me kindly to your companion and give me her name when you write me again. I have such a very bad memory for names.

I have given Recchioni the address of the I.A.A. ever so many times I will do it again to day. He is so forgetful. He should have sent you SPAIN AND THE WORLD weeks ago.

Affectionately

Emma

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Crompond, N.Y. June 2nd 1938.

Liebste Emma: Gerade deinen letzten Brief erhalten. Der Irrtum mit der Adresse hat natürlich sehr stark zur Verzögerung meiner Antwort beigetragen. Dazu kam noch eine Reise, die mich 42 Tage von Crompond ferne hielt. Milly schickte mir zwar deinen vorletzten Brief nach Baltimore nach, aber das Unglück wollte es, dass er dort ankam, als ich bereits nach Washington abgereist war. Dort erhielt ich ihn endlich einen Tag vor meiner Rückreise nach Crompond. Ich hätte dir sofort geantwortet, aber es ging wirklich nicht. Ich fühle mich seit den letzten fünf oder sechs Monaten in einem ganz elenden Zustand, der vielleicht weniger auf physisches Leiden als auf meine ganze seelische Stimmung zurückzuführen ist. Die Tragödie in Spanien, das stete Wachsen der Reaktion in allen Ländern, die absolute Impotenz der gesamten Arbeiterbewegung, die Degeneration aller liberalen Bestrebungen und nicht zum wenigsten die stete persönliche Unsicherheit und das Grauen vor der nächsten Zukunft, das alles trägt natürlich nicht dazu bei, den Geist zu heben und die Lebensfreudigkeit zu stärken.

Nun vor allem zu deinen Fragen: Von den drei Autoren ist mir nur Ralph Borsodi näher bekannt. Ich las seiner Zeit in der "Technischen Rundschau" in Leipzig eine Uebersetzung von drei oder vier sehr interessanter Artikel, welche gegen die kapitalistische Rationalisierung der Industrie gerichtet waren und besonders hervorhoben, dass dieselbe sogar vom wirtschaftlichen Standpunkt zu verwerfen sei, da eine Dezentralisation der Industrie und besonders ein inniges Zusammenarbeiten von agrarischer und industrieller Produktion an selben Platze viel ergiebiger sei als die moderne Grossproduktion. Vor allem vertrat er den Standpunkt, dass die menschliche Arbeit in der Seele ihren Grund findet und aus diesem Grunde nicht auf eine rein mechanische Schablone zurückgeführt werden kann. Die Arbeit Borsodis bewegte sich auf derselben Linie wie Kropotkins "Fields Factories and Workshops", nur sind die Beispiele, die er bringt neuer, da es sich um eine spätere Arbeit handelt. Die Idee von dem inneren Zusammenhang des menschlichen Seelenlebens mit der materiellen Produktion ist an und für sich nicht neu. Sie wurde ganz besonders von Charles Fourier in seiner Theorie von der "attraktiven Arbeit" hervorgehoben, von der die meisten der heutigen Sozialisten überhaupt keine Ahnung mehr haben. Die sind alle bei Ford und Taylor in die Schule gegangen und haben längst vergessen, dass der Mensch auch ein seelisches Leben hat. Deshalb opfern sie die Seele der kapitalistischen Technik und gelangen zu Resultaten wie das Stachanow-System in Russland.

Wenn du die Korrespondenz Sasha's zur Hand hast, so wirst du dort ein oder zwei lange Briefe von mir finden, die sich mit allen neueren Arbeiten über die Dezentralisation der Technik beschäftigen. Dort ist auch die Arbeit Borsodis erwähnt. Ich trug mich damals mit dem Gedanken, ein grösseres Werk zu schaffen, das alle Ergebnisse auf diesem Gebiete, von Saint Simons "Système Industriel" bis zu den modernen Technokraten zusammenfassen und so verarbeiten sollte, um daraus das Bild einer sozialistischen Produktion der Zukunft abzuleiten. Sasha war damals sehr begeistert von meinem Plane und redete mir zu, denselben unter allen Umständen zu verwirklichen. Ich hatte mir das Werk sozusagen als einen zweiten Teil meiner Kritik des nationalen Einheitsstaates gedacht und

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wollte den Gedanken der politischen Dezentralisation durch eine praktische Veranschaulichung einer kommenden Wirtschafts-Dezentralisation ergänzen. Du hast gar keine Ahnung, welche fruchtbare Arbeit besonders in den letzten fünfzehn Jahren auf diesem Gebiete geschaffen wurde. Was uns heute noch fehlt, ist die notwendige Synthese, die alles zusammenfasst und die notwendigen Schlüsse daraus zieht.

Zu dieser so nützlichen Arbeit werde ich wahrscheinlich heute nicht mehr kommen. Meine zahllosen Aufzeichnungen sind in Deutschland verloren gegangen. Ausserdem konnte ich den neueren Arbeiten auf diesem Gebiete nicht mehr folgen, da mir die notwendigen materiellen Mittel dazu fehlten. Wie ich aus dem Briefe Huxley's an dich ersehe, hat Borsodi seine Arbeit zu einem Buche erweitert. Dieses habe ich nicht gesehen; bin aber überzeugt, dass es sehr interessant sein muss. Man muss auf diesem Gebiete stets neue Studien machen, wenn man nicht rosten will. Leider ist das bei mir heute der Fall. Nicht weil mir die geistige Energie abhanden gekommen ist, sondern weil ich durch den Druck der äusseren Verhältnisse unfreiwillig Feierabend machen musste. Auf dem Kongress der IAA in Madrid wurde eine sogenannte ökonomische Kommission erwählt, zu deren Vorsitzenden ich ernannt wurde. Ich habe mich damals an die Arbeit gemacht und wären die letzten Ereignisse nicht über uns gekommen, so wäre eine sehr erspriessliche Arbeit möglich gewesen, da es für die gesamte Bewegung nicht allzuschwer gewesen wäre, alle notwendigen Bücher und sonstige Materialien zu beschaffen. Für einen einzelnen Menschen, wenn er nicht gerade mit Glücksgütern gesegnet ist, ist das unmöglich. Mithin sind wir gezwungen, die Dinge der Zukunft zu überlassen.

Von den anderen beiden Autoren ist mir nur Kettering bekannt, der dem sogenannten Diesel-Motor (eine deutsche Erfindung) ungeheurer Wirkungen für die Gestaltung der industriellen Zukunft zuweist. Die Erfindung dieses Motors machte das Flugzeug und das Auto erst möglich, möglich in ihrer heutigen Gestalt. Die Entwicklung der modernen Grossindustrie war zunächst auf riesige und primitive Maschinen angewiesen. Deshalb musste sich die Industrie auf bestimmten Orten zentralisieren. Aber die neuere Technik und besonders der Diesel-Motor, machte es möglich, die Industrie vollständig zu dezentralisieren und eröffneten damit ganz neue Perspektiven für die Zukunft. Abbott ist mir unbekannt, aber nicht seine Idee. Alle Kraftbetriebe der Gegenwart benötigen Kohlen. Aber jeder Techniker weiss heute, dass die grossen Kohlenlager der Welt sich immer mehr erschöpfen und die Zeit vor auszusehen ist, wenn die Kohle im ganzen verschwindet. Aus diesem Grunde arbeiten schon seit langem Techniker in allen Ländern an der Erfindung von Maschinen, welche dem Menschen die Benutzung der Sonnenstrahlen oder der Bewegung des Meeres (Ebbe und Flut) als Energiequellen dienstbar machen sollen. Wenn dieses gelingen wird, wird die Geschichte eine Revolution erleben, die alles übertreffen wird, was bisher auf dem Gebiete der technischen Wissenschaft geleistet wurde. Ich habe keine Ahnung wie weit Abbott in der Erfindung seiner Maschine zur Benutzung der Sonnenwärme vorgeschritten ist. Dieses würde mich besonders interessieren, denn ich glaube unbedingt daran, dass dieses Problem früher oder später gelöst werden wird.

Der Brief Huxley's ist sehr interessant, denn er zeigt, wie intensiv er sich mit den Problemen der menschlichen Freiheit und den praktischen Mitteln, zu dieser zu gelangen, beschäftigt. Ein Mann wie er kann unserer Sachen von ganz ungeheuerem Nutzen sein. Die menschliche Befreiung wird uns wahrscheinlich von einer ganz anderen Seite kommen wie die meisten bis jetzt angenommen haben. Was wir brauchen, sind Geister ohne Dogma, auch keine "anarchistischen", Menschen mit Beobachtungsgabe und tiefem ethischen Bewusstsein. Blinder Fanatismus wird nie etwas zustande bringen.

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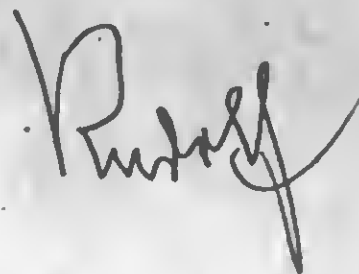
17579

Auf alle anderen Fragen werde ich dir in meinem nächsten Briefe antworten, denn ich will, dass dich diese Zeilen so schnell wie möglich erreichen.

Herzlichen Dank für deine Bemühungen, einen Verleger für mein Buch über Nationalismus zu finden. Vielleicht werden dir die beiliegenden Urteile über mein Werk von Männern wie Thomas Mann, Albert Einstein, L. Adamic, R. Hughes, W. Durant, dabei helfen können.

Herzliche Grüsse von Milly und Fermin.

Von ganzem Herzen



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EDITORIAL TIERRA Y LIBERTAD, S. L.

APARTADO DE CORREOS 884

BARCELONA, 2 de junio de 1938.

Querida Emma:

Te tendrás conocimiento de nuestras actividades editoriales simultaneas con las demás que impone la situación. En el corto espacio de tiempo que hemos puesto en pie la "Editorial Tierra y Libertad" hemos publicado cinco volúmenes grandes y tres pequeños: "Distadura y Revolución" de Fabbri; "Anarcosindicalismo" de Roker; "El Organismo Económico de la Revolución" de Santillán; "Obras" de Bakunin, 1º y 6º tomos; "Elementos de Anarquía" de Clemen; "La moral anarquista" de Kropotkin; y un folletito de Santillán.

He dado indicaciones para que te remitan ejemplares de todas estas cosas y confío que a la llegada de la presente ya obre en tu poder alguno de los volúmenes citados.

Como ves nuestra labor es por de las ideas es grande. Queremos a toda costa que, la militancia, al margen de las posiciones circunstanciales que se vea obligada a adoptar para ganar la guerra, esté debidamente orientada en cuanto a lo que nos es fundamental. Y que, teniendo por norte lo auténticamente anarquista, evite los peligros enormes que entraña el oportunismo y las transacciones momentáneas.

Queremos publicar en nuestras colecciones la obra de Berkman "Prisons Memoirs of a Anarchist". Recorro a ti para que me remitas un ejemplar de dicha obra, a fin de que podamos encargarnos urgentemente su traducción al castellano.

Sería ferviente deseo nuestro dar a conocer entre nuestros compañeros tu obra "Living my Life". Ahora bien, tendríamos necesidad de poderle dar en un solo volumen de tres o cuatrocientas paginas. Por esto te consulto: Primero, si te parece bien la idea de editar la citada obra con la reducción apuntada; segundo, si te es factible cuidar de hacer personalmente la reducción. Aceptado lo primero, creo que es forzoso lo segundo, puesto que nadie ajeno a ti puede hacerlo. Para evitar trabajo, sería suficiente marcar sobre un ejemplar de la obra simplemente, la parte que se puede suprimir y hacer las notas necesarias para dar unidad al texto definitivo, una vez reducido.

De tu colaboración en nuestro revista "TIMON" nada te digo, puesto que se encargó Santillán de hacerlo y supongo ya tendrás su carta.

Es-

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1938

péro, como es tu costumbre, pronta respuesta a los extremos que
planteas. Muchos recuerdos a los amigos.

Fraternamente,

B. Y. Emma
H.

Handwritten
Herrera

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[Letter] 1938 June 3 [London to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

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23828

3rd June, 1938.

Dear Samuel,

I wrote you last week. You will see by the enclosed copy to Joe Desser that I have heard from the Spanish comrades in regard to my sailing for Canada, and that I can now definitely say that I plan to do so at the end of September. Perhaps it is foolish to make plans four months in advance, with Europe dancing on a volcano, but one goes on hoping that a frightful calamity may be held up if not eliminated altogether. Anyway, should Hitler and Mussolini run amuck like mad dogs, there will still be time to give up the plan of sailing for the American Continent. I have one consolation - should we be involved in a new conflagration I will immediately start anti-war work which will I am sure give me, if not collective, individual security in one of England's gaols which I have not yet visited. Seriously speaking, my dear, now that I know that I really can sail it is necessary to get busy on that fund you started last year. Can you get the comrades together and see what can be done? Please do not delay.

I have also written Van. I am really beginning to lose faith in him because he has been most exasperating in continued silence. You must not misunderstand. I have end of faith in Van's integrity and revolutionary spirit, but he seems to have gotten into a terrible slump from which he evidently cannot pull himself out. I regret it for his sake and for the sake of the movement to which he is valuable. Last but not last I am also sorry because he used to be such a splendid worker whenever I needed help.

This is all for to-day. Now you are my last prop among the comrades, so don't you let me down.

Fraternal greetings to everybody and devoted affection to yourself,

2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Dear Joe,

I don't know what is the matter with Dorothy. Although I have worked for C...T.-F.A.I. and the S.I.A., I have never written to people. But I might as well write to the answers I receive. My last letter to Dorothy was in March in answer to hers of February. Not a word since then about the same time and also no reply. What is it that people not interested in my coming to Canada, or have you discouraged with everything? I cannot believe that of you, one who has been in the movement so long and has had many disappointments. I know that dear Dorothy is subject to a few moods. Still, I do think it is very unkind of you folks to let your old comrade, A.C., for so long.

Now listen, dear Joe, I can at last say with certainty (unless the imperialists will have their way of a war) that I will sail for Canada at the end of September. I did not want to be definite until I had heard from the comrades of the C.P., and whether they agreed with my sailing. You see, I have built up an office and all sorts of connections for our Spanish comrades in this country, and I could not just ~~draw everything with~~ dash off without consulting with our comrades. A letter from them two days ago expressed agreement with my plan and complete approval of my going. I therefore feel sure now to let you know that I intend to sail the latter part of September. In a way it will be painful to do so, because we have no friends in London who have either the initiative or the ability to continue the work I have started, but I am hoping that they will muddle along by means of the printed word and correspondence, even if they will not be able to do so by means of public action. I simply must get away for a time, if only to have a change of scenery. So I hope to come.

I have written the comrades in Spain, telling them that I would like to go back to Barcelona at least for several weeks. It will give me new impressions and new material which I will be able to utilise for the work in Canada. The main question now is whether you and the group really want me to come and whether you will get busy on a campaign of raising at least part of a fund that is to be collected for my passage to Canada and possibly for an extensive tour through Canada. I am definitely of the opinion that I must have an attempt to cover the large industrial area.

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of Spain to

ocean just

True, some friends have offered to start a campaign for my return to the States. I know they will do everything in their power. I also know that the chances are very slender. But I am not discouraging them. On the contrary I have asked them to go ahead, but whether I can get back to America or not, I do want to cover Canada. About the fund, our federation stopped collecting subscriptions when they heard that I went to Spain last year. I have written Comrade Freedman and I am writing him again to resume their efforts on behalf of the fund. I know that my dear friend, Jeanne Levy, has already raised some money and she will do more. Between all of you it ought not to be difficult to raise enough to cover my passage and leave some initial capital for the project of touring Canada. Please, dear Joe, call the comrades together and let me know what their decision is about helping to make my visit to your part of the American Continent possible. I have no time to write Dorothy separately, so will you please show her this letter.

With love to Sophy and the girls, and fraternal greetings to all the comrades,

affectionately,

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S · I · A

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London Office:

21, FRITH STREET,
 SHAPTESBURY AVENUE,

June 3rd 38

LONDON, W.1.

Telephone: GERard 286

Darling, Your letter of May 25th came through very quickly. It reached me the 31st. It probably would have come even sooner had the Queen Mary that been delayed owing to terrific gales. The weather here has been beastly, the other night we had such a storm it reminded me of the mistral in the winter. Here it is June and everybody wears heavy coats and furs. Believe me the English climate added to all the other ills England has is beastly. In all the years I have not been able to get used to it. I spent a wonderful day with Ethel last week-end in her lovely house and enchanting garden. Do you suppose I did not have to pay for it? Sure. Monday I woke up with a stiff neck and Tuesday I could not budge my head to one side or the other. I am alright again. But it shows how easily affected I am by the climate here. I meant to write you last Sunday but had to give it up because of my aches in the neck.

Dearest mine I have written you the truth, ^{about} my heart condition is nothing to worry about. True on the days when it bothers me I feel rotten, a sensation of fainting, pain in my arms back and legs and frightfully depressed. But I had another doctor examine me, a women friend of mine, a German physician and she said exactly what Harry Clemens did, nothing organically wrong only over fatigue and worry. That I readily believe. I worked like a galley slave all winter. If the results had been worth while I should not have mind it the work. But it was worse than last year. This and the worry about the outcome in Spain are certainly not conducive to good health. But as I said it is nothing organic and now that the work is less strenuous I will be alright I am sure.

Dearest mine I rejoice with you in the splendid showing of Ian. He is living demonstration of all the rot about foreign children in schools and a lot more. Ian had such a time in most of his schools the idiotic teachers no doubt looked upon him as "luzzy" and lacking in intelligence. Yet here he is ~~striking~~ outstripping many of his age who earned all their life. I am happy for you and Teddy my beloved and for Ian himself of course. Will you tell him that and congratulate him for me.

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You will be glad to know that the comrades of the CNT-S.I. are delighted with my plan about going to Canada. In their usual Spanish exuberance they write "your tour in Canada will be of the utmost importance for our cause". Sometimes I get so furious with this wild optimism and childishness of our people I could wipe them. Then again they move me to tears. To think that in our savage and sophisticated world there are people as naïf, trustful and believing as the Spanish. They are the strangest mixture I have ever come across. Well, I wrote them not to expect miracles of my going to ~~Spain~~ Canada. I will do my best, one can do no more. The main question will be if I can cover Canada up far as British Columbia which is the most industrial and economically minded part. I now plan to sail the end of Sept. But before that I want terribly to go back to Spain if only for a few weeks to refresh my impressions of last year. I have written the CNT to let me know whether the comrades agree. If they do I will go in August then sail the end of Sept. If they do not I will meet several of the Spanish comrades in Paris at the end of August. These are my plans as far as they go.

About A. I am so fond to bank too much on it. Perhaps next year when the Exposition opens it might be easier to get a visa. Anghov, Tresca and Margaret De Silver have offered to do their utmost. I feel I should let them go ahead. My one consolation is that if I cannot get to the States I will still be near to you than England and you will be able to come to me.

Write Dorothy that she should get in touch with me so that when I go to France perhaps she would bring the children to Paris, or I might go down to see them. I want very much to see ~~Max~~ Saxe's kids again. How will he manage to be without them for four months. Dear old Saxe who should have guessed that he will be such a devoted father. I am so glad to know he has the joy of the children in his life. Give him my love. I never hear from him. I wrote him last week. Strange creature our Moishe. But then he was always a lazy correspondent.

I am glad Ruth feels better, perhaps it will do her good not to work so hard and devote herself to Helene. Is that German woman still with Ruth and Bob? Polly has postponed her sailing until the 30th of this month. I am sending a little money and hood with her for Helene.

I am expecting my secretary so must close this.

I ^{embrace} you with love. Love to Teddy and the boys.

Devotedly

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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3rd June, 1938.

Dear Comrade,

Comrade Barr turned over your letter of May 29th for me to reply. First, about the New International. It is a miserable Trotsky sheet that has been filling its columns with attacks and misrepresentations of our comrades in Spain. Moreover, two issues of last February and April contained articles by Trotsky and one of his followers, repeating the identical lies against the Kronstadt sailors as Lenin, Trotsky and the others did in 1921. At the request of our New York comrades of Vanguard, I have written a reply to these scurrilous attacks. It grew into manuscript large enough for a pamphlet which the comrades in America may publish. If not, they will use the most important part for the magazine. I have ordered fifty copies, and I will send you one just as soon as it arrives.

I have not seen the issues of the New International which contained articles by Tom Bell in which he expresses himself condemnatory of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I would have to see them first before I would feel justified in answering them. If, as you say, Tom Bell has chosen this crucial moment in the life and the struggle of the Spanish comrades to attack them, I should certainly consider it a breach of faith with our ideas and our movement. The only explanation I could give for it would be that Comrade Bell is very old and that he is too far removed from the scene of action to be able to judge adequately what is going on in Spain.

Mind you, I am not blind to the compromises and concessions our Spanish comrades have made. Nor do I agree with them. But considering that they are fighting the whole world, all the Fascist and Imperialist interests, that they have been forsaken by the international proletariat and betrayed by the Stalinists and Trotskyists, we outside of Spain should be extremely careful in passing judgment.

However, for your peace of mind, I wish to say that there is no truth whatever in the charge that the C.N.T.~~zhazhazhazh~~ and F.A.I. were parties to the shooting of members of the Friends of

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Durruti, the Libertarian Youth and members of the P.O.U.M." It is true that the National Committee last May in the uprising brought about by the conspiracy of the Stalin gangsters had called a retreat. They did so because they knew that to continue the fight on the barricades would have opened the fronts to the Fascists and would have exterminated the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. I have not the time to go into great details in this matter. I only want you to know that the C.N.T. has certainly not been a party to shooting of comrades and that they have protested as far as it was possible against the continued imprisonment of revolutionists by the Magrin Communist Government.

Granted for arguments sake that our comrades were really guilty of the charge made by the wretched Trotskyists or by Tom Bell how dare Trotsky or his followers protest against it? It was Trotsky who helped to exterminate 14,000 sailors in Kronstadt in 1921. It was Lenin and Trotsky who sent hundreds and thousands of revolutionists to concentration camps and to their death. It behoves them badly to sit in judgment on the Spanish Anarchists. As to Tom Bell, I should very much like to see his article. I will then write him what I think of him for going on mere hearsay and stabbing our comrades in the back. Please see if you can get your Trotskyists to let you copy the date of the New International. I will then write the comrades of Vanguard to send me these issues, and I will then know what stand to take towards Tom Bell.

The material you sent Comrade Barr about the action of the South Wales Communist leaders of the South Wales miners, we have sent on to the comrades in Spain. I rather think that our young comrade who publishes Spain and the World will use this in his next issue. As to your question why Spain and the World does not treat of Mexico, I wish to say that the paper unfortunately has so few contributors that it finds it difficult as it is to get out a representative and impressive paper.

I am sorry, dear comrade, that I cannot write you more. I am alone in the office now, Comrade Barr having gone away for a trip and I have an awful lot to do.

~~Forster~~ Fraternally,

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19696

erd June, 1938.

Dearest Jeanne,

I wrote you a little while ago in reply to your letter. To-day I merely want to send you copies of two letters I have just written - one to Joe Desser of Toronto and the other one to Van Starrett. You will see that I can now speak with certainty about my calling for Canada. I felt I could not do so before I had submitted my plan to the comrades of the C.N.T.-A.I. After all I am their representative here and I did not feel justified in making plans without hearing what they had to say about my departure. As you will see, they are not only in agreement, but in their usual optimistic manner enthusiastic about the amount of service a tour in Canada will render them.

The comrades in New York stopped short in their efforts towards a fund when they heard that I had left for Spain. I cannot blame them for that because people lose interest for something which is postponed for a long time, but now that we know that I can definitely sail, I have written Comrade Freedman to get the comrades together and start the energetic efforts for the fund. You will remember, my dear, that I wrote you that I will need means for my passage and some money as an initial capital to tour Canada. In addition 300 dollars ~~which I must have on entering Canada~~ which one must have on entering Canada. Naturally that will be returned once I am in the country, but I must have some security for an extensive tour to British Columbia. Will you see the comrades of Chicago and find out whether they are interested in the plan and whether they are willing to help. I would rather know exactly what is intended even if the Free Society Group should refuse to help. What about Los Angeles? You never wrote me whether you saw the comrades there and whether they were willing to co-operate. I wish you would do so, my dear, because I really want to know what to expect.

I am beginning to think that the efforts in America for a visa will be in good hands. Carlo Tresca and his wife, Margaret De Silver, have offered to begin a campaign once they have my approval, which of course I sent them. Margaret will especially be able to do much because she has all sorts of connections and she seems to be deeply interested in my return. What with Tresca to help and Rose Penotta to round up her connections, it ought not

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...to launch an extensive campaign. Whether it will
...matter. I am sure it will not be the
...I feel confident that they will
...For the rest I have no illusions about my
...is another reason why I want to cover Canada
...like I am there. It is ridiculous to make a long
...for one or two cities.

...I depend on you in rousing the interest
...Chicago and possibly in seeing our friends, the
...the loan of the amount needed at the
...I wrote them some time ago, but I
...Please write soon.

With love to J. and yourself and kind greetings to all
our friends,

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London June 3rd 38

Dear Comrade.

Thanks for your letter of May 28th. I am delighted to know that you agree with me about the difficulties one meets in England to reach the Labor and Trade Union leaders and the rank and file. I am sure our dear comrades of the CNT would also realize this if they lived abroad, especially in this blood freezing country for any length of time.

I am most happy that our comrades have regained their bearing and their morale. I cannot imagine them losing either for very long. I think one of the reasons for the apathy of the International proletariat to the tragedy of Spain is that our comrades had been forced to make so many concessions which gave the impression outside of Spain that they had forfeited their ideas and their traditions. Another, perhaps even more important is the machinations of the Stalin gang. In raising the cry that the Spanish people are fighting for democracy they have blindfolded the workers in the rest of the world ~~whereas~~ In fact I see that the CNT is beginning to realize this. The last German Bulletin from Barcelona contains an article to the effect that the International proletariat has been deceived in the sense that the Government is doing everything and all is well in Spain. Why then should the workers outside of Spain want to help. It took our dear comrades of the CNT more than a year to realize what I had stressed when I return to Spain the second time.

Don't you see dear comrade the Russian Revolution had raised the masses to the very pinnacle of hope and enthusiasm

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the Communist State in crushing the R.R. also crushed all the hopes of the workers. Then came the Spanish Revolution and again the International proletariat caught fire and rushed to Spain to help our comrades in every way. But when the lie of democracy and the Republican government was put on the banner of the Moscow gangsterd at Stalins behest and our comrades had to submit to this delusion then the new light was extinguished. I am certain it is this more than anything else that has made the workers so apathetic. If at least we could have broken through the conspiracy of silence in this country we might have roused the British wotkers to direct action in spite of the leaders. Wwe have of course broken through somewhat but not enough I fear. It takes such a long time to destroy a lie.

You will be glad to know that in the last letter from comrade Mariano R Vazquez and Herrera which reached me two days ago they expressed ~~wikur~~ their agreement and approval with my plan of sailing to Canada. In their usual enthusiastic way they even write it would be of "great importance" to their struggle I do feel that I might do some good but "great importance" is a little exaggerated I fear.

I have asked comrade V. if the CNT would consent to my return to Spain for a short period so I can renew my i, impressions of what is going on and be in a position to state in Canada that I had come straight from Spain. That would make a deeper impression and would lend more credence to my talks on Spain. I hope the CNT will consent. If not I hope to meet V.H. and a few others in Paris during August.

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Dear comrade I asked comrade V where I should send some money which we collected for arms for Spain. It is a pitifully small sum for such a great purpose only £49 -18 shillings. He replied that I am to send it to the Bureau in Paris which I will do tomorrow or a day after.

Yes, of course I will keep you informed about my trip to Canada. In any event I hope to see you in Paris before I sail which is not to be before the latter part of Sept. I expect to come to Paris in Aug, or sooner if I may go to Spain again.

Fraternally.

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3rd June, 1938.

My dear Van,

It is all very kind of you to call me "dear old Faithful" but you are really enough to try men's souls, my own included, even if I am a mere woman. Just think of it, in answer to your letter of March 23rd I wrote you a long reply dated April 4th. In as much as it dealt with my plans about Canada, I certainly expected that you would give my letter immediate attention and write me what you intend to do if at all. True, September 's still a long way off, but unless a campaign is started soon, people will go away for the summer and when they come back after a later day very little time will be left for intensive work. I can't think what is the matter with you lately. I hope it is not illness or equally bad, a depression, which you are making no effort to fight. Don't think I want to scold or censure you, but I really am disappointed. You used to be so dependable and so prompt. It makes me hard for me to get used to the mood which has been upon you for over a year or longer.

Now listen, my dear, I did not want to decide on my sailing for Canada until I placed my plans before the comrades of the C.N.T. After all I had undertaken to plead their cause and while the result is very small, I did make a beginning, established an office and a lot of other things which cannot just be dropped. The unfortunate thing about England is that we have absolutely no one with initiative or ability for organisational and public work. Comrade Ralph Barr who is the very acme of faithfulness and thoroughness, lacks initiative, and the others are even worse. It will mean therefore if I go away to reduce the activities for Spain to mere correspondence or the printing of an occasional bulletin. I am very unhappy about it, and yet I feel that I must make the change if only for a short time. Anyway I have written the comrades in Barcelona and received their reply the other day approving my plan. With the usual Spanish exuberance and enthusiasm they wrote back that my tour would prove "of immense importance to their struggle in Spain". I was sorry to throw a cold shower on their heads

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to tell them that they must not expect miracles. The outcome of a Canadian tour will depend on whether I can get as far as British Columbia which, as you know, is the most industrial part and economically wide awake. But that is a thing which will be decided when I get to Canada.

Now as to the efforts in the United States. Some time ago I received a letter from Carlo Tresca. You will be able to judge by my reply, copy of which I enclose, that he declares his willingness to start a campaign for permission that will enable me to re-enter the States. Shortly after that I had a letter from Margaret De Silver, expressing deep interest in my return, whereupon I wrote her asking whether she would undertake to organize a committee. I have since heard from her that she would. You understand, dear Van, that in organizing a campaign, two different sections of people will have to be approached - our own comrades whom you, in co-operation with the Anarchist Federation, can easily look after, and the other consisting of whatever middle class friends I have got in America. I feel that Margaret De Silver can reach them better than your or any of the other comrades. I have written to ask her, however, to see you and possibly also Comrade Freedman. Together you might work out a plan of how best to go about. I have not yet had a word from Tresca in answer to my letter. I hope to hear from him soon.

There is, however, something which concerns Tresca and which I would like you to clear up. It is this - I see in a recent number of ~~La~~ L'Adunata that this paper and group are still after Tresca and hurling the old charges against him. They have again mixed my name up with this business. Now you understand, my dear, that I don't want to get into a mess with our Italian comrades. On the other hand I am not going to be influenced by the petty grievances that exist in all these groups. I have never seen a scrap of evidence to sustain the charges made against Carlo. I consider such a charge most outrageous unless there is absolute and positive proof to sustain it. I have always found people in radical ranks entirely too irresponsible in their attacks on those with whom they did not agree or who did not live up to their conception of propriety and consistency. I simply cannot be mixed up with it at this late day in my life, when I have always fought it in the past. Nevertheless I want to have your opinion in the matter, so do sit you down and write.

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I have written the Spanish comrades that I would like to go back to Spain for several weeks for renewing impressions and authentic material on the situation. It were better if I could say that I am coming straight from Spain to Canada. I hate in a way to add to their almost insurmountable burdens of scarcity of food supply and all the other hardships and difficulties, but it is very essential that I should be able to speak firsthand. If they consent, I will leave in August and sail for Canada the latter part of September. I hope they will consent. If not, I will meet some of the comrades in Paris for a conference.

My dear Van, our comrades are going through the most crucial period of the whole struggle. They are fighting with their backs to the wall. They are sacrificing their lives one by one. It is therefore not a time to go into extensive analyses of whether their actions are consistent with their traditions and their ideas. Our comrades are quite frank about the concessions and compromises they have made and are making, but they justly say they are not fighting a civil war but world imperialism, that they have been betrayed by the so-called democracies and forsaken by the international proletariat - all this is a fact which we have to face. Under the circumstances our comrades had but one of two things to do, to fold their arms and permit Franco to infest Spain, thereby destroying everything that our comrades have built up, or use whatever means they had at their immediate command to continue the battle to the last man.

It is not a question whether I agree or approve of the compromises of our comrades. As a matter of fact I do not. I have gone through and still am an inner conflict that has undermined my health, but for the life of me I could not set myself up as a judge over the actions of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. Knowing as I do the desperate straits in which the Spanish people find themselves. That is all I can tell you. Now that it looks as if I am really going to sail for Canada, we will meet and we will talk over the whole situation as one cannot do in a letter.

I believe I sent you a copy of my address at the Conference in Paris last December. I am not sure. If I have an extra copy I will enclose it here. I can only say that I have tried my damndest to explain our Spanish comrades and their actions to their opponents at the Conference, and the attitude of the latter to the Spanish comrades. Life has taught me that there are many springs of human action. Perhaps it is due to growing age that I have grown mellow, but I certainly cannot be so dictatorial and

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better-than-thou as I might have been in my youth.

I have already said that the results of our efforts in England have been very disheartening, but we did our utmost. The thing is certain - the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the S.I.A. are no longer strangers among radical people. When you consider that we are faced with a conspiracy of silence in the Press, you will appreciate that we have achieved something after all.

Well, my dear Van, I am enclosing a lot of copies of letters which will no doubt interest you. I must ask you seriously not to delay answering this letter, to see the other comrades and find out whether they are still willing to resume the work for the fund they had started. I must know how and where I stand.

Give my love to Sadie.

Affectionately, in spite of your
treating me so badly,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 3 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].—

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18832

- Am 3. Juni 1938

Dort ist noch ein Brief von Emma Goldman an Helmut Rüdiger, der am 3. Juni 1938 geschrieben wurde. In diesem Brief schreibt Emma Goldman, dass sie die Angelegenheit des Kasseler Genossen nicht weiter verfolgen möchte, da sie der Meinung ist, dass der Kasseler Genosse nicht in der Lage ist, die Angelegenheit zu klären. Sie schreibt auch, dass sie die Angelegenheit des Kasseler Genossen nicht weiter verfolgen möchte, da sie der Meinung ist, dass der Kasseler Genosse nicht in der Lage ist, die Angelegenheit zu klären. Sie schreibt auch, dass sie die Angelegenheit des Kasseler Genossen nicht weiter verfolgen möchte, da sie der Meinung ist, dass der Kasseler Genosse nicht in der Lage ist, die Angelegenheit zu klären.

Meine Angelegenheit ist noch nicht weiter. Ich werde gegebenenfalls mich über Mollie an den genannten Kameraden wenden, besonders aber an Abrams. Zu Schapiro kann ich leider nicht gehen, unser Verhältnis ist von Ausserster Kühle. Die Stellung Sch.s zu spanischen Sache - ich meine nicht die Theorie, sondern den völligen Mangel an Solidarität der in seiner Tätigkeit zum Ausdruck kommt - haben mich empört, ich habe dem auch überall offenen Ausdruck gegeben und kann mich Sch. deshalb nicht in einer persönlichen Angelegenheit nähern.

Die spanischen Dinge haben manche Kameradschaft und selbst Freundschaften zerstört - aber auch neue gegründet.

Ich habe wegen Auskunft über Einreisemöglichkeiten nach Amerika auch mit Abe eine Korrespondenz begonnen, ich besitze allerdings wenig Illusionen. Ich habe aber jetzt trotz der offiziellen Ablehnung Mexicos wieder neue Hoffnung auf dieses Land: abgesehen davon, dass ich nötigenfalls den Genossen Abrams um meine Hilfe bitten werde, habe ich inzwischen Briefe von einigen Freunden aus Mexico selbst bekommen, die mir schreiben, was auch Du andeutest, dass der ganze Weg falsch war und dass man die Sache durch Protektion in Mexico selbst regeln muss; und es wird wohl eine solche geben, der betreffende Genosse glaubt, den ~~Kultur~~ Unterrichtsminister interessieren zu können. So erwacht die Hoffnung wieder! Meine Pläne nach Mexico zu gehen sind übrigens alt - ich fasste die Idee 1935, und ich hätte sie 36 ausgeführt, wenn nicht der faschistische Putsch gekommen wäre. An Bewegung haben wir allerdings in Mexico nicht viel, auch ist die Gesamtlage sehr chaotisch, aber mich interessiert das Milieu. Auch kenne ich durch Korrespondenz einige Genossen, die sehr ernsthafte Leute zu sein scheinen und sich viel Mühe geben um unsere Sache.

V. hat also Deinem Plan zugestimmt, und das halte ich für gut. Ich hoffe jedenfalls, dass wir uns vorher noch einmal sehen. Vielleicht kannst Du in C. etwas im Sinne meines Reiseplanes tun, wie Du andeutest, vielleicht aber hat sich die Sache bis dahin schon anderweitig geregelt.

Ich will für heute schliessen, da ich plötzlich gestört werde und unmöglich weiterkomme. Wenn ich trotzdem dieses Fragment abschicke, dann deshalb, weil auch mein Kasseler wiedergekommen ist. In seinem Namen möchte ich Dich bit-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 3 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].—
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ten, falls irgend möglich schon jetzt den bereits vorhandenen Teilbetrag
in kleinen Rahmen bereits festzulegen kann seine Arbeit aufbauen.
Schönke als Leiter der Teilbetriebe sucht weiteres noch nicht gekommen
ist die Übernahme der Leitung in Aussicht steht.
Ich möchte Dir noch sagen, daß ich die Sache dankbar und erfreut
ist über diese Solidaritätsaktion. Ihr habt ein sehr gutes Werk getan!
Ich bin tatsächlich der Meinung, dass man vielleicht statt monatlichen
Interessengruppen eine größere Gruppe bilden könnte, um die Interessen der
me hätte zur Gründung einer kleinen Arbeits-Kommission verheilen können, das
wäre eine Konstante in der Zukunft. Ich sehe mich für diesen Zweck geac-
ger ist, aber ich sehe das was ich richtig verstehe. Ich habe
gehe ich kann in diesem Sinne auch für andere - ich habe
eine ziemlich ausgebreitete Korrespondenz um zu versuchen, einzelne Kamerad-
den nach anderen Ländern zu bringen wo sie eine gewisse Ansicht auf An-
teil haben.

Am 1. Juni 1938

Angewandtheit nehmen. Ich habe dem auch überall oft-
ten Ausdruck gegeben und kann mich sehr wohl selbst nicht in einer persönlichen
Kritik am Ausdruck kommt - haben mich empfört, ich habe dem auch überall oft-
Theorie, sondern den völligen Mangel an Solidität der in seiner Tätig-
ster Kühle. Die Stellung eines zu spanischen Sache - ich meine nicht die
zu schenken kann ich leider nicht gehen, unser Verhältnis ist von innerer
über Hoffie zu den genannten Kameraden wenden, besonders aber an Abrams.
keine Angewandtheit ist noch nicht weiter. Ich werde gegebenenfalls mich

zerstört - aber auch neuem geordnet.
Die spanischen Dinge haben manche Kameradschaft und selbst Freundschaften

Ich habe sehr viel Mühe gegeben um unsere Sache. Korrespondenzen einige Genossen, die sehr ernsthaftes Interesse an sein scheinen sehr glücklich, aber mich interessiert das Mitleid. Auch kenne ich durch ganz haben wir allerdings in Mexiko nicht viel, auch ist die Gesamtlage zu aussichtslos, wenn nicht der tschechoslowakische Putsch geschehen wäre. An dem so zu gehen schickte uns als - ich fasste die Idee 1935, und ich hätte sie realisieren zu können. So erwacht die Hoffnung wieder! Meine Pläne nach Mexiko, der betreffende Genosse plant, den tschech. Unterrichtsminister in der Protektion in Mexiko selbst reisen muss; und es wird wohl eine solche Gelegenheit, dass der ganze Weg falsch war und dass man die Sache durch einigen Freunden aus Mexiko selbst bekommen, die mir schreiben, was auch gen. Abrams um seine Hilfe bitten werde, habe ich inzwischen Briefe von Hoffnung auf dieses Land; abgesehen davon, dass ich größtenteils den Genos. Ich habe aber jetzt trotz der offiziellen Ablehnung dieses wieder neue. Aber eine Korrespondenz begonnen, ich bestimme allerdings wenig Illustrationen. Ich habe wegen Auskennt über Minderheitsmöglichkeiten nach Amerika auch mit

V. hat also Deinen Plan zugestimmt, und das hastest Du gut. Ich hoffe, dass wir uns vorher noch einmal sehen. Vielleicht kannst Du in U. etwas im Sinne meines Reiseplanes tun, wie Du am besten, vielleicht aber hat sich die Sache bis dahin schon anderweitig geregelt.

auch mein Kasseier wiedergekommen ist. In seinem Namen möchte ich dich für
weiterkomme. Wenn ich trotzdem dieses Fragment abschicke, dann deshalb, weil
ich will dir heute schreiben, in ich möglichst gestört werde und unmöglich

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[Letter] 1938 June 3, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Freedman. — 3 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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Freie Arbeiter Stimme

NEW YORK WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

New York City

June 3, 1938

Dear Emma:

The reason for my delay in answering your last letter was because I thought it best to call a meeting of the committee and ascertain the action they will take to revive the activity in completing the work towards your fund, and thus be able to write you definite information.

As you know, Van is the Secretary of the committee, and so I wrote him several times to come to the office of the F.A.S. He replied that he would but did not keep his promise until about two weeks ago when he finally did come and we decided to call a meeting of the committee for Wednesday, May 25, 1938... but that meeting never took place because he disappointed me - he did not send any letters to the committee advising them of a meeting. I imagine that the reason for this is because he has been ill lately due to heavy drinking. You are right - he used to be a dependable person and it is a great pity that a person of his intelligence who could be of great value to our movement should go down on account of liquor. During the course of my last conversation with Van, we discussed the matter of your Canadian tour, and in his opinion, and I am inclined to agree with him, he does not believe that the tour will pay or be successful, especially with the present Fascist regime in the province of Quebec. The only thing that might compensate you in your Canadian tour is the hope and possibility of entering the U.S. If that will be successful, it will be a great accomplishment. I believe and hope that if we will succeed in carrying this through, a tour in the states will be a success.

At the present time we have about \$150.00 in the treasury for your fund. As Van has the list of the committee, I will write him again today and insist upon calling a meeting to finish the work, once for all. As soon as this is accomplished, we will send you the total sum.

Have you received a letter from Van? He promised he would write you.

Yes, we have received 25 copies of "Anarcho-Syndicalism". I would greatly appreciate your asking the publishers to send us 25 more copies and please send us a statement of both shipments. Tell the publisher that we had to pay on the average of 10¢ per book for duty charge. I trust they will sell it to us on the basis of 50% off the original price, because of the duty we must pay. They can bill us directly on future orders.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Freie Arbeiter Stimme

JEWISH WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

New York City

- 2 -

Enclosed please find a statement for the literature we sent you, amounting to \$15.20.

As I received your letter this morning, I haven't as yet had an opportunity to speak to Mark and the other close comrades in regards to the question you put before me in reference to Carlo Tresca. I do have an idea about the quarrels going on between Carlo and the L'Adunata Group. I don't know exactly what is at the root of it, but I do know that the L'Adunata Group hate him and are ready to say and do anything to injure him. For instance, this incident will give you an idea of their animosity towards him. When Abe Bluestein returned from Spain, we called a closed meeting of the comrades to hear Abe's report. We invited some comrades of the Jewish An. Federation, some Spanish, Italian and L'Adunata comrades - also Carlo. As soon as the L'Adunata Group with ~~Booth~~ came in to the meeting hall and learned that Tresca was coming to the meeting, they immediately left. These comrades of L'Adunata are able to do anything. It seems to me that they are very individualistically inclined in their paper and in their attitude towards the rest of the movement.

You want to know my honest opinion about the entire matter and so I will tell you very frankly. I do agree with Rose Pesotta that Carlo Tresca and Mary de Silver are the proper people to do that kind of work. You are certainly right in your belief that Carlo has connections which are of importance in obtaining a visa for you. I understand that you do not want to get in a swamp when you will come to the States, because these Italian comrades could start a counter campaign against you. The question is: What can we do to prevent that? It seems to me that nothing will stop the comrades of L'Adunata in doing so. However, as I said, I will take this matter up with our close comrades and will let you know their opinion. Perhaps Rudolf can have some influence in telling them to stop all this business.

We have received several communications from Comrade Yaffe of Los Angeles in reference to ordering books from him, namely, "6 Characters", which he expects to distribute this month, also "The Life of Johann Most", which he expects to print in the near future. Comrade Yaffe is doing this kind of work on his own account without consulting the comrades on which of the books would be more appropriate to print. Then he approaches all the groups and sends out raffles over the entire country to help him in the work. Last night at our Federation meeting, we discussed a request of Comrade Yaffe's and it was the unanimous opinion of the comrades of the Jewish An. Federation, that Comrade Yaffe is not doing the right thing in printing books, without consulting the Kropotkin Literary Society in Los Angeles. (Over)

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Greetings from my family
Clara

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[Letter, 19]38 June 3, Oxford [England to Emma Goldman, London] / [B.K. Soper]. —
1 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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17749

C.N.T. A.I. Oxford Bureau.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

TEL 3116 OXFORD.

3/6/38.

Dear Comrade,

Have had no pamphlets or Spains and the World. It's difficult to get people to buy the paper when there's no paper for them to buy; so could you please see that they are sent? And lots of copies of the "Dictatorship an Alternative" pamphlet (I can distribute 600 in the University - and more in the town) would be very useful.

Also I want to join the A.S.U. Can you send particulars and a membership form, please?

Fraternally yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 4 [London to] Luc[if]a [Sánchez Saornil, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19080

COPY.

4th June 1938.

Dear Comrade Lucia,

I thank you very much for your letter No.605. I did not answer it at once because I wanted to be able to send along our statement of receipts and expenditure and the balance we have for the S.I.A. As you are fresh to your position in the S.I.A. I must ask you to permit comrade Herrera to read this letter. He will understand it all and explain it to you.

The first thing he will understand is the original sum of £257 which comes over from last years collections for the refugee women and children. I told comrade Herrera as well as comrade Vasquez about it and they receipted all the money we collected saying that they would make good at your end the amounts, so that we could continue our work for the S.I.A. The rest outside the £257 constitutes the monies which were raised in collections, contributions and the concert.

As you and comrade Herrera will see we were obliged to charge the S.I.A. with half of the expenses we incurred for the renovation of our quarters and half the rent and establishment charges, such as light gas etc together with all the other preparatory work of the S.I.A.. I also wish to call your attention to the £50 which I used for the following:- Two weeks expenses in Paris on my way to Spain two weeks expenses in the South of France to wind up my affairs, one weeks stay in Paris on my return from Spain and my return expenses back to London. I hope the comrades of the S.I.A. will not feel that I have taken too many liberties with the fund entrusted to me. Our balance in hand for the S.I.A. as at 31st May is £209-8-3.

Sometime ago I wrote comrade Herrera about contributing some money for the maintenance of the group of 41 children who are under the care of the Independent Labour Party. Comrade Herrera replied that I should do so according to the amount of money the English section of the S.I.A. will have in hand. Unfortunately our balance is not very great. I would therefore like to know whether you and the other comrades of the S.I.A. still feel that a contribution of £50 should be made to that fund of the I.L.P. Besure please to answer this as soon as possible. While I am on this point I must ask you again to send me the receipt for £114-8-9 without delay. I wrote for it nearly two weeks ago. We must have that receipt in order to save the £16 we had to lodge for Entertainment Tax.

Thank you dear comrade for the kind things you say about our work. It is very generous on your part to be so satisfied. We of the English Section are not so very proud to be so satisfied of what we have done, and achieved. All we can say is that we have worked devishly. We have not permitted a single opportunity to go by that would bring the S.I.A. before the English masses; but without repeating myself I can only say that it is a bitter hard work to achieve anything for the S.I.A. or the C.N.T. or the F.A.E. in this country.

I am delighted to be able to tell you that in answer to my letter to comrade Vasquez about the tour in Canada I have heard from him and comrade Herrera today. They both agree with me that such a tour would be of importance to our cause in Spain - so I will definitely go at the end of September. Needless to say that I will also put the case of the S.I.A. For this purpose I shall need a special credential for the S.I.A. for Canada and the United States, although I am not at all sure whether I will be permitted to enter the latter.

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[Letter] 1938 June 4 [London to] Luc[ía] [Sánchez Saornil, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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3.

190804

I also wish to inform you that the comrades and I will continue to work for the S.I.A. to the best of their ability. For that we will continue to work. Just as we have decided who is to continue I will let you know their names.

I have received all of the material you sent me and will have it for the next Bulletin which we was planning - a Bulletin for the S.I.A. and Mujeres Libres.

Fraternal greetings to you comrade Herrera and the comrades of the S.I.A.

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[Letter] 1938 June 4 [London to] Mariano [R.] V[á]squez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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COPY.

19097

4th June 1938.

Mariano Vasquez.

Dear Comrade,

I have before me three of your letters Nos. 600e, 619e, 610e for which I thank you very much.

First of all I am enclosing a statement of our expenses for the work we did for the C.N.T. up to the 31st May. You will see that we tried our best to be as economical as possible. We even did most of the secretarial work ourselves, using a secretary only twice a week in order to reduce expenses. You will remember dear comrade when I was in Valencia I gave you as the nominal figure required for our work in England as from £150 to £160 per month. You decided to instruct the Paris office to let me have 100,000 francs, which at that time was £680. Inasmuch as the work continued all through last summer during my absence on my second visit to Spain - that is to say from August 1937 until the end of May of this year, you will realise that the monthly expenses, including the £25 per month contribution to "Spain & The World" is £63 per month. Spain & The World has received 5 months contributions viz £315. You instructed me to make six months contributions. Please let me know whether I am to make the sixth contribution.

You will wonder how we managed on such a small sum. The explanation for it is that the expenses for the summer were very small, only £73 until I returned to London from my second visit to Spain. The real work did not begin until January - in other words our utmost economy made it possible to carry on our work with the amount that you had given, in spite of the fact that we had to take on new premises, (21 Frith Street) and spend money on redecorations which will have to be repeated. I admit that if we did not have to practice economy to such an extent, we probably could have done more work. We could have held more meetings and probably have done a great deal more printing; but we did not feel justified in doing so because we did not want to burden you with a large expense for the maintenance of the CNT-FAI Bureau, since we knew that we could get no financial returns for the bureau from our appeals and collections. The only amount we raised in all this time was, as you will see, £49-18-0 for Arms for Spain, which was partly a collection and the rest a personal contribution. I am writing in detail so that you may be able to judge of our work, its results, and whether you feel we are justified in keeping up the work as we have done up till now. Of course in addition we have collected money for the S.I.A. but this has nothing to do with the Bureau account.

I have already written you that whether I go to Canada or not our premises have to be kept on until the end of the year. We are under contract for that. It is very necessary for us to know soon whether the premises can be continued after December 1938. It would certainly be a great pity to break up something that has taken such pains, labour and expense to build up. Even if I should go to Canada, comrade Ralph Barr and perhaps one other of the comrades would continue the propaganda and publicity for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. To enable this to become two things will be necessary - a fund from which expenses can be drawn, and credential to enable him to act on your behalf. There is of course plenty of time, as I am not likely to sail before the end of September.

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[Letter] 1938 June 4 [London to] Mariano [R.] V[á]quez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

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2

19098

I cannot do anything here during the summer, or very little. I want you to bear in mind that, and to let me know when next you write whether you agree to these suggestions. It is true that the comrades in my absence will not be able to have many meetings, as unfortunately we have no speakers whose names would draw. It would be as much as they could do in the way of publicity by means of printing the material you will send them, and also by means of maintaining "Spain & The World". I lay stress on the latter. It is the best paper we have got on Spain. It is well gotten up and it has begun to make a place for itself. Under no circumstances must you permit this paper to go down. In other words, even if I should go away a certain amount of work can be kept up and will be kept up provided the comrades are authorised to do so, and also a fund provided from which they can draw. As to how large the fund is to be you must judge from the expenditures you will find in the enclosed accounts. By the way you will see that I have given you credit for £23-19-8 for literature sold. You should arrange to repay the Propaganda Exterior Department this amount.

I am overjoyed to find that you agree with my going to Canada, and that it would be of importance to the Spanish cause. I naturally should not have felt justified to go without your consent approval - so I feel doubly happy to see by yours No.600e that you feel as I do that I might be able to do much in Canada.

I have written you I think that friends of mine will start a campaign for a visa for me to re-enter the States. I don't know whether they will succeed; but it is absolutely certain that they have more chances with me in Canada so near the States than with me so far away in England. From Canada I could direct the campaign as I know the of the American people and the country, as no other country or people; but even if my friends should fail in America it is my plan to tour Canada. The real industrial centers which are all in the west of Canada are unfortunately very far and few between. The distances are very great and the expense of travelling equally high. We do have a splendid group in Toronto that has been quite active for Spain. We used to have a good group in Montreal; but unfortunately the Catholic Church, which is very powerful in Quebec, has undermined every possibility for propaganda for Spain ever since the 19th July. When I will tell you that of a million population 750,000 are Catholics, you will realise why our group has ceased to exist. Nevertheless I may even be able to do something in Montreal in an underground way; but the main thing is to tour the West of Canada. I have written the comrades in America and Canada to raise a fund for a tour through Canada. I don't know what kind of fund they will be able to raise. I would therefore like you to let me know whether the C.N.T. would care to contribute towards the expense of a tour for Spain as far as Vancouver. I know that you will be frank with me, and let me know whether you are in a position to do so. Its largely the travelling expenses I have in mind - not so much as my own living, which can be born by the Canadian comrades themselves. Another thing which I will have to have is a special credential for Canada as well as the United States so that I can speak authoritatively for you.

There is another thing which I consider very important and that is to have a conference with you and some other of the comrades of the CNT-FAI before I sail for Canada. Would you agree to my coming to Spain for a few weeks. Is there a possibility to get there at this time? If not perhaps we could meet in Paris at the congress of the I.W.M.A. which I understand is to be held in August. Such a conference is very important to me and I - and just where we can get together. Let me know please when you write next.

As regards the congress of the I.W.M.A.. Unless I can

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3

1908

most uncomfortable last time; but sat through the congress without not being able to express my views or make suggestions, and raised the indignation of some of the delegates, who considered me a interloper, and merely there as a moral prop for the CNT. I don't like that dear comrade, so if I can be at the conference as a delegate we can meet in Paris at any rate at that time.

Now will you please write me on the following points.

1. Let me know what you think of our account.
2. Whether you want the work to continue and whether you can afford to back it.
3. About the necessary mandates for the comrades who will take my place.
4. About my going to Canada and all that it involves.
5. Whether I am to contribute the sixth contribution of £25 to "Spain and The World" making six months contribution. Whether you desire the contributions to continue after that.
6. Whether we can meet in Paris or if you agree with my coming over to Spain. The latter naturally would give me fresh material and impressions that I could use in Canada.

I am sending the £50 for arms for Spain to Paris as you direct.

Yours fraternally

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]38 June 4, Beaconsfield [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20884

BROOM HOUSE SEER GREEN BEACONSFIELD

JORDANS 2194

4.v1.38

Dear Emma Goldman,

I am sorry to have lent Rucker's book so long: that is partly the fault of the book, for being so interesting and partly due to the fact that I have been so busy. I return it with many thanks for the loan.

I am able to include in the same parcel a copy of my own book. It is an advance copy - it will not be published until June 16th. It is perhaps not 100% anarchist, but I hope you will like it. If you have an opportunity to say a few words about it in *Social and the World*, all the better and the more critical the better.

I am very busy with the exhibition of banned German art which opens next month. We have to proceed carefully on account of the artists still living in Germany, but beneath its air of moderation it is a big smack in the eye for Hitler and Goebbels. I enclose a prospectus.

With best wishes

Yours

Herbert Read.

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[Letter, 19]38 June 5, Neath [Wales to Emma Goldman, London] / S[am] M[ainwar-
ing]. — 3 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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17804

5/6/38

236 Old Rd

Neath Glam.

Dear Comrade

Thanks for your letter received yesterday.

Am satisfied with the way you have cleared
up the points raised in my previous letter.What you have stated ~~are~~ precisely the answer

I myself have made to the lying slanders

of the Trotskyists against the C.H.I. The

Hornstadt crime it has been pointed ^{out} to them

by me, was something that I knew of at the time

it took place; whilst they were either too young

or not in the Socialist Movement, to know anything

at all of the affair, and that all the white washing

of the crime & the slanders of against the ~~guilt~~ ^{guilt}Anarchist sailors won't wash away that ~~guilt~~ ^{guilt}

of which Trotsky and Lenin were the perpetrators.

Let me hasten to say though, that I've been

very much mistaken in what was said of the

attitude of J.M. Bell. He and Guy Aldred wrote

defending the C.H.I. J.A.I. I am sorry for the

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[Letter, 19]38 June 5, Neath [Wales to Emma Goldman, London] / S[am] M[ainwar-
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17805

mistake that was made. However it is good to know that you have already replied to the lies through the columns of "Vanguard" and the receipt of the copy you've ~~to~~ promised to send is being ~~sent~~ forwarded to. The last Bolkin received from Barcelona contains the reply of the C. I. O. to the point in Neguin's speech in which he declared that the 'Rights' of private property would be safeguarded in the Spanish Republic. This is being made known as widely as possible around here.

I take this opportunity of mentioning that at our J. W. Branch meeting on Friday last a circular was read from the Western (Anthracite) District of S. W. M. F. asking for delegates to a conference to be held at Swansea on Sat. June the 18th at 2-30 p.m.; object of the gathering, to discuss ways and means of more effectively helping our Spanish ~~to~~ fellow-workers in their critical situation. Unfortunately I was not selected, but although I had arranged to go with the members of the W. & A. on an outing to Brecon on that day.

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17806

I am prepared to forego that, and go to Swansea
to do what ~~a~~ work one can there. Most important
of all though is the suggestion I have to make
that it would be a good thing if the accredited
representative of the C. I. T. in this country were
to attend and address the Conference. Can
anything be done in that direction? If so please
let me know as early as possible. Spain and the
World I'm sorry to say, has not been going so well
recently, ~~for~~ and the time to go around with
it has not been available as the garden has
taken up most of the time one has to spare
after the eight hours of work in the steel plant.
Comrade Janet may have told you of the size
and extent of the garden. Awaiting Yours and
vill
Salud
S.M.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 6, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Evelyn [Scott]. --
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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New York City.

June 6th, 1938.

My dearest truly dear Emma: Did I ~~know~~ doubt you in respect to friendship? No, my dear; for you are too big in spirit to be altered in those ways by divergencies of opinion! And yet, it was particularly precious to have your consoling unchanged and unchangeable self speak from your letter!

My hesitance -- even reluctance! -- to writing was not the result of underestimating your brave and liberal spirit. But just because I do admire your undeviating heroism in fulfilling your convictions, it becomes harder than ever to express my ~~own~~ failure of optimism in respect to certain attitudes and people. My dearest Emma, were you the revolution, and were those engaged in it preponderantly you, how easy it would be to follow! But sometimes I think I must be the most anarchistic of all, since at bottom my admirations and beliefs are so entirely for individuals -- and absolutely so, in a way unqualified even by circumstances. Movements to me are those engaging in them.

As you say, I do not know your comrades in Spain. Unfortunately I have, during the last five or six years (and this year was a climax) learned to know too well the Communist personnel and outlook. I hope I am mistaken in feeling that the repressive and dictatorial objectives of Communism threaten you in Spain as much as they do us here. With Spain and the Fascist threat to exploit, this year has witnessed a thinly disguised attempt to coerce the articulate American (the artist and literary American) into a Communist line-up. This I feel already so annihilating of everything art, freedom of speech and expression, respect for individuality, exist to represent; that I cannot imagine even Hitlerism any worse. The Communists have utilized the Jewish persecution to terrify half the population of New York into joining its ranks. If people are not Communists by conviction, they are joining every sort of anti-league manoeuvred by supporters of the Stalinist regime. They are, thereby, I consider, provoking the latent fascism always existent in this country to become active. I have therefore decided, in my ripe old-age, that ~~anything~~ is better than sponsoring this compulsion of the artist toward politically dictated expression. Having defied the Communists, I am not in a pleasant position: I am said to be a fascist, in capitalist pay, and all the other piffle with which you have been hounded for so much longer. Direct threats have come to me that my work was being and would continue to be boycotted and sabotaged by all the reviewing crowd "not fascist" and by the writers league etc. By signs tantamount to proof the attempt has been made and has succeeded in part. There may be a reaction toward fascism just as unpleasant as this, I don't know. But whatever happens I know I cannot subscribe to what goes on ~~here~~; and that in the gestures made in respect to free expression nothing I happen to have personally experienced under capitalism is as bad. I do know capitalism has its equivalents, heaven knows. But the sum of it has been such a disenchantment with human nature, quite apart from parties, that I am more interested in negative safeguards such as may stave off dictators of whatever creed, than I am in the positive assertion of the ideal; which I don't believe can ever be attained where the means used are so incompatible with the end purported as that in view.

That's the whole story, dear. And do understand it is not one that makes me love and admire you one whit less.

(over

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 6, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Evelyn [Scott]. —
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... differences.

I'm so glad Margaret gave you my address. I hope to god the visa comes through and I will have the sweet pleasure it always is, to see you. I know Margaret and Cairo will work for it sincerely, as all your friends will; but with them there may really be a good chance.

I was interested in John Poy's letters. Thanks you for enclosing them. I also read something by him in a little paper called Challenge I must subscribe to -- I relished their very clever and true comments on Communists.

Jig sends you affectionate greetings. He has been doing commercial art this winter; had a few very good jobs, with some big gaps not so good in between; He hates it of course but wants to make enough to leave New York if he can and go where he can paint seriously again and as he never has been able to here.

Poor Jack came over last year and had a complete nervous smash-up, brought on apparently by split thinking in respect to his identification with England, his unhappiness in U.S.A., the constant demand of circumstances for me to return here, fear of a war that might separate us for good, fear about money, a degree of unconscious jealousy in a dread that if war came I would stay here with Jig and leave him in Eng; and. It was all so acute he got suicidal and I got him to go to the hospital, simply to keep him from jumping out of a window. And in the end, because all that would soothe him was for me to return to England for good, and I couldn't, I decided there was no solution and we better separate. That's the status quo. I don't feel any remorse, and hope by this time he doesn't. He's been back a year; and probably, since there really is no solution, we are separated for good. Adjusting to this has made it a difficult year; no to mention overwork. Unlike you darling I love to write; but at the same time having to in disregard of health and emotions is wearing me out. Jig has been a marvelous support for the time in every psychic way, though he is no more remarkable than I am at getting on in the shrewd sense.

So there we are. God bless. And may whoever you want to have win, win! Because that is how your very loving

Evelyn

feels about you!

*Original
Jugger
from to
write*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 6, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Dorothy [Rogers].— 2 p.; 34 x 21 cm.

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Chine Drive
Scarboro Bluffs
Ontario, Canada.

June 6th. 1938

Emma Dearest;

I am at last writing to you after another long and painful silence. I have not been at all well. My mental condition rather worse than my physical. For some time, too my eyes have been bothering me. Dien loaned me a pair of glasses made for her which she did not use. They seemed to suit my eyes for a time but for months now reading and writing have been uncomfortable tasks for me. But quite recently and most unexpectedly, our economic condition improved and on Saturday I got a pair of glasses made for me after having had my eyes examined. Now I realise under what discomfort I have been labouring these many months.

There is quite a lot to tell you, so I am settling down to a long letter.

First of all Dien is in Holland, and the why and wherefore is a long story. Dein and her brother and sister here, in Canada, had arranged to bring their mother to this country to spend a year with them. Mrs Keela left Holland with a Belgian couple returning to this country via New York arriving about May 8th. You have met Dein's mother so will know that she has a spot on her face. She carries with her a letter from a Dutch doctor re this spot, saying that it is nothing contagious, which diagnosis was accepted by the Canadian officials when Mrs Keela came here six years ago. However the New York officials put the poor lady on Ellis Island. Dein went at once to New York to be near her mother. But in spite of a New York immigration doctor diagnosing the trouble as nothing very serious and not contagious, she was not allowed to enter the States, in spite of the fact that she only wanted to get on a train and come to Canada. They decided not to risk refusal at a Canadian port and so Dein went back to Holland with her mother. After this was settled, and the boat they were sailing on, being in the docks, Dien thought it would nice if she and her mother could be together on the boat. The authorities agreed to move Mrs Keela from Ellis Island, but you can guess what happened later. As soon as the old lady reached the boat she was locked and barred into an isolation ward, with a large bobby on guard in the corridor. Dein immediately raised such a commotion that she brought down the Captain, five officers and the doctor to see what was the matter. They finally allowed Dein to go in with her mother. Whereupon she raised another rumpus about the filthy conditions in the ward. After giving the ship's officers some very uncomfortable hours she allowed herself to be mollified with the promise of the run of the ship as soon as she pulled away from New York. We have not had time to hear from her yet as she only arrived in Holland June 1st. I expect she is having quite a lot to say on that side too. The only good thing about the whole affair is that Dien is having a change and a rest which should do her good for she is far from well herself. Are there any sane officials in this world? But if they were sane they would not be officials. Our very humane and gentle Dein was turned into a raging fury for a while. She actually wished for bombs to throw on Ellis Island. However this little tragedy is after personal and loses itself in the terrors of the world at large.

There is something brewing here in Canada. The people seemed to be imbued with that true British placidness or should I say dumbness. The powers that be are trying to raise a red bogey, while the communists are are crawling to them loudly protesting their loyalty to democratic government. Recently one of Toronto's communist aldermen said over the radio, that, "The Communist Party stands four-square to oppose all anti-democratic parties." "The Communist Party opposes the overthrow of Canadian democracy." Meanwhile some of the trade unions are still influenced by their communist members. Such organizations as the "Friends of the Papineau-MacKenzie Battalion", the "League for peace and democracy" (which is the old "League against war - Fascism") have affairs and collect money for Spain some of which gets there. Other collections for Spain go through the I.L.G.W.U. and the A.F.ofL. Our appeal for the S.I.A. has brought no response whatever. The IWW tried to do something in Northern Ontario and Winnipeg without any success. In the meantime the Fascists are moving in Canada. Quebec is under their control and they are doing their best to make headway in Ontario. Their meetings are arranged by mail without any advertising at all. Knowing this the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party (Marxists) tried to get together an Anti Fascist Conference, for anti-fascist action. We joined them as did a branch of the Workmen's Circle, a Youth League and I think two unions. We have arranged a contact on the Fascists' mailing list and so know of their meetings. One was arranged for last Friday night at a hall near the corners of Bloor and Bathurst. The clippings will tell you something about it. You of course will be able to read the true happenings between the lines.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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17229

There was no clash with the Fascists for they were within walls, carefully guarded by the police. The trouble started with the arrival of the police and by them. It was my first actual experience of the workings of law and order and if I had any lurking respect for uniformed forces or any kind of government forces left I have now only supreme contempt and and animosity I did not think that I was capable of such intense hatred and loathing as I have for one filthy being who has ceased to be human, as I now harbour for one of Toronto's leading Police detectives. I know of course that it is the system against which we must work, but he seems to be the whole putrid, brutal machine personified.

Of the two arrested, one is a member of the L.R.W.P., a small young man, rather frail who is accused of punching a six foot officer in the chest. The other was a perfectly innocent bystander who did not throw a tomato. The police had two stool-pigeons with them who will swear anything they are told. We have had dig up \$1000.00 bail for each of the arrested men.

Shortly after the picture was snapped I happened to be in the way of the two cops and so was thrown violently against a car bumper thereby losing quite a slice of skin from my shin. Some of the boys were slashed in the face with billies and Arthur was thrown to the ground from the stand from which he was speaking.

However there promises to be further happenings tonight. A meeting has been arranged for tonight at which Arcand (the man who aspires to be dictator of Canada) is speaking and we have arranged for another antifascist demonstration near the Hall, this time at Queen and Dovercourt. We shall be a little stronger tonight. Friday taught us something in tactics and also widened the committee. We shall probably have the Left Pola Zien with us and also a Workers' Committee which has been organized among the Jewish unions to aid the victims of Fascism. We are sending delegates to other bodies too.

When the L.R.W.P. started on this Committee for Anti-fascist action they approached the Trades and Labour Council, which was in session then at the Labour Temple. But the Communist members of that body howled the suggestion down and the Chairman, it out of order. We shall approach them again however. Canada is rapidly being drawn into the maelstrom of preparation for a war against either fascism or communism or both. The effects of the "recession" in the U.S.A. are felt here. Wages are lower in most cases than they have been for years, and the cost of living is higher.

What to say about your proposed tour of the country I don't know. It would cost a large sum of money, and I don't think the meetings would begin to pay for themselves. The IWW are willing to help as far as they can. But they are little stronger than we are. Where they have halls they would be at our disposal. They would be willing to send one of their travelling delegates either with or ahead of you and arrange joint meetings. But they have very few contacts in the middle west. For myself, nothing would please me better than to join this tour too, but I could offer no financial assistance at all, unless of course something very unforeseen happens before the fall.

I will get in touch with Reedman as soon as I can. He wrote to Joe Desser asking what had been done here with regard to your return.

I must close now Emma, dear as I have to get ready to leave for the evening activities. Will write again soon.

love,

Dorothy

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 7 London to] Luc[í]a [Sá]n[ch]ez Saorni[l, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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20079

Lucia Chansez Saorni .

Dear Comrade.

I thank you very much for your kind letter No. 605 and all the kind things you say about me and the work for the SIA. I am deeply moved by the appreciation I have always received from dear comrade Herrera and now from you, in fact much more than I deserve. When I think of the heroism and sacrifice our comrades of the CNT-FAI, our Spanish Youth and the SIA are making my work seems very inadequate indeed. My only consolation is that I am trying with all my strength and thought to rouse the British workers and to make them see the truly great contribution you are all making to the struggle of freedom for the whole world.

Dear comrade you will find inclosed a statement of accounts, the money received for the SIA and the expenses for the campaign. It will be necessary that you show this to comrade Herrera as he knows of the sum of 257 pounds which were left over from our first years work for refugee women and children. I told him and comrade Vazquez about it when I was with them in Valencia. Herrera will therefore be able to explain the accounts. I don't know what we should have done this year had we not the amount left over because our receipts from collections, contributions and concert are so pitifully small. On the other hand are the expenses which in spite of the strictest economy we maintain were nevertheless very considerable. About one item especially I feel somewhat guilty. It is the £50 which my going to Spain last year entailed the extra expenses of my stay in Spain above the kind hospitality given me by the comrades of the Regional Committee Barcelona and my

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 7 London to] Luc[í]a [Sá]n[ch]ez Saorní[l, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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29588

2

return to England involved. I do not mean the expense of flying to Barcelona and return. That was paid by our dear comrades of the CNT/FAI. I mean my stay in Paris while waiting for the French visa, my trip to the South of France to ~~xxxx~~ attend to some important matter, my stay in Paris of a week when I came out of Spain and finally my return to England. I hope that you and the other comrades of the SIA will understand that the £50 were used for the most necessary expenses and for nothing else.

Another item is the charges of 50/00 to the SIA of all ~~expenses~~ expenses connected with our campaign. The other fifty percent were charged to the CNT. The reason we had to do this is that the fund allowed by the CNT was not sufficient for our extensive campaign and all therefore have left a large deficit. As it is we have a small surplus for the CNT. However you might take the matter up with comrade Vazquez. He may want the SIA to be relieved of the expenses for our Bureau, light heat, telephone and other odds and ends out of the CNT resources. That would give the CNTx SIA about £75 more to its credit. As the accounts stand now we have £209-8-3. for the SIA.

Some time ago I wrote comrade Herrera about a contribution to the Baque children's Colony ~~in~~ near London which is being maintained by the I.L.P. He replied that I could use my own judgment when I know just what is coming in for the SIA. I prefer that ~~comrades~~ that the SIA Consejo General should let me know the amount. Something will have to be contributed because the 41 children are it seems of CN-FAI parents and also because the I.L.P. has been helpful at times in our work. So please

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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3

Let me know soon how much I am to give the I.L.P. And what I am to do with the balance.

Please tell comrade Herrera that the long awaited Film has at last arrived and that our friend Louis Frank is due for also here. It is rather unfortunate that we are in the midst of the summer when one can do very little indoor work. Still we hope to make good use of the Film for the SIA and the CNT. I have written comrade Vazquez about other plans we have for the next four months. The only trouble is we are left without a new working capital. I That too I have written comrade Vazquez about.

I am happy to tell you that both comrade V and H agree to my going to Canada on a tour in the autumn. With ~~hix~~ their usual enthusiasm they write that the tour will be of the "great est importance". I do not believe that. But I do think I might be able to do much to rouse the interest in your struggle of the Canadian workers, especially if I should succeed in going as far West as British Columbia the most important industrial part of Canada. In addition friends in America are working for a visa for me to reenter the U.S. of A. If they succeed I will really be in a position to do much for your struggle the SIA included.

I am making arrangements for some reliable comrade to take charge of the work for the SIA in my absence. I will let who know the name later because I shall want credentials from you for her. I shall also want credentials for Canada and the States for myself. But there is no hurry for either as I shall not sail before the end of Sept. I have begged comrade V. to let me return to Spain for a short visit so as to ~~get~~ refresh my impressions. It will make a better impression on our Canadian

The Emma Goldman Papers

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20581

friends and my audiences if I will be able to say I am coming straight from Spain. Please ask comrade Herrera to urge comrade Vazquez to make my return to Spain possible if only for a few weeks.

I received a little booklet of Mercedes writings. Please thank her for me and tell her I am preparing a joint Bulletin of SIA and Mujeres Libres material very soon. I had intended to arrange a Mujeres Libres Exhibition. But I am afraid it cannot be carried out. First because I do not have enough material, secondly because our Exhibitions have not met with much response while the expenses were considerable. Even without having to pay an artist who arrange the childrens drawings for our first Exhibition the latter cost £45 in advertising and printing. The returns were not even half. However you can tell our dear comrade Mercedes that when I go to Canada I will take along whatever material I have of the M.L and I will organize an Exhibition there. I hope M. is feeling very much better. My love to her and fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Affectionately

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Soc gun
 Spain and the World
 Bureau
 Expenses

	\$ 25
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	75

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 7 [London to] Elly [Goetze, Paris?] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18137

Der 7te Juni 38

Liebe Elly,

Beiliegend findest Du die genaue Summe für 14-10 shilling. Ich muss Dir dieses in Franken senden weil ich in der Heligman Bank Franken habe. Dir kann es ja gleich gultig sein da Du für Deine Fahrkarte und für Anne Marie mit Franken bezahlen musst. Es tut mir leid dass ich nicht mehr auftreiben konnte, aber es war einfach unmöglich.

Ich habe Deinen Brief wie es scheint falsch verstanden. Ich dachte Du wolltest ein Mandat das ich natürlich nicht ausstellen konnte. Aber hier sind ein paar Zeihen und die Kameraden in Holland oder in zweien. Ich habe sie werden Dir nützlich sein. In Amsterdam solltest Du Muller-Legning treffen. Er ist so weit mir gesagt wurde aus unsere Reihen ganz ausgestraten. Die Ursache soll der Eintritt der GUT in die Regierung gewesen sein. Inwiefern kennt Dich Muller Legning gut nicht wahr. Er konnte Dir behilfig sein. Und Du konntest ihn über die Spanische Situation aufklären.

Ich wünsche Dir und der Kleinen eine gute Reise und die Möglichkeit in dieser grauenhaften Welt ein Heim zu finden

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 7, London to Elly Goetze, Paris? (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18138

Der Erste Juni
38

Werte Kameraden in Holland und Norwegen.

Ich habe die Genossen Elly Goetze vor Jahren in Deutschland kennen gelernt. Un kam mit ihr wie fern zusammen als ich nach Spanien kam in 36 und im vorigen Jahr. Ich habe die Genossin Elly jedesmal als tüchtige überzeugungstreue Kameradin gefunden. Ich weiss dass sie mit schweren Herzen Spanien verlassen hat eben so wie wir alle die den Opfermut und die Hingabe der spanischen Genossen bewundert haben. Ich bin sicher Elly verliess Spanien weil für sie jetzt keine passende Tätigkeit vorhanden war.

Ich bitte alle Kameraden Elly so weit möglich zu helfen damit sie auch in Eueren Lande von Nutzen sein kann.

Mit solidarische Gruesse

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 7, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
1 p.; 30 × 21 cm.
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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, June 7th 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Helmut.

I am writing in great haste. I got your short note which was very difficult to read because the paper is fine and you wrote on both sides. Still I made it out that you want me to send on the £5-10 I have already collected for your protégé. Its alright my dear, I understand that you wrote ~~me~~ about him because you felt that the best way to help him is to enable him to help himself. I am therefore inclosing a check the ~~equivalent of the £5-10~~; equivalent of the £5-10. So far Sonia E. has not succeeded with her friend. Just as soon as she gets some contribution for him I will forward it. I myself cannot get anything more for the present.

I think your idea of helping individual comrades to make themselves self supporting is fine and I will do what I can to help you. I know that I will be able to do more when I reach Canada. But that will not be until Sept. Certainly if I should get into America I could do a lot. We will see.

Whether the comrades will consent to my returning to Spain before sailing for C. or not I will leave from France and see you of course, if you will still be in France.

Affectionately

Emma

*Spec. 45
The address des lady men (Daisy) not
found Hausmann. Take care*

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929103

[Letter] 1938 June 7 [London to] Chris [Lewis, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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1938
7th June, 1938.

Dear Chris,

When, after my return from Spain in 1936, you showed such interest and willingness to organise a meeting in Bristol, and your very friendly and solidaric attitude while I was in your city, I thought that you had freed yourself from your old pathological sensitiveness, but I see that I was mistaken. You still suffer from your morbidity and you see in every innocent remark a deliberate affront to you. I am terribly sorry. My last letter was written in a jocular vein, and should not have been taken in any other sense. I admit I owe you an apology. I did get one letter from you dated Feb. 18th. I received no letter containing your reference to the "History of Anarchism in America" by Throslabaky. It evidently got lost, just as another letter of yours last year never reached me. I do not understand why your letters should fail to reach me, but it is a fact that I did not get the letter this time either. ~~I am sorry to have forgotten your letter of February 18th. My only explanation is that it referred to the money you enclosed and that such letters I usually turn over to Ralph Barr who attends to them. Had there been anything of other importance it would not have left my desk where I keep letters until I have time to answer them myself. Anyway, my last letter had no intention of hurting your feelings or creating such a storm in a teacup. It is too bad that you are still held in bondage by your old inhibitions.~~

I can see that after all the years of my coming and living in England and coming to Bristol, you do not know a damn thing about me. Also you could not possibly write that if people do not help me I conclude that they are necessarily doing nothing for anything or anybody else. Now, if there is anything I pride myself on, it is that I never want to bind people to do for me what they do not deeply feel they want to do. Besides, in doing things for me are you not also doing them for yourself? After all, it is nothing personal that you have ever done for me. In the past it was for our ideas and the last two years it was for Spain. You say yourself that you will permit no one to excel you in your deep interest in the Spanish struggle, so where does your sacrifice come in in the work you have done for me? I am certain that if you were not obsessed by your lack of faith in your friends and in your comrades, you would not write such childish things.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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I realise that you are "up against the terrible difficulty." There is no anarchist movement making itself felt in England." You should know this so well as I. I have been coming to this country year after year since 1904. I have lived here several years. The last two years I have dedicated myself beyond any personal thought to the Spanish struggle, and I might as well have tried to move Gibraltar for all the inroad I have made. I therefore appreciate and understand the difficulties that you are up against in Bristol. Knowing this, I never expected the impossible. Leastwise anything for myself, but it seems to me that you are contradicting yourself. You say there is no anarchist movement, which is only too true, and then you immediately proceed to say that we ought to create unity and co-operation, which, as you state, is lacking "even in London". Now, if there is no anarchist movement it also means that there are no individual anarchists, none of any ability or fervour, who would create a movement. This is precisely the reason why there is lack of unity and co-operation. The few there are are wasting their time and energy in criticising each other. Thus the Freedom Group, for instance, consists of the old guard who had not advanced a single step from their old settings. Nor have they raised a finger to help Spain. On the other hand, there is a new organisation, the Anarchist Syndicalist Union, which I helped to create last year, which is also not very helpful to Spain. This organisation has at least the excuse that they are eager to build up an Anarchist-Syndicalist movement in England, and as they are few they probably feel that they cannot split their energies. Regardless of all these "terrible difficulties", three or four of us have succeeded in circularising 8,000 trade and labour councils and trade union branches with C.N.T. material. We have held two big meetings. Our float in the 1st May demonstration was the most impressive and our meeting in Hyde Park the largest and most enthusiastic. In addition we have done a lot of printing for the S.I.A. We have raised money for the organisation, and we have organised a concert which, while not very well attended, was yet one of the finest artistic events in the city. So you see, dear Chris, that regardless of lack of unity and not least a complete conspiracy of silence in the Press, a great deal of work has been done.

I admit that all the work is far from what I wanted to achieve and what I wanted to give to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the S.I.A. In fact it has left me terribly dissatisfied and with very much.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929103

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-3-

impaired health. It is not out of boastfulness that I have told you of our achievements. It is merely to make you realize that I work like a galley slave and if I have overlooked your few lines of February 18th, it was not out of lack of appreciation for what you are doing for whatever you consider right.

Yes, I wish we could "co-ordinate" all our activities. I tried it desperately. I organized a group in Plymouth which functioned for a while and now seems to have died a natural death. I held several meetings in a number of the provincial towns without much constructive result and I certainly tried my damndest to get together people here. Oh, yes, as sponsors you cannot anybody to give their names, but that is all. None of them ever raise a finger. Among those at the head of our S.I.A. stationery the only people who helped us were Ethel Mannin, Herbert Read and the Rev. James Whittle. No one else. So you see, my dear, it is easier to talk of what we ought to do than to go ahead and do it. However, if you have any suggestions to make, by all means let me have them. I will be only too willing and ready to act upon them.

Yes, the "peace front" and "popular front" are another illusion. They will end exactly as the Popular Front in France, by making the National Government more national and more Fascistic than it is. The trouble is that the masses fall for every clown. This seems to be especially the case in this country, and that is exactly the answer to your question, Why the Anarchists don't succeed. The average English worker is under the influence of the myth of Parliamentarianism and the marvellous chances their M.P.s have. It will take a long time to emancipate them from that. If I were younger and had the means I would plod along. I am certain of ultimately creating an anarchist movement, but it would take time, and I have not the years, the time or the money. So I have definitely decided to sail for Canada in September. The C.H.T. bureau and S.I.A. will go on as best they can. I am sorry that you have not the time to find out about the requirements for speaking out of doors and making appeals, but it is all right - don't bother.

Give my love to auntie,

Sincerely,

P.S. All your other letters were addressed to Ralph, and he attended to them.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 7 [London to] Marjorie Goldstein, [Westmount, Canada] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17683

7th June, 1938.

Dear Marjorie Goldstein,

It is ages since I received your fine Christmas letter of December 6th. I certainly had intended to answer it at once, but what with moving in new private quarters and also establishing a bureau for the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, I have been rushed without let up until but a week ago. To-day I have promised myself to write you.

First of all let me thank you for thinking about me all this time. I would like to believe that my friends in Canada have not forgotten me. While I miss hearing from them I do not take letters as a sign of their friendship. Besides, it takes much to make me doubt my friends.

Yes, I was in Spain again. I came back no less in awe and wonder for the Spanish people who can go on with their battle against the conspiracy of the whole world and yet maintain their fervour, their faith and their enthusiasm. It was an inspiration which I desperately to come back to this country and try again to rouse the interest of thinking English men and women in the tragedy of Spain. I can't say I was successful, although I have made some inroad. I am sending you a collection of the printed matter gotten out here for my Spanish comrades and those of the International anti-Fascist Solidarity. I am also sending you copies of the paper we publish, Spain and the World, ~~with~~ which will further give you an idea of what has been accomplished. I cannot say that my work has been very satisfactory. Knowing the need of Spain, the results here were very meagre. I am not sure that it would have been better in Canada. Nevertheless I have decided to pay you and the other friends one more visit. I think it will probably at the end of September. Before that I may return to Spain for new impressions to be able to speak informatively and up-to-date. So you see that we might meet again some time this autumn.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 7 [London to] Marjorie Goldstein, [Westmount, Canada] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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I am terribly sorry to hear that our mutual friend, Mr. Whitehead, is still far from well. It is dreadful to have precarious health. I have only realised that recently - not that I do not still have my health, but I can no longer stand the strain and the struggle as easily as I used to in the past. There is nothing really organically the matter with me - an over-exhausted heart the physicians say. Perhaps it is just as well that one can do so little in the summer in the way of public work. It will give me a chance to rest up, and then the sea voyage will no doubt be very helpful.

Dear friend, I wonder if you will let our mutual friend read this letter? I want him to know about my possible return to Canada. Also whether he and you would undertake to see Mrs. Stark. I take it that she and the family are still living in Montreal. My friends in America and in Toronto are raising a fund for my passage and whatever other expenses my trip will involve. They have also undertaken to raise enough for the initial expenses of a tour through Canada as far as British Columbia. Mrs. Stark may be interested and may be willing to help. Also she may prevail upon other of her friends whom I met to contribute towards the fund. You understand, my dear, that I am merely suggesting it, ~~because~~ because I know that if you and Mr. Whitehead feel the need to help you will do so. Anyway, let me hear from you. I am enclosing a lot of material that will interest you.

Remember me very kindly to our mutual friend.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929169

[Letter] 1938 June 7 [London to Sam Mainwaring, Neath, Wales] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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7th June, 1938.

Dear Comrade,

First let me tell you that Comrade Barr will be away from the bureau for about a fortnight. Besides, he turns letters over to me for reply whenever something important comes up, so you had best address your letters to me. I am very glad indeed that you discovered your mistake regarding Comrade Bell. It seemed utterly incredible to me that he would have attacked our Spanish comrades in a Trotskyist paper. I do not mean to say that our old comrade approves of everything done by the C.N.T., but he certainly never would express his objections in a Trotsky sheet when he could do it in our own papers. I was sure that your man misinformed you. I know that the Trotskyists are no better as far as their veracity and honesty go than the followers of Stalin. In the last analysis it is only a conquest of power, for there are no fundamental differences in ideas or tactics between Trotsky and Stalin. They all sprang from the same loins, they are all Jesuits who believe that the end justifies the means and who are therefore adverse to using the most despicable means to blacken the character of their opponents. Nothing so proves this as the outrageous attacks on the Spanish workers by the Trotskyists and by their master. At this time when the whole Fascist, Imperialist and Communist pack are at the throat of the C.N.T., Trotsky must needs add his sauce to the poisonous pudding. It is truly sickening.

Dear comrade, your suggestion of attending the Conference of the S.W.M.F. is very good. I would do so if I had the slightest hope that I would be permitted to speak, but I am quite certain that the Conference will do exactly as the emergency conference for Spain in London did. As an accredited delegate of the C.N.T. I wrote for a delegate's card to that conference. I received one with the instruction that ~~xxxxx~~ I would be expected to act as a consultative delegate. During the conference it was announced from the platform that delegates who had suggestions to make should send up their names, which I promptly did. But during the entire session I was not called upon and my name was not mentioned. In view of the fact that the Standing Committee was almost entirely of Communists with Ellen Wilkinson at the head, I was not surprised. It did not matter, since the whole affair happened in London, but to go to the expense of travel to Swansea and wasting time without any hope of being called upon to speak on behalf of the C.N.T. would be too much I fear.

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[Letter] 1938 June 7 [London to Sam Mainwaring, Neath, Wales] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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you can get at the responsible people and find out
the likelihood of my being given a chance to represent
the I.W.O. I will write for a delegate's card. Do we have anyone
who could put me up? It would be well if our own meeting
could be arranged in connection with the conference. Anyway write
in return mail or just as soon as you have made the proper investiga-
tions.

We are planning a trip to the provinces, if possible, in an
automobile to speak from town to town and to make appeals for arms
in Spain. Could you find out the local conditions in South Wales
concerning permission to speak and to make appeals, also to sell
literature. You will help us greatly by this information. Anyway
let us hear from you soon.

Fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 7 [London to B.K.] Soper, [Oxford, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

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17786

7th June, 1938.

Dear Comrade Soper,

I have before me three of your letters, all addressed to Comrade Barr. He has gone away for a fortnight and therefore did not answer your last letter of the 3rd instant. I will therefore do it instead.

First of all, about Spain and the World, it has been delayed and will not be out until the end of this week when it will immediately be shipped to you as well as to all the other subscribers and comrades who are trying to help the paper. As regards the "Dictatorship and an Alternative", I can do nothing about the matter until to-morrow when the A.S.U. will meet. I will then find out whether they still have copies of this pamphlet, and I will see that they are sent to you, if possible, the 600 you are ready to distribute.

I see by one of your letters that you want copies of "something on the Anarchist attitude to a popular front, especially in Spain". We have nothing of this sort in print. The reason for it is that we all feel that the comrades in Spain must be left to decide what affiliations will help them to conquer Fascism. So few people realise that the people of Spain and the struggle against Fascism are surrounded by enemies within and without - not only Germany and Italy, the powerful Fascist countries, but also the so-called democracies, are at the throat of the Spanish people. Last but not least are the Communists who in Spain have done their utmost to sabotage the anti-Fascist struggle and outside of Spain have maligned and discredited the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Under such conditions the Spanish Anarchists had no choice about consenting to a "popular front". They are fighting with their backs to the wall determined not to give up the battle until the last man. So you see how impossible it is for us outside to pass opinions about what our

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comrades, fighting a life and death struggle, should do or should not do.

As to the Popular Front in England, I do not every speak for my comrades, but I am reasonably certain that they are all opposed to such a unity. For myself I would under no circumstances be in favour or join such a Popular Front. I know from years of experience that such things lead away from one's aim rather than to it. Besides, there is the recent experience in France. All that the Popular Front has achieved is to strengthen the non-Intervention Pact and to help Mr. Daladier to power. It would do exactly the same thing in England. I therefore cannot see what use there can be in favouring a popular front. I hold no brief for Sir Walter Citron, but I think he is right to oppose a Popular Front with the Communists. They have disrupted the entire Labour movement of the world whenever they had a chance to "bore from within". By Stalin's recent slogan, "All for democracy", both he and his followers have betrayed the Chinese as well as the Spanish Revolution and their people, and they would do the same in England should they succeed in getting where they can bore from within.

I am sorry to say we have nothing on the Moscow trials. We are at present entirely absorbed in Spain and therefore have not the time or the means to deal with the internal affairs of Russia. As you do not date your letters, I do not know whether the letter referring to the material. I have just dealt with came first or your letter asking for "a short pamphlet dealing with the aims and methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism". If it did come before, then Comrade Barr has no doubt sent you the pamphlets of the A.S.U. In any event, I will see that another pamphlet goes to you. By the way we have just discovered 100 copies of "Dictatorship and an Alternative" which we are mailing to you. I dare say Barr has also answered your question about Anarch-Syndicalist Federations, but for safety's sake I wish you to know that there is no federation in as much as the A.S.U. has no following for the present in the Provinces. Its work is only in London. You will do well to write to it, care of

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the above address, and a list of applications will be mailed to you.

I see that you want me to send you on U.N.T.-A.I. paper a few lines on the importance and the aims of the Anarcho-Syndicalism. I have not the time to send you such a note to-day, but I will let you have it soon. Please address your further letters to me. I will then be able to answer them without delay. Besides, Comrade Ralph Barr will not be in the bureau for another fortnight.

Fraternally,

r.b. do you wish the notes on the aims of Anarcho-Syndicalism to be sent in the form of a letter addressed to yourself (Dear Comrade, etc.,) or merely one or two paragraphs of explanation in article form.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929608

[Letter] 1938 June 7, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 17 x 21 cm.

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20902
nº 685. E.

A. I. T.
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Comité Nacional

BARCELONA, a 7 de junio de 1.938.

A la Delegación Permanente de la C.N.T. en Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Para tu conocimiento y propaganda, te adjuntamos a la presente el nº 3 del "Servicio de Prensa para el Exterior".

Te saluda fraternamente,

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL
Mariano R. Vázquez
Secretario.
COMITE NACIONAL
SECRETARIA

The Emma Goldman Papers

891214072

[Letter, 1938 June 8, London to] Mariano R. V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p. ; 29 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20573

Mariano R. Vazquez.

Dear Comrade.

I have received from you ~~from~~ you two short notes No. 600 E. 619 E. in Spanish and No. 610 in German. I will come to this letter later. Now I wish to explain the inclosed statement of receipts and expenses for the work of the CNT-FAI. You will remember dear comrade, while in Valencia I gave you a budget for the work I had in mind for England of £160 a month. You decided to instruct Paris to let me have hundred thousand francs which at that time amounted to ~~£££~~ £680. You might therefore well ask how it is that the CNT-FAI Bureau managed so long on this sum, ~~the excess~~ and still have a surplus of £97-9-0? The reasons for it are as follows: First of all the CNT-FAI Bureau ~~until~~ from August when I left London for Spain, until Jan first was carried on in my apartment, hence the expenses were very much lower than in our office. Secondly, no meetings or printing was done while I was away. The work carried on by comrade Ralph Barr was through correspondence and by distribution of our CNT-FAI material we received last summer. In other words, our actual expenses did not begin until Jan First of this year when we moved into our new quarters.

Secondly, you will see that instead of £150 for six months as a contribution to SPAIN AND THE WORLD I have so far turned over to our paper only £125. And Thirdly, we charged the SIA with 50/00 of all expenses we had since Jan of this year. In this way we were able to pull along on the amount ~~you~~ sent me from Paris at your instructions. No doubt we could have held more meetings and printed more stuff had we a large budget at our disposal.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 8, London to] Mariano R. V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p.; 29 x 20 cm.

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20574

8.
You know yourself that there is no end to the publicity one can do. Still I can assure you that we have neglected nothing that was likely to reach the British workers, or to have our say on vital issues pertaining to your struggle. I only wish the results were more satisfactory.

in going over the statement please bear in mind that our printing for the CNT and the postage for the material we sent out to about six thousand trade union branches were among the heaviest items. The exhibition of photographs of the collectives I had visited which is now on also cost a nice sum for advertising though comrade artists helped in the arrangement free of charge. All in all we feel that we have practiced whatever economy to save expenses, such as the service of a secretary who worked with me only twice a week instead of on a regular salary. Then too we were fortunate in getting translations almost entirely free of charge. I am giving you all these details that you may have a correct idea of the cost of keeping up a bureau in London.

This brings me to your German letter in re my going to Canada. I am so glad you agree with my plan. It would have been very hard for me to carry it out without your consent, indeed I don't know whether I would have done so. I am therefore very much relieved to have your approval. There are however a few things to consider before I make definite arrangements to sail the end of Sept. It would be useless to go there now as one can do nothing in the summer.

First of all is our Bureau in London and the SIA

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 8, London to] Mariano R. V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p. ; 29 x 20 cm.

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20876

3

It would be a dismal mistake to give them up. True, we have achieved very little. Still we have made an inroad. The CNT-FAI and the SIA are no longer unknown in this country, people come every day to get information about your heroic struggle and whatever material we can supply them. So I feel very strongly that the Bureau SHOULD BE KEPT UP/ IN MY ABSENCE. Comrade Barr and one or two others will not be able to do much by means of public meetings because we have no one in our ranks in England who is sufficiently known to fill a hall. But they will be able to do work by means of printed matter and keep close contact with the trade union organisations who have expressed interest in the your structure and the negotiations with the U.G.T as well as your pact. Besides it would be a great pity to break up everything that had taken so much pain and expense to build up. I hope you agree dear comrade.

Then there is SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is the only publication in the English language that is worth while. True it still does not pay for itself and perhaps never will, no Anarchist paper ever has. I know that from experience of 12 years when comrade Berkman and I published our magazine in America for 12 years. Especially is this true about a paper that pleads the cause of the CNT-FAI and their valiant fight against fascism. Nevertheless SPAIN AND THE WORLD ~~is~~ is making a place for itself among intelligent readers in this country. I w therefore urge you dear comrade to continue to help the paper. It is really too important to let it go down. I intend to let SPAIN AND THE WORLD have its June ^{May} allowance. ~~and~~ I hope that what ever support you will give the

which would bring it up to 6 months

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20576

4

Bureau until Sept and while I will be away will include support for SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

We have several plans for the next four months, among them a ~~tour~~ ^{trip} through the provinces perhaps in a hired car to speak on Spain and try to raise money for arms. I mean go from city to city speaking in the open and raise funds. I am now waiting for information from the few comrades we have in some of the English towns about the municipal conditions for speaking in the open and the right to appeal for funds.

The second plan is the Film which has finally arrived. I am waiting for Louis Frank who has been delayed in Paris but who will surely be here ~~hereafter~~ in a day or two. ~~xxxxxx~~ Last but not least will be some special Bulletin of the material sent me by ~~xxxx~~ the CNT. You can see that we do mean to go on with our work all through the summer and until I sail. However we will need the means for this. Will you therefore instruct Paris to send me whatever you decide to contribute to our further efforts. And also to let me know what you intend to do about the continuation of the Bureau when I leave. Among other things credentials will be necessary for comrade Ralph Barr. In My letter to the SIA Consejo Nacional which goes at the same time as this I am asking for credentials ^{or} ~~for~~ a comrade who will represent ~~through~~ our section of the SIA.

Now about my trip to Canada. Whether I can also get into the U.S. for which friends of mine are working or not it is absolutely essential that I should be able to cover Canada as far as British Columbia. Because the West of Canada is

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 8, London to] Mariano R. V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p. ; 29 x 20 cm.

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20577

5.

is the industrial part and it has always been much more economically awake than the East. Unfortunately the large cities are far from each other and the expense of travel is enormous. I have appealed to some of our American comrades to raise enough money for traveling expenses. I hope they do. I am not worried about my personal expenses as I shall most likely be looked after by comrades in Canada.

The most important matter to me is to get some new impression in Spain so that I can say when I get to Canada that I come straight from there. Do you think it ~~will~~ can be arranged for me to come to you? ~~Even~~ with your own hardships, difficulties and danger I hardly feel justified in adding to your burdens. I don't mind an inconvenience for myself if it meets with your approval. To save time perhaps it can be arranged for me to fly again from Marseille. Let me know.

If that should prove impossible perhaps we could meet in Paris in August when the I.W.O.A. meets. I don't want to attend it unless I can go as a delegate. All sorts of condemnation were hurled at me because I attended the last Conference. I was charged with having lent myself as a moral prop to the CNT-FAI and there were strong objections against my speaking at the time. I really do not like that. Besides we can meet outside of the Congress. But it is important for the success of my tour in Canada to either go back to Spain for a few weeks or have a conference with you and other comrades of the CNT-FAI and the SIA. Please write me soon ~~on~~ how you feel about this ~~idea~~ suggestions.

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[Letter, 1938 June 8; London to] Mariano R. V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p.; 29 x 20 cm.

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6

I am very glad that the German Bulletin which reached me from Barcelona at last has several articles of importance among them your reference to ~~the~~ some of your allies who do so little for your struggle though they claime all the credit for everything ~~and~~ I am also delighted that you have taken a stand against the ~~stupid~~ ^{the} claime that all is well in Spain and all is done by your government. You are quite right when you say that it only misleads ~~to~~ ^{the} workers outside of Spain. We will bring some of the Bulletin material in Spain and the world, or still better ~~the~~ print it as a Bulletin and so send it out ~~broadcast~~ ^{by broadcast} to the trade union branches.

I will send the amount collected for arms to Paris as you directed.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Salud.

The item B23, 19-8 for literature really belongs in the *Revista de Propaganda Exterior* since as it is for the *Revista* sent us early in June by Augustino Luchy. The rest for *Revista* sent us this year by Martin Buehl.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 8 [London to] Mariano R. Vázquez, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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8 de Junio de 1938,

Mariano R. Vázquez,
SECRETARIA,
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
y Federación Anarquista Ibérica
BARCELONA.

Estimado camarada Vázquez; Salud:

He recibido tus cartas No. 600 E. y 619 E. en español y No. 610 en alemán.

Con la presente acompaño un estado de cuentas de esta Oficina de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Recordarás que cuando estuve en Valencia te hice un presupuesto de los gastos que originarían mis actividades en Inglaterra, el cual subía a la suma de 150 libras esterlinas por mes. Tu decisión fue pasar instrucciones a mi para que me entregasen la suma de 100.000 francos, los cuales, al cambio de entonces, produjeron 680 libras esterlinas. Al examinar las cuentas te preguntarás, sin duda, cómo es que esta Oficina ha seguido marchando hasta ahora con el citado importe de libras, además, exista un superávit de £97.9.0. Ello se explica porque, en primer lugar, todo el trabajo de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., desde el mes de Agosto de 1937 hasta Enero de 1938 en que regresé de España, fue llevado a cabo desde mi lugar de residencia, reduciendo así considerablemente los gastos de oficina; y en segundo lugar porque durante mi ausencia no se celebraron mítines ni se confeccionaron impresos de ninguna clase. El trabajo realizado por el camarada Barr fue por medio de correspondencia y distribución del material que se fue recibiendo. En una palabra, los gastos no empezaron a aumentar hasta principios de Enero, en que nos mudamos a las señas arriba indicadas.

Por otra parte, verás que en lugar de las £150 asignadas a SPAIN AND THE WORLD por un período de seis meses, hasta ahora sólo llevo entregadas a dicha publicación £125; y que, además, he sido cargado a S.I.A. al 50% de todos los gastos incurridos desde Enero pasado. De esta manera hemos podido arreglárnoslas con la suma que tu ordenaste nos fuera enviada de París.

Es claro que se pudieron haber celebrado mas mítines y tirado mas material de propaganda de haber dispuesto de un presupuesto mas amplio, pues tu mismo sabes que no existe límite a la propaganda que uno puede realizar con los medios adecuados. Pero quiero asegurarte que dentro de las posibilidades a mi alcance he procurado

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20556

dejamos pasar ninguna oportunidad sin hacer llegar a los comités cuanto fuera de vital importancia en relación con la revolución en España. Mi único pesar es que los resultados no sean tan satisfactorios.

Al repasar las cuentas habrás de tener presente que las partidas correspondientes a la impresión de material y gastos de correo en la distribución de propaganda a más de 6.000 sindicatos, constituyen la parte principal de los gastos. La exposición de las fotografías de las Colectivizaciones visitadas por mí también ha costado una buena suma en anunciarla; pero así y todo estimo que hemos observado en todo aquello en que ha sido posible la más estricta economía a fin de ahorrar gastos, tales como los servicios de una secretaria durante dos días por semana, en lugar de toda la semana a sueldo fijo, y el envío de traducciones que nos ha salido casi gratis al encontrar camaradas que se han encargado de hacerlas sin cobrar nada. Te expongo todos estos detalles de forma que puedas hacerte una idea correcta de lo que representa mantener una Oficina en Londres.

Por tu carta en alemán me alegra mucho saber que mi idea de hacer una visita al Canadá merece tu aprobación y sin la cual yo no marcharía. Pero antes de embarcar deseo dejar todo bien arreglado y para ello cuento con bastante tiempo, pues tengo todo el verano por delante, ya que no vale la pena ir allí antes del otoño.

Primero, se trata de nuestra Oficina aquí así como la S.I.L. Opino que sería una equivocación no seguir con ellas. Verdad que los resultados no han sido todo lo alentadores que era de desear. Sin embargo, se ha hecho algo. La C.N.T.-F.A.I. y la S.I.L. no son ya cosas desconocidas por completo en este país. Gente me visita diariamente con objeto de informarse de la marcha de la lucha allí y a recoger material. Sería, pues, una lástima que después de tantos esfuerzos fuéramos a abandonar una labor que, a la larga, nos pueda traer frutos provechosos, y soy de opinión que por estas razones la Oficina de Londres deberá seguir funcionando durante mi ausencia. El camarada Barr y los demás que en ella colaboran no podrán hacer mucho por medio de mítines públicos, siendo así que en nuestras filas en Inglaterra no contamos con alguien actualmente lo suficientemente conocido para que llene un local; pero ellos podrán seguir trabajando en el mantenimiento de contacto con los sindicatos obreros que se han interesado por la estructura de la Organización y pacto con la U.G.T., así como igualmente en la producción y reparto de material impreso.

Luego, hay que pensar en SPAIN AND THE WORLD. Es la única publicación en idioma inglés dedicada a España proletaria que vale la pena, aunque haya que reconocerse que no se costea y que tal vez no se costee nunca; si bien ello no es nada nuevo. Todo periódico anarquista ha tenido que ser subvencionado a fin de poder salir a la luz. Lo sé por la experiencia de 12 años en América cuando el compañero Berkman y yo editamos allí nuestra

•/•••

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 8 [London to] Mariano R. Vázquez, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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2039

una vez más, que el mundo se mueva hacia la izquierda, y que la lucha contra el fascismo, por una parte, y la lucha por la paz, por otra, estén dando a conocer a un mundo de personas de inteligencia discernimiento. Pienso también la semana del 15 de mayo, con la que quedará cubiertos hasta mayo, y pienso que si vosotros podéis seguir apoyando la Oficina hasta Septiembre y también después que yo me marche, incluiréis en esa ayuda la asignación enmiendada a que pueda seguir publicándose SPAIN AND THE WORLD. Espero vuestra decisión sobre los dos extremos.

Tenemos varios planes para llenar los próximos meses, entre ellos una excursión por Provincias en un coche alquilado para hablar sobre la situación en España y solicitar donaciones para la compra de armamento. Otro es la película, llegada al fin, cuya proyección será gestionada tan pronto como esté aquí Luis Frank, quien se ha detenido en París un poco de tiempo. También tenemos en preparación un Boletín especial que contendrá lo enviado por esta Organización en materia de propaganda. Este es nuestro programa durante el verano y para desarrollarlo, precisamos, por supuesto, los recursos suficientes.

Si es decidido que siga funcionando la Oficina de Londres, entre otras cosas, será necesario una credencial a favor del camarada Ralph Barr. En mi carta para el Consejo Nacional de la I.W.O., que va al mismo tiempo que ésta, solicito una credencial por una camarada que representará a dicha organización aquí.

En cuanto a mi viaje al Canadá, entra en mis cálculos también pasar por los U.S., hacia donde realizan ciertas gestiones unos amigos míos; pero de todas maneras será esencial que llegue hasta British Columbia, toda vez que el Oeste del Canadá comprende la parte industrial, que siempre ha sido mucho más avanzada en cuestiones sociales que el Este. He escrito a mis amigos en América solicitándoles prueben fondos para mis gastos de viaje, los cuales, desgraciadamente, serán bastante elevados, pues los pueblos se encuentran a gran distancia unos de otros. En cuanto a mis gastos personales, no me preocupan grandemente, ya que seguramente las camaradas en el Canadá se encargarán de cubrirlos.

Ahora, lo que más me importe es obtener nuevas impresiones de España, de forma que al llegar al Canadá pueda decir que llegó de allí, y te agradecería me informases si sería factible mi desplazamiento a esa a fin de recoger dichas impresiones. Con todas tus preocupaciones, dificultades y trabajo, no es si será justa mi petición; pero por lo que a mí atañe, no te preocupes de ningún inconveniente porque tenga que pasar en mi traslado, que lo arrostraré con gusto. Para ahorrar tiempo, tal vez sería posible que fuese en avión desde Marsella. De no ser posible mi traslado ahí, nos podríamos encontrar en París en Agosto cuando se reúna la I.W.O.A.S. No debes olvidar a menos que vaya como delegada. Por ir a la última conferencia se me criticó.

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[Letter] 1938 June 8 [London to] Mariano R. Vázquez, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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como tu no puedas darle idea, si yo hablara, pues, según decían, yo me voy a tal de la C.N.T. Pero nos podíamos ver fuera del país, considero de gran importancia para el movimiento en el Canadá, o bien ir a España por unas semanas contigo y otros compañeros una conferencia, y quedo en espera de tu parecer, a fin de proceder en consecuencia.

Me ha gustado sobremanera ver que en el último boletín recibido de Barcelona, en alemán, hay varios artículos importantes, sobre todo los que abordan el asunto sobre varios de vuestros aliados que tan poco hacen y, sin embargo, se dan a creditarse a su haber todos los éxitos; lo mismo que la idea propagada de que todo marcha bien en España a causa del gobierno, que lo hace todo, con lo que únicamente se consigue desorientar a la clase obrera fuera de España, como vosotros bien indicáis. Haremos uso de este material para publicarlo en el "Red Star" y también lo circularémos entre los sindicatos.

Como me indicas, remito a París el importe requerido para el envío.

Con saludos fraternales para todos los camaradas,
te abraza,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 8, London to Mariano R. Vázquez, Barcelona (enclosure)] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 x 26 cm.
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DUPLICADO.

C.N.T.- F.A.I.- OFICINA DE LONDRES

20561

Extracto de cuenta.

1937. Nov. Agosto a Mayo 31. 1938 Enero a Mayo 31.	Recibido de Paris Por venta de literatura Recibido de "Spain and the World" por su parte en el alquiler, etc.	680 - 0 - 0 23 - 19 - 8 16 - 0 - 0	1937. Agosto a Mayo 31. 1938. Enero a Mayo 31.	Gastos de sostenimiento de la Oficina. Alquiler, luz, decoracio, etc. Gastos de propaganda, imprensa, sellos, ex- posicion de fotos de las Colectivizaciones, y mitin celebrado en Conway Hall (£20.2.0)	381 - 5 - 1 90 - 6 - 4
id.	Recibido de S.I.A. por su parte en el alquiler de la Ofi- cina, etc.	78 - 2 - 6	id.	Asignación a "Spain and the World". 5 me- ses a £25 por mes	125 - 0 - 0
Abril	Importe de los dona- tivos recibidos en el mitin en Conway Hall para compra armamento	49 - 18 - 0	id.	Varios gastos, inclu- yendo viaje de Emma Goldman a Paris para acudir a la Conferen- cia de la A.I.T. (£27.10.0)	104 - 1 - 10
			Mayo	Transferido a Paris para compra armamento	49 - 18 - 0
				Saldo en Caja en 31-5-38	£97 - 9 - 0
		£848. 0. 2			£848. 0. 2
		C. E. u. O.			
		Londres, 7 de Junio de 1938.			

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19290

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(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

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London Office :

21, FRITH STREET.

SHAFTENBURY AVENUE

June 8th 38

LONDON W.1

Telefax: 0232 261 261

Thank you loads for your new work and the beautiful inscription. It means more to me than I can express in so many words. I have written you before what an event it was after so many years of ~~living and working~~ coming and living in England to discover an English Anarchist.

constructive efforts. Until then we from outside of Spain must strain every nerve to help and not to hinder you. At least that is how I feel and the few comrades who work with me for you.

Send me anything of important news you have either in German or French. Just at present we have a comrade who is translating for me into Spanish. It is comrade Louis Frank who has brought with him the very interesting film he has made of the collectives and other interesting phases of the Spanish people's lives. We will publish whatever of interest for English readers you will send us. Or if of a private nature we will make copies and send to the comrades here and in America.

With fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 8 [London to] Herbert Read [Beaconsfield, England (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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June 8th 38.

Dear Herbert Read, Thank you for writing POETRY AND ANARCHISM and for the generous inscription in the copy you sent me. I feel more than rewarded for the lack of response I have met with in this country in my efforts for the heroic struggle of our comrades in Spain. I have written you ~~xxxxxxxx~~ once before how delighted I was to have found among English men of Letters and Anarchist. To ~~fix~~ discover also that an Englishman knows something about E.G. struggle for Anarchism is another surprise. Thank you again.

Of course your book will be reviewed in Spain and the World and I hope also for VAGUARD. I am writing Rudolf Rocker to ask him to send me a critical analysis, not merely an ordinary review. I read the work until daybreak and I do think it needs a critical evaluation of your Anarcho Syndicalism which I fear you have not made clear. It is for this reason that I am most anxious to ask my old comrade Rudolf Rocker, really the greatest living exponent of Anarcho Syndicalism to write about your book. Also we may have a review by Ethel Mannin of the part treating poetry and freedom.

I am so glad ~~the~~ your review of Rocker's book is soon to appear. I am waiting anxiously for it as I want to approach some publishers in England with a view of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ an edition in this country. Do you think Faber and Faber would be likely to consider it?

G.B.S. did not write that Anarchism is a "frowsty" doctrine. He wrote "Anarchism is a dead issue". I am sorry if I

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 8 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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17898

June 8th 38

Dearest Ethel,

Frank is anxious to have the second show of the film next week. It will be back from the censor Friday morning. He thinks that the second show has nothing to do with the decision of the censor. In any event he will have the objections of the Board to make known at the next show. He therefore does not want to lose time in having such people see it who would bring the matter up before their organisations. Now Regie said he could reach Miller of the Cooperatives. Perhaps he also knows someone connected with the Trade Unions? or the National Labor Educational organization, or whatever their name is. If so we would very much like him to invite these people. I am writing Monica to ask her to invite some leading Labor Party man. I will write to some of the people who have contributed to the SIA and who are not terrorized at my name, or at the word Anarchism. In point of fact I have decided not to put my name to the invitations for the show. I have come to the conclusion that I have done more harm than good to our people in Spain. I feel certain therefore that the chances of the film will also be jeopardized if the invitation goes out under my name. On the other hand Sonia's name suggests nothing. We must have someone else to send out the invitations.

Darling I know I have imposed on you ever so often. My only excuse was my intense absorption in Spain and the certainty that you too felt keenly about the same matter. You have always responded beautifully. The principal reason however is that I know no one else as reliable and as willing as you. So I must again turn to you to sign the invitations. Will you, and could you come tomorrow in the late afternoon to sign them? Perhaps you will also bring along some names on your list who have some affiliations with organisations.

I tried to get Regie on the phone but I evidently have a wrong phone. Will you please tell him to invite the people he knows. Perhaps if you do not want to sign the invitation he would. Make it clear to him that neither he or you are to be burdened with work. We will do everything at this end. It is merely that I do not want my name to appear. You realize do you not my dear that I simply

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17095

must keep in the back-ground.

About Reads book I went over it last night. He is frightfully confused regarding Anarchism and Anarcho Syndicalism. It will not be ~~my~~ a review the book will need but a thorough critical analysis by one known as an Anarchist. If I were not feeling so rotten most of the time barely able to attend to the office I would write such an article. But it is out of the question for me to do it. I therefore mean to send a review copy to Rocker he is just the man for it. One of the many confused statements in Reads book is him that he lumps Marx, Lenin and Kropotkin together who are ~~far~~ as far apart as the poles regarding Libertarian Communism even if they agree in their criticism of the present system. And there are many other similar inconsistencies.

The redeeming part of the work is that Read really feels deeply what he calls Anarchism. Besides he can write, he is most sincere and his change of heart to Russia from his faith that the Revolution in Russia has opened a new era and new hope. And then its collapse. The trouble with Read is that he like so many others have confused the Russian Revolution with the Communist State whereas the two were far apart.

Dearest do not misunderstand my saying that the work needs more than review. It needs both a review of its literary value ~~and~~ the relation of poetry to a free society. And it needs a critical analysis of Reads Anarchism. In any event you should read the work and write a review if you are impressed. Rockers can come later.

Be sure to let me know what time Saturday you leave
I do want to see you off.

With love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 8, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Alfred A. Knopf. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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17639

ALFRED · A · KNOPF

INCORPORATED



501 MADISON AVENUE

New York

Cable: KNOPF NEW YORK

Telephone: PLaza 3-0781

June 8, 1938

Dear Miss Goldman,

Our one-volume edition of *LIVING MY LIFE* is out of print, so I have had the Garden City people send you, under separate cover, one of theirs, which will be billed you in due course. We have a few copies left of the two-volume edition. These list at three dollars a set.

I am sending you a few of our recent books under separate cover and hope that they give you pleasure. I am not including *BURDOS JUSTICE* or Schmecknigg's book as both have been published on your side. But if you want them, let me know.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Alfred A. Knopf

Miss Emma Goldman

21 Frith Street

London W. 1

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726172

[Letter] 1938 June 8, Huntington, N.Y. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / M[orris]
Goldman. — 5 p. ; 32 x 24 cm.
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M H Goldman

June 8, 1938

23631

39 New York Ave
Huntington, L.I.
New York

Hello darling Charaliti,

What does "hon" stand for? Honorable smacks too much of official speeches. You are not a Congressman, are you? I guess it's honorary. Honorary Secretary is what you are. We were certainly happy to get word from our Britisher, in spite of our American victory books, having told us when I was a kid, that the British were terrible people.

How is you my dearest? Longing for a little visit with us? How can I blame you and why not? Gee it would be great! Effsee you think, I don't get that longing to hold you in my arms. What a world this is! What a Britain-escheylum. What a guy! Er wolleit tzu ge blaiht die Bobbeke Gernachek.

Now that Britain's condition cleared up, the black season is on. Just sitting ~~around~~ around waiting for a call. That's why we got a phone. The private duty nursing business, like a good many other industries liegt in dread. The country is in a mael of a mess. The folks in former days when they got sick and could at all afford it, the first thing they did, was to hire specialists. Now they just hang on to their money and are afraid to spend it.

There was quite a ~~celebration~~ celebration at Jane's Commencement. Sam phoned and wrote me about it. I hope Sam will make it his business to look you up in London from time to time when he goes to that London School of Economics. Had a letter from Stella about five months ago and a copy of Ruckin's book.

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(3)

25633

gracious.

The inclosures you sent are all so interesting. I am saving them for the old gang that's coming out here to visit me. Lily, Ida, Joey and his wife and Beais. They have all been out here some time ago. Lily has a wonderful baby - Peggy 2½ years old. Already asking in what store they buy tiny babies. As Lily writes. "my granddaughters begin".

You mention Carlo T. Could he swing it for you? One day I picked up a Daily Worker and saw E. G. Flynn's picture in it with a column of some kind. I cannot recall just what she did write about. I wonder if she is a steady contributor. I am just wondering if she and Carlo are still together. Carlo must be quite on in years. Some 15 years ago I saw him on a Staten Island Ferry boat and he looked then quite aged.

Your birthday dawning on the 27th. He will join you in a big rosh tzitz of Kaashek vint Batchovenek and gefahltch fish.

As to Allen - yes he is handsome & alright and what's more he knows it too. About a visit from him. Well, what Bats tells you in her letter to you are my sentiments also. And I can add that Allen likes to go places. Wants to be taken here and there, or there is no fun for him and life is dull. He will have to find his way in life without his uncle. The Spanish Yehshaimim are a whole lot off. For that matter his uncle Mor would be a lot off.

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(4)

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places too, - but it can't be did. Besides all else
Allen is a grasser greaser and every penny with
me counts these days. No my dearest Schmeatoul,
things aint what it used to be.

What else goes on in the Misproche or in Rochester
I do not know. I never write to them and they never
write to me. Stella was there and must have written
you all the news that's fit to be written. I never
- here from Sam. She lives in New York and she ~~was~~ is
the grand and sweet and wonderful, but a queer
duck nevertheless. I never meant anything to Miriam.

Hyman is a good scout and though he never visits
or writes, he always remembers his childhood
days, when I pushed him into the swimming pool
and said to him, "shift for yourself" and
that's the way he learned to swim. Even
our Cousin Richard Feinberg when he visited me
at the Joint Hospital remembered it, because he
was present. Poor Richard, younger than I am, but
so aged, full of diabetes and a lame leg.

No doubt you heard of Willis Wooschin. He
too visited me at the Joint Hospital and gave me
a book, inscribed "from one invalid to another."

He is a thing of the past, but his shrewd widow

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(5.)

is well provided for. Willie's end is
He looked like a million dollars when
him last. He was so proud of his doing
How he tried to cheer me up. I read
his eulogy ^{some one else read it} and Dorothy played the organ.

Barling please note our exact move
we moved to the next house from an apartment
a down stairs (ground floor). I have no more
to make. My love sweet like a million.

39 New York Ave

Huntington, L. I.

New York, U.S.A.



} You like this funny face?
That's me. I want to
You a beeg beeg Kiss.

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2.

20574

You know yourself that there is no end to the publicity one can do. Still I can assure you that we have neglected nothing that was likely to reach the British workers, or to have our say on vital issues pertaining to your struggle. I only wish the results were more satisfactory.

In going over the statement please bear in mind that our printing for the CNT and the postage for the material we sent out to about six thousand trade union branches were among the heaviest items. The exhibition of photographs of the collectives I had visited which is now on also cost a nice sum for advertising though a comrade artist helped in the arrangement free of charge. All in all we feel that we have practiced whatever economy ^{possible} to save expenses, such as the service of a secretary who worked with me only twice a week instead of on a regular salary. Then too we were fortunate in getting translations almost entirely free of charge. I am giving you all these details that you may have a correct idea of the cost of keeping up a bureau in London.

This brings me to your German letter in re my going to Canada. I am so glad you agree with my plan. It would have been very hard for me to carry it out without your consent, indeed I don't know whether I would have done so. I am therefore very much relieved to have your approval. There are however a few things to consider before I make definite arrangements to sail the end of Sept. It would be useless to go there now as one can do nothing in the summer.

First of all is our Bureau in London and the CIA

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[Letter, 1938 June 9 London to Pedro Herrera, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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20578

3

It would be a dismal mistake to give them up. True, we have achieved very little. Still we have made an inroad. The CNT-FAI and the SIA are no longer unknown in this country, people come every day to get information about your heroic struggle and what ever material we can supply them. So I feel very strongly that the Bureau SHOULD BE KEPT UP/ IN MY ABSENCE. Comrade Barr and one or two others will not be able to do much by means of public meetings because we have no one in our ranks in England who is sufficiently known to fill a hall. But they will be able to do work by means of printed matters and keep close contact with the trade union organisations who have expressed interest in the your structure and the negotiations with the U.G.T as well as your pact. Besides it would be a great pity to break up everything that had taken so much pain and expense to build up. I hope you agree dear comrade.

Then there is SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is the only publication in the English language ^{devoted to Spain} that is worth while. True it still does not pay for itself and perhaps never will, no Anarchist paper ever has. I know that from experience of 12 years when comrade Berkman and I published our magazine in America for 12 years. Especially is this true about a paper that pleades the cause of the CNT-FAI and their valiant fight against Fascism. Nevertheless SPAIN AND THE WORLD ~~is~~ is making a place for itself among intelligent readers in this country. I w therefore urge you dear comrade to continue to help the paper. It is really too important to let it go down. I intend to let SPAIN AND THE WORLD have its ~~June~~ ^{May} allowance, ~~and I~~ ^{and I} hope that what ever support you will give the

which would bring it up to 6 months

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4

Bureau until Sept and while I will be away will include support for SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

We have several plans for the next four months, among them a ~~tour~~ ^{trip} through the provinces perhaps in a hired car to speak on Spain and try to raise money for arms. I mean go from city to city speaking in the open and raise funds. I am now waiting for information from the few comrades we have in some of the English towns about the municipal conditions for speaking in the open and the right to appeal for funds.

The second plan is the Film which has finally arrived. I am waiting for Louis Frank who has been delayed in Paris but who will surely be here ~~here~~ in a day or two. ~~xxxxxx~~ Last but not least will be some special Bulletin of the material sent me by ~~xxxx~~ the CNT. You can see that we do mean to go on with our work all through the summer and until I sail. However we will need the means for this. Will you therefore instruct Paris to send me whatever you decide to contribute to our further efforts. And also to let me know what you intend to do about the continuation of the Bureau when I leave. Among other things credentials will be necessary for comrade Ralph Barr. In My letter to the SIA Consejo Nacional which goes at the same time as this I am asking for credentials ^{or} ~~for~~ a comrade who will represent ~~the section~~ our section of the SIA.

Now about my trip to Canada. Whether I can also get into the U.S. for which friends of mine are working or not it is absolutely essential that I should be able to cover Canada as far as British Columbia. Because the West of Canada is

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929400

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5

is the industrial part and it has always been much more economically awake than the East. Unfortunately the large cities are far from each other and the expense of travel is enormous. I have appealed to some of our American comrades to raise enough money for traveling expenses. I hope they do. I am not worried about my personal expenses as I shall most likely be looked after by comrades in Canada.

The most important matter to me is to get some new impression in Spain so that I can say when I get to Canada that I come straight from there. Do you think it ~~will~~ can be arranged for me to come to you? ~~Impossible~~ With your own hardships, difficulties and danger I hardly feel justified in adding to your burdens. I don't mind an inconvenience for myself if it meets with your approval. To save time perhaps it can be arranged for me to fly again from Marseille. Let me know.

If that should prove impossible perhaps we could meet in Paris in August when the I.W.O.M. meets. I don't want to attend it unless I can go as a delegate. All sorts of condemnation were hurled at me because I attended the last Conference. I was charged with having lent myself as a moral prop to the CNT-FAI and there were strong objections against my speaking at the time. I really do not like that. Besides we can meet outside of the Congress. But it is important for the success of my tour in Canada to either go back to Spain for a few weeks or have a conference with you and other comrades of the CNT-FAI and the SIA. Please write me soon ~~on~~ how you feel about this ~~idea~~ suggestions.

456

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 9 London to Pedro Herrera, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6

I am very glad that the German Bulletin which reached me from Barcelona at last has several articles of importance among them your reference to ~~the~~ some of your allies who do so little for your struggle though they claime all the credit for everything ~~which is~~ I am also delighted that you have taken a stand against the ~~stupid~~ ^{the} claime that all is well in Spain and all is done by your government. You are quite right when you say that it only misleads ~~to~~ ^{the} workers outside of Spain. We will bring some of the Bulletin material in Spain and the world, or still better ~~you~~ print it as a Bulletin and so send it out ~~here~~ ^{London} to the trade union branches.

I will send the amount collected for arms to Paris as you directed.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Salud.

The item #23, 19-8 *San Liberato* really belongs to the *Oficina de Propaganda Exterior* since as it is for the album sent us early in year by Augustino Luchy. & the rest for *San Liberato* sent us this year by Martin Suddell.

457

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 9 [London to] T. H. Gibbs, [London?] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10252

9th June, 1938.

Dear Friend,

I am terribly sorry that I did not take down your name and address last Tuesday at the show of our film. Frankly I am not sure whether T.H. Gibbs is your name. I am merely guessing. If I am wrong, it will not matter, because I want to reach one who belongs to the Trades Council, but I rather think you are the man who spoke to me and asked me whether I had written to Jack Tunner. Anyway, I am taking the liberty of writing you in regard to a second show on a larger scale of our film, and I want you to help in interesting representatives of your own organization and any other Trade Union, Labour or Co-operative men you can suggest.

We are sending out invitations to a number of people as you will see per enclosed copy. I have also written to Mr. J. Reeve whose name I believe you gave to one of the friends at the Crown Theatre.

It is rather a funny feeling to write to someone of whose name you are not certain, but in as much as you are of the Trade Council I am not running much risk in addressing someone who perhaps has never seen me.

Will you please let me hear from you by return mail. You can also 'phone me at Gerard 2636.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 9 [London to] Reeves, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 19 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10251

9th June, 1938.

Dear Mr. Reeves,

Your name was given to us at the little private show of a film just come out of Spain. I am taking the liberty of writing to you that we are having another private show as per enclosed invitation, which we are sending out to a number of Labour, Trade Union and other organisations.

I have tried to get you on the 'phone yesterday and to-day to make an appointment for the Director of the film, Mr. Louis Frank, who has arrived from Barcelona and has brought the film with him. To-day your secretary promised to 'phone me when you returned to your office. So far I have not heard from her. I am therefore writing.

We would be very pleased if you could attend the private show next Thursday. You may find the film valuable for your educational committee. Perhaps you will be good enough to call me up to-morrow after 12 noon so that we can arrange for Mr. Frank to call on you, as he is best qualified to explain the nature of the film.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 9 [London to] Stella [Churchill, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

9th June, 1938.

My dear Stella,

I don't suppose you return from your holiday in time to attend the show of our new film, or perhaps you are otherwise engaged. Well, you have lost nothing because we are giving another show next Thursday, June 16th, at 8.45 p.m., as per enclosed invitation which we are sending out to all sorts of people representing various organisations as well as individuals interested in Spain. I do hope that you can come. The film is tremendously interesting, especially the constructive side of the work carried on by the two powerful Trade Union organisations, the National Confederation of Labour and the U.G.T. - General Union of Labour. I am sure you will be very much interested and impressed.

The private show next Thursday is to interest the Labour and Trade Union organisations, the co-ops, the Press and possibly also the trade. We are getting back the film from the Censor on Friday, but whatever the decision the film will be shown next Thursday.

Dear Stella, will you send out a few personal invitations to your friends and others whom you think might help in giving the film publicity? You have been very lucky last time with the News Chronicle. Would you please use your charms again with the Editor so that he can send somebody to see the film and report back? I wonder if you could do the same with the New Statesman. I know no one else who has the influence as you have, so be a dear and help us this time as you always have.

I have written Ruth and Don about the show last Tuesday.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 9 [London to] Stella [Churchill, London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17499

8

I had no idea whether they came back in time to see the film or
not. Will you please tell them that there is another show
next Thursday?

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 9 [London to] Charles Duff, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 17 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10250

9th June, 1938.

Dear Charles Duff,

As per our talk over the 'phone, I am sending you
a few typewritten invitations to the private show of our
film. ~~It is~~ It is most important that we should get
people either of the Press or interested in films as well
as representatives of Labour, Trade Union and the Co-
operative organisations. Anything you can do to bring
along such people or write them to attend will be of
great help.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 9, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: FAI Propaganda Exterior.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAPTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, June 9th 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

My dear Martin. I delayed answering yours of the 23rd May and 27th of May No. 747 and 777 because I was waiting for L.F. and the Film to arrive so as to know what to write you. Strangely enough I wrote you on the day when you wrote your short note, the 27th. And as I had nothing important to let you know I waited for the Film. Well it has arrived and we had the first private Show last Tuesday. It is very striking although to me somewhat disappointing because the Film lacks the strong episodes which I saw in Madrid. But on the whole it is impressive. Alas, the British censor is sure to insist on certain parts to be cut out. The Film is with the censor board now and we are to have a reply Friday. Meanwhile we are arranging for another private Show at which people from various organisations, the Press and literary men and women will be invited.

As to its use we have had such discouraging experience with the last Film that I have suggested to L.F. that we should try to sell the new Film to the trade if possible, or to such large and rich organisations as the British Federation of Miners, or other important trade unions, or to the Co-operatives, or lastly to the Educational body of the British Labor Party. I am very glad Frank is here. He will be able to reach people whom I cannot reach because they are still mortally afraid in this country of E.C. and A. although I have for the last two years not been active for A. as such, but for the CNT-FAI and the SIA. I have therefore decided to keep in the back ground and let F. see the people I will suggest. I am quite willing to risk to do the grudging without the "Mx Honors".

My dear I cannot understand why you do not get my letters. It is very rarely the case that I permit more than a week to pass without writing you. However, I am afraid the fault is at the Paris end. I have been writing you to the same suite in Paris as the SIA and the CNT and I have also sent you the Posledni. I was surprised to learn through L.F. that he was told by the comrade who attends to my mail for Spain that he has a lot of Poslednis which he could not send on because the bundles were too large. You would assume that the man would notify me. But no, he has been keeping my packages for weeks and weeks without a word. Perhaps he has done the same with my letters to you. Well, not to take any more chances I am going to send this to our Perpignan friend. Frank gave me his new address. I am writing him a line to let him know that the letter is important and he should get it to you as quickly as possible. I will also send to him for you important clippings from the Posledni. I am sure this will prove a safer way than Paris.

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Institutional Location: FAI Propaganda Exterior.

I. A. H.

T.I.A.

370

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

7. Opened Passions

You will be glad to learn that Vazquez and Herrera have written me to say that they agree with my plan of sailing for Canada. In their true Spanish enthusiasm they wrote that the tour will prove of great importance. I have cautioned them not to expect too much. Of course if I will succeed in going all through British Columbia I think I will be more successful than I was here. Still more important will it be if my friends in America succeed of getting a visa for me. They will work for it. But I am not fool enough to rely too much on that. But I do mean to sail for Canada in Sept.

However, before I leave Europe I would very much like to return to Spain once more for newer impressions. It will mean a great deal to me if I will be able to say in Canada that I come straight from Spain. Of course it is ridiculous to make plans so far in advance. What will happen until August when I should like to go to Spain no one can possibly say. But one goes on hoping. Anyhow I have written V to let me know whether he agrees with my coming and whether it can again be arranged that I should fly to Barcelona. It will save time and much difficulties at the border. Will you see V. and Herrera and talk this over with them.

Herrera is certainly an interesting case. He seems to be everywhere. A letter from him of the 2nd of June contains the news that he is with the Publishing of Tierra y Libertad. He wants me to send him a copy of comrade Berkman's PRISON MEMOIR OF AN ~~ANARCHIST~~ ANARCHIST, which is to be translated and published in Spanish. He also informs me that there is the intention of publishing a book of three hundred pages of LIVING MY LIFE. That will prove a most difficult job because the book contains thousand pages. To get it down to 300 the entire personal life will have to be eliminated and even that will hardly be possible. You see my personal life was so interwoven with my public it is almost impossible to eliminate it. However when I get the copies I have ordered from America I will see what I can do. Herrera is right when he writes that no one else but myself will be able to abridge the volume. I wonder did the copy sent you ever reach you? It is too bad if it got lost. When the shipment from A. arrives I will send a marked copy to Herrera and when the Tierra is through with it I will ask that the volume be turned over to you. There is one hitch I will have to write my publisher for the rights for a Spanish edition.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 9, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman].—
3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: FAI Propaganda Exterior.

2

Dear Martin please impress it on Vazquez that he should instruct those who forward letters to me via Paris ~~that~~ not to address them to 18 Castletown Rd. My address is on our letter heads. I don't see how they can make such a mistake always to send their letters to the old address. It delays delivery and also it is likely to get lost. So please call Vazquez and Herreras attention to this.

I am still waiting for instructions about the list of books on Spain I sent you. Another one has come out, one of the best which has been reviewed in Spain and the World. It is called Homage to Catalonia.

Please see the comrades of the PAN for me. Tell Germinal Sousa I have not yet had the time to ~~writex~~ answer the two letters I have received. I have been very busy with a lot of things. But I will write him soon.

Frank will inclose a line to you. I hope my dear this letter reaches you quicker than the others.

Fraternal greetings to you and all the comrades. Greetings to your companion and your secretary. Is she still the same.

Emma

465

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 9 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1938

June 9th 38

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My dear I cannot understand why you do not get my letters. It is very rarely the case that I permit more than a week to pass without writing you. However, I am afraid the fault is at the Paris end. I have been writing you to the same Boite in Paris as the SIA and the CNT and I have also sent you the Posledni. I was surprised to learn through L.F. that he was told by the comrades who attends to my mail for Spain that he has a lot of Poslednie which he could not send on because the bundles were too large. You would assume that the man would notify me. But no, he has been keeping my packages for weeks and weeks without a word. Perhaps he has done the same with my letters to you. Well, not to take any more chances I am going to send this to our Perpignan friend. Frank gave me his new address. I am writing him a line to let him know that the letter is important and he should get it to you as quickly as possible. I will also send to him for you important clippings from the Posledni. I am sure this will prove a safer way than Patie.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19362

My dear Martin of course I will work with Frank and give him all the aid possible and I will see to it that the CNT-FAI and you are in formed of the success of the film. But as I told you already it will be best if I remain in the back ground. The prejudices here against the CNT-FAI, the SIA and myself is very great thanks to our "friends" the C.P. But that is nothing new. It is however important to understand that the C.P. has found their way into every organisation in this country and though under hundred different names they dominate every thing. A meeting last night arranged by the Ass. of Writers for Intellectual Liberty was almost entirely C.P. and so it goes. However you and the comrades need not worry we will try every channel for our film.

You will be glad to learn that Vazquez and Herrera have written me to say that they agree with my plan of sailing for Canada. In their true Spanish enthusiasm they wrote that the tour will prove of great importance. I have cautioned them not to expect too much. Of course if I will succeed in going all through British Columbia I think I will be more successful than I was here. Still more important will it be if my friends in America succeed of getting a visa for me. They will work for it. But I am not fool enough to rely too much on that. But I do mean to sail for Canada in Sept.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

19363

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Fraternal greetings to you and all the comrades. Greetings to your companion and your secretary. Is she still the same.

468

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 9 [London to] Jack Tanner, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17748

9th June, 1938.

Dear Jack Tanner,

I would like to believe that you have not forgotten our meeting in Moscow in 1920. You were then very eager to come with us on our trip through Russia, and we spent some pleasant times together as far as the time could be pleasant in Russia then.

Since I came to England as the accredited delegate of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) I have tried to get in touch with you, but no one seemed to know how I might trace you. I finally sent over to the National Trade Union Club, and it was there that your address was given us. First of all, I want to congratulate your organisation on the splendid stand the A.E.U. have taken in regard to Spain. After two years of strenuous effort to rouse interest in the heroic struggle of the Spanish workers, it was very heartening indeed to find so powerful an organisation as yours take such a stand against the actions of the National Government. Its part in the Non-Intervention Pact, and its general efforts to stifle the Spanish people. I may say that I have already written to Mr. Little congratulating the A.E.U. through him, but I have never received a reply. I hope my letter to you may not meet with the same fate.

I wonder if I could see you and have a talk with you about the Spanish struggle? As you will see by the enclosed copy of a letter we are sending out, we have just received a new film showing the constructive work of the collectivisation of industry and the land as carried on by the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. We do hope that you will attend the show next Thursday at 3.45 and that you will bring along as many of your comrades of the A.E.U. you possibly can.

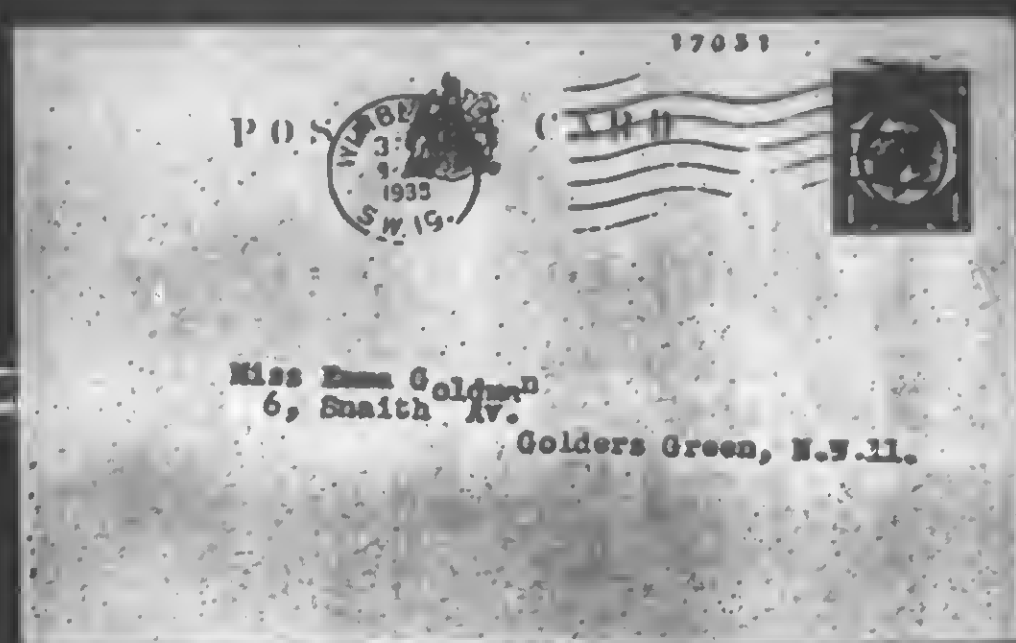
If for no other reason, perhaps for the pleasant recollections of our visit, you will let me hear from you either by 'phone or letter. I am at the above office every afternoon until 7 p.m.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 June 9 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Ethel [Mannin]. —
2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 June 9 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Ethel [Mannin].—
2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17032

Thursday

*I will tell R. about
writing Sophie.*

Dearest Emma, it's quite impossible for me to come in to town before going away; I've got an 1800 word article to get off today, and the revision of my book still on hand for tomorrow, and I shall be working right on till late at night. But surely Sonia's signature will do, or Stella Churchill's - or you could have someone sign mine 'per pro'.

I understand entirely about Read's book needing more than a mere review; he can't have got far, politically, if he doesn't know the difference between Marx and Lenin and Kropotkin !!

Jean and I are leaving Kings Cross for Newcastle at 12 on Sat. It's such an awkward station to get at that I really don't expect to see you there, my dear. I shall be back about the 25th. For the first time since I can remember I am going away without a typewriter - thank god. Haste. Love. *Edith*

471

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 June 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. —
2 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19214

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41



TELÉFONOS:
CENTRALITA 14731

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BOLETÍN FRANCÉS 34
BOLETÍN ALEMÁN 47
BOLETÍN INGLÉS 40
BOLETÍN SUECO 36
BOLETÍN BULGARO 33
BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS 34

Barcelona le 9 juin 1938.

Camarade **EMMA GOLDMAN**,
Londres.

Chère camarade,

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 11 mai, ainsi que les copies des lettres que vous avez adressées à Bluestein et d'autres camarades. J'ai reçu aussi quelques coupures de journaux russes, ainsi que la liste des livres que l'on a édités en Angleterre. Pendant ce temps me sont parvenus quelques imprimés de S.I.A. anglaises et pour tout cela je vous remercie.

En ma possession votre lettre adressée à Vazquez concernant l'édition du livre de Cervantes par l'éditoriale Warburg. J'espère que vous aurez reçu déjà sa réponse.

J'ai reçu la copie de votre article sur Cronstadt, réponse aux écrits de Trotzki sur cette affaire. L'on traduit tout cela, et l'on va le publier dans la presse espagnole. Je vais traduire aussi l'article concernant le péril de la guerre, lequel a été publié dans "Spain and the World". Cet article sera aussi publié dans nos journaux.

En ce qui concerne le livre "En vivant ma vie", je n'ai pu savoir que les camarades l'ont livré au camarade Souchy, mais celui-ci l'a égaré et il ne se rappelle point où il l'a mis; mais j'espère qu'aussitôt qu'il le trouvera, va me le donner.

Le livre de Rocker est déjà édité par la nouvelle éditoriale que l'on vient d'organiser ici et j'espère qu'il aura reçu déjà un exemplaire. L'édition espagnole est très bien et j'espère que l'auteur le trouvera à son gré.

J'ai lu tout ce qui concerne la Conférence qui a eu lieu en Angleterre. Je pense bien que les chefs des Syndicats et du mouvement ouvrier anglais, ne veulent pas que l'on sache les événements d'Espagne et encore moins qu'ils sachent qu'en Espagne existent beaucoup d'anarchistes. Si au lieu de 5.000 membres vous auriez en Angleterre 50.000, les choses se passeraient bien différemment de la part des organisateurs.

472

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 2 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19215

de la Conférence.

Je ne sais pas si Vazquez aura adressé quelque dépêche à "Daily Herald", mais il a envoyé une dépêche à la Conférence et je ne sais pas si l'on aura lu cette dépêche.

Je vais faire un petit extrait de la lettre d'un mineur adressée à Barr, et l'on va la publier dans la presse espagnole. Un camarade m'a fait parvenir 2 photos sur la manifestation du 1^{er} Mai que l'on reproduira aussi dans la presse.

En effet, Herrera a laissé la S.I.A., parce qu'il était comblé de travail; je pense que la camarade Sanchez Saornil pourra faire ce travail aussi bien que lui.

C'est vrai que la guerre des nombreux et des meilleurs hommes, mais c'est inévitable. La détention des fascistes au secteur de Levante est due à la 28 Division, celle de Francisco Ascaso. Tout le monde est orgueilleux de que les fascistes ne peuvent avancer plus, mais cela coûte tant de sacrifices! Là-bas ont tombé un grand nombre des meilleurs camarades, de ceux que dans les premiers jours avaient parti pour l'Aragon. Si l'on peut arrêter aux fascistes, c'est seulement si nos camarades se prêtent au sacrifice. Autrement, aujourd'hui peut être règnerait Franco et ses alliés.

Je comprend très bien votre désir d'être en Espagne avec nous, mais je dois vous avertir que la vie en Espagne est très différente que l'année dernière. Les bombardements sont très grands et très souvent; les fascistes emploient des bombes très puissantes; les maisons de 6 ou 7 étages sont complètement détruites par ces bombes de puissance extraordinaire; il y a de très rares véhicules et il faut marcher toujours à pie en faisant de grandes distances; il y a très peu de vivres et il est très difficile de s'en procurer; c'est très difficile de se déplacer d'une ville à autre et à cause de tout cela je pense que vous ne pourriez pas faire vos informations comme les années précédentes.

En ce qui concerne la liste des livres, je peux vous dire que nous désirons avoir un exemplaire de tous les livres édités en Angleterre sur la lutte espagnole, écrits par amis ou ennemis. Je vois que la liste que vous m'avez fait parvenir n'est pas complète et je vous serai gré de bien vouloir me faire parvenir cette liste complète.

J'ai reçu aussi la note que vous m'avez fait parvenir concernant je ne sais quels événements à Puigcerdá. Ici en Espagne nous ne savons rien de cela.

J'ai parlé avec Vazquez sur l'argent que vous avez cueilli pour le fond spécial. J'espère que vous aurez reçu sa lettre et si non vous pouvez envoyer cet argent à la Délégation à Paris.

Recevez mes salutations bien fraternelles

Martin Gudell

Дно отрывок из англ. изд. если Вы напишете Сердечной Вам придет от меня и от всех новарнуей, которые работают со мной

473

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 9, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London [M[anuel] Mascarell.—
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 938/MM/BG.

18965

París, el 9 de Junio 1938.

Emma GOLDMANN
21 Frith Street
Shaefesbury Avenue
LONDON W.I.

Estimada compañera,

He recibido tu carta 7 de Junio 1938, la cual me place contestar los puntos por tí señalados.

Muy alta está la moral de nuestros combatientes que combaten en el frente, resistiendo heroicamente los ataques criminales del fascismo internacional, pero es muy posible que esta moral decaiga si el proletariado internacional se llama indiferente y desinteresado a la causa que ellos defienden. Si el proletariado internacional no reacciona y no se reviste de valor para romper los convencionalismos de sus jefes intimamente atados con los intereses del Estado, difícilmente podremos aguantar una lucha tan desigual. Y si en España, la lucha tuviera que acabar con ese espíritu de valor, el cual anima a nuestros camaradas en Iberia, busquése los verdaderos responsables en el proletariado del mundo entero que, llamándose hermano del de España, le deja sucumbir miserable e indignamente. No obstante, ante la actitud indigna del proletariado, no por eso, nuestros compañeros desfallecen y decaen de espíritu. Continúan luchando con la fé y la esperanza -aunque lejana- de ganar y vencer al enemigo.

Sabemos que en esta lucha, estamos solos y digna y orgullosamente, continuaremos hasta el último momento. Y te repito. Si el último momento fuera de vernos vencidos, la vergüenza del fascismo sería como un salivazo esputado en el rostro de los trabajadores de todos los países del mundo. Y si, por el contrario, somos los vencedores, el orgullo será exclusivamente nuestro porque nadie nos ha ayudado en proporción a la lucha que estamos sosteniendo.

No me intranquiliza la preponderancia política de los estalinistas en España. Conozco muy bien a los españoles y a los hombres de la C.N.T. para que, una vez terminada la monstruosa guerra que vivimos, los estalinistas pasen a ocupar el sitio minoritario que ocupaban antes del 19 de Junio 1936.

¿Cual será el resultado de tu viaje al CANADÁ? Lo ignoro. No me atrevo a augurar que será importante como dicen Mariano y Herrera. Una vuelta de aquel país y puedas informarme, será cuando podré contestar a la pregunta que te hago.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 9, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[anuel] Mascarell. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18966 - 2

Emma GOLDMANN - LONDON

El 9 de Junio 1938.

He tomado nota de la carta que mandastes a VAZQUEZ de una cantidad que se recogió en esta y que hace un total de 49 libras, 18. Adjunto a tu carta, había un cheque por el valor de 8.850 francos. ¿A qué corresponde ese cheque? A las 49 libras, 18. Te digo esto, porque tú terminas la carta diciéndome que me las mandarás mañana o al día siguiente. Y claro si en la carta me dices esto y, en cambio, encuentro el cheque antes mencionado, es por lo que te hago la pregunta de si la cantidad en francos es la misma de las libras que tú anuncias haber recogido en esa para ayudar a España.

No olvides, querida EMMA, cuando vayas al Canada, de escribirme y darme tus impresiones de la propaganda que puedas realizar por aquellas tierras. A parte que me interesa saber que impresión hacen tus conferencias por allí, me interesa también saber de tu estado personal.

Sin más que comunicarte por el momento, te saluda cordial y fraternalmente.

FOR LA DELEGACIÓN PERMANENTE DE LA C.N.T.-F.A.I. EN PARÍS.

CONFEDERACIÓN
DEL
F.A.I.
M. MASCARELL
SECRETARIO

475

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 10, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p.; 29 x 22 cm.
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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

10 de junio 1938
London,

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Estimado companero Herrera,

Parece un milagro, la manera que consigues realizar tu trabajo en tantos lugares. Ahora con Tierra y Libertad. Que sera el proximo? Pero en todas partes, estoy convencida, haras cosas utiles, y eso es lo que cuenta.

Primero, te ruego de escribirme siempre a 21 Frith Street. Ultimamente todas las cartas de Espana llegaron a la vieja direccion 18 Castletown Rd y tardaron varios dias mas a llegar a Frith Street. Avisas tambien a Vasquez y Lucia Sanchez sobre este particular, sin falta.

Me causa mucho placer tu intencion de publicar el libro de Alexander Berkman sobre "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist". Este libro tiene 500 paginas y temo que de reducirlo, perjudicara el efecto del conjunto. Mi consejo es decididamente en contra de eliminar partes. Pero si es imprescindible, sera preciso que yo personalmente marque las partes que en ultimo caso, podrian ser eliminados. Cuando Camarada Berkman termine su vida me dejara su obra para disponer a mi discrecion. No es una cuestion de derechos, es solamente habiendo conocido y trabajado durante 47 años con el, soy la unica persona que comprende lo que nuestro camarada desearia hacer con su "Prison Memoirs".

Ahora bien, no tengo tiempo suficiente de repasar el tomo, y no quiero hacerte esperar. Por lo tanto te mando el libro, para poder empezar la traduccion. En la primera parte, no se puede cortar nada, asi que puede traducirse enteramente. Por lo demas, marcara las paginas que se podra suprimir, y de indicare los numeros, para el gobierno del traductor.

De mi obra, "Living My Life", que consiste de mil paginas, sera todavia mas dificil rebajarlo a 800 paginas. Mi vida privada fue tan compenetrada con mis actividades publicas, que veo dificil suprimir cualquiera parte. Ademas una autobiografia debe contener algo de la vida privada del autor. Hace unos años, que no he vuelto a leer mi libro. Pero puedo hacerlo y ver lo que se puede hacer. De otra parte existe los "derechos" de la casa editora Alfred A Knopf para todo el mundo. Le escribo hoy, pidiendole de cederlos libremente para Espana, puesto que fueran mis camaradas en ese, nadie pensaria a publicar una edicion de mi obra en espanol. Orobon Fernandez tuvo la intencion de encontrar una empresa cuando el libro salio en 1931, pero no lo logro. Tamb he pasado mas que una copia personal que no puedo marcar, he pedido unas copias de New York.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 10, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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2
Nuestro amigo L. Frank está aquí con el film. Hemos
celebrado una pequeña reunión y la próxima semana tendremos una reunión
para la prensa. Varias organizaciones de gente literaria etc.
la censura quiere suprimir ciertas partes, sobre todo referencias a
Alemanes, Italianos y hasta meros. La parte de la Organización y
revolución no ha tocado. Menos el café contaba billetes. Creo que el
camarada Frank te escribirá y te mandará una copia de la censura francesa.
Es ciertamente un comentario sobre Francia que ha sido siempre orgullosa
de su tradición libertaria.

Ayer mandé cartas al camarada Vasquez y Sanchez
Searnil, con las cuentas completas de las sumas recogidas para SIA y
para otros gastos, también los gastos de la CNT-PAI. Sin duda, te
enseñarán las dos cartas.

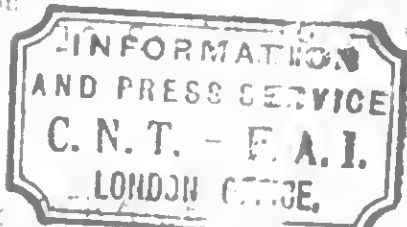
No he recibido la revista "TIMON", ni noticias
de Santillan. Me será difícil contribuir para esta revista. Tengo que
escribir para Spain and The WORLD y para nuestra publicación AMERICANA
VANGUARD. Tengo una enorme correspondencia y mucho trabajo para la SIA,
como puedes imaginarte, como para la CNT-PAI, mas que ahora con el film.
No tengo, por lo tanto mucho tiempo para escribir. Hace poco, he escrito
un artículo de 5000 palabras para VANGUARD en respuesta a un ataque sucio
en un T. revista contra los marinos de Kronstadt, que perdieron sus
vidas en 1921. Has recibido, a propósito mi prefacio al libro de Berneri
publicado recientemente en París. Creo haberte mandado dos ejemplares.
Dime si lo has recibido.

Camarada Vasquez te dirá que he preguntado
si puedo venir a España antes de embarcar para Canadá, posiblemente
a principios de agosto para unas semanas, si se puede arreglar por
avión como la última vez, para evitar las molestias y tiempo perdido
por la frontera. Te ruego de explicar a V que es muy importante. Se
puede arreglar otra vez por mediación de Roca Camara en Marsella.
Desee saber pronto para arreglar nuestros asuntos aquí.

Te ruego de mis saludos fraternales a
Santillan y a todos los camaradas de Tierra y Libertad.

Con saludos afectuosos para ti.

Emma Goldman



C.N.T.

V.I.L.

E.V.T.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 10 [London to] Milly [Witcop] Rocker, [Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18184

June 10th 38.

Dearest Milly. I feel relieved to have gotten a letter from one part of the Rocker house though I must say it is unkind of Rudolf not to reply to important letters. It is so discouraging it takes all my desire out of me to write to him at all. But as I said I was glad to hear from you and to know how you are. Thank you for it and the two \$5 checks you sent. Darling the idea of you sending money for the GIA when you are so hard pressed. But it is usually so only those who have little to spare are generous. Those who have a lot are too greedy to get more, they do not feel with our suffering friends in Spain.

I will get back to your letter now I have something important which Rudolf will simply have to attend to, it is a work called POETRY AND ANARCHISM by Herbert Read which will appear the 10th of this month. He sent me an advance copy with a beautiful inscription. Now it is of the utmost importance that Rudolf should write a critical evaluation of the book because Read is very much confused about Anarchism and Anarcho Syndicalism though he is most sincere and eager to present our ideas in the best light. But he does not succeed. The criticism I ask of Rudolf is of the greatest importance now because Read's criticism of NATIONALISM AND CULTURE will appear in the CRITERION the finest literary Magazine in this country. It comes out the 15th. Of course I will get an extra copy for you both. It will mean that Anarchism for the first time since the war will appear again before the reading public and that Rudolf's name which has appeared in the reviews of his Anarcho Syndicalism and again in Read's articles should appear again in SPAIN AND THE WORLD or perhaps even a more widely read Magazine or paper if he will only write the critical evaluation of Read's work. I hope he realizes this importance and that he will write the criticism I want as soon as the Poetry and Anarchism will reach him from Faber and Faber. Will you impress this on Rudolf please.

I was overjoyed to learn from your letter that Einstein and Thomas Mann have written favorably of NATIONALISM AND CULTURE. I must have copies of these letters and of any other by well known people because I want to approach British publishers to get out the book here. I only hope and pray that that

be too awful. Anyhow send me at once typewritten copies of all the letters Rudolf has received. I want to try my luck with some publishers here.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

478

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 10 [London to] Milly [Witcop] Rocker, [Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18185

Dearest I wish you were right when you speak of my strength and energy. The fact is recently I began to have very little of either. I tire easily and my damned old heart is no longer so "frisky". It is not serious I am sure. It is only that some days I am no good at all. Though the work for Spain has been sheer drudgery I do not believe it is that which has exhausted me. It is the worry and the anxiety about our people in Spain. It is also the inner conflict between my passionate desire to help our comrades and ~~that~~ my conviction that all their comrades with that have not availed them and have done even much harm inside and outside of Spain. The rotten Trotskyists are using it for all it is worth. I cannot tell you how I suffer over the whole tragic affair. Yet I agree with you that now is not the time to criticize or condemn our people. It would be treachery of the cruelest kind.

Yes, the burning of Santillana back and the attitude to the German comrades are really offenses that cannot be either explained or excused from any angle. There are many other things which which hurt frightfully. I cannot reconcile myself to them hence eat out my heart. I often feel I have gone back on everything I held high all my life. It makes me ill and ashamed, yet I do not know what to do at this crucial time in Spain.

Dearest you must have received three reviews of Anarcho Syndicalism, one printed from the Manchester Guardian and two which I had typed from the review Warburg lent me. Next week I will borrow more reviews if he has then have typed copies made and send them on. You must have received my letter saying not to bother anymore about a review of Michel Pannins Woman and Revolution. Steinberg reviewed it for SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

Next Saturday a few comrades are giving dear Polly a little send off. I let them use our large room and I will be present of course. I am so glad she is sailing. It will do her a world of good and it will do you and your sister much good to have Polly. She grows finer and finer with the years. I love her very much.

You will be glad to know that our Spanish comrades feel my sailing for Canada will be of "the greatest importance". Their usual childish optimism. I wrote them not to expect the impossible. I may

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479

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 10 [London to] Milly [Witcop] Rocker, [Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10186

have no better success than I had here. Still I am glad that they agree with my plan. I wrote Vazquez asking to let me go back to Spain for a few weeks in August unless the situation changes for the worse. It would help greatly if coming to Canada I could say I am coming straight from Spain. Besides I need now impression to get rid of the frightful hopelessness my efforts in this horrible country have filled me with. I hope the coronation in Barcelona let me come. Then I would sail the end of Sept.

I don't know how Rudolf stands with the most disagreeable group of the L'ADONATO, they are individualists and have attacked me on several occasions though why I don't know. Well that is not what bothers me it is something else. They have been fighting Trecca for years now charging him with being a spy and all such rot which they have of course never proved. They wrote to Sacha and me in 1920 I believe trying to make us say that Trecca is a spy. We refused. We said that we know Trecca and while we know him to be flighty in his ideas we cannot believe their charges. In any event we should want weighty proofs before we will lend our name to their squarries. We heard nothing more from them.

Now that Trecca and Margaret so Silver his wife have offered to start a campaign for my return to the States those petty L'ADONATO group may start a counter campaign that would do no end of harm. I wrote Freedman about the matter and he suggested that Rudolf should have a talk with them. Not now of course but later when the time comes. I myself am in favor of ignoring the idiotic outgits who in these fruitfulness have nothing else to do but engage in slander and recriminations. Rose Picotta, Harry Kelly and Freedman agree that I could have no one more able and with the same kind of access to all sorts of people than Carlo Trecca. So it is nonsense to cure what an Italian group of cracks ~~have~~ are likely to do. I am certain if I will be granted a visa it will be through Trecca's efforts. I have no one else outside of our ranks who will do any thing and our ranks will not achieve anything even if they tried. Please impress on Rudolf that I want his opinion in the matter, and if it should be necessary will have a talk with the L'ADONATO group. For the present the whole thing is to be kept quiet.

Dearest please go after Rudolf to write a critical analysis of Herbert Marks book. He can do it in German if he will not do it in England, Doris Zhuk translates well I will have her do it. Only let him write it as soon as the book arrives.

Give him my love even if he has forsaken and forgotten me. Love to Fernin, how is he? Lots of love to you my dearest.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 10, London [to] Milly [Witcop] Rocker, [Crompond, N.Y. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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A.I.T.

F.A.I.

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR
AND SOCIAL CO-OP. C.N.T.-F.A.I.-BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

Roc

11 PAITH STREET

MANCHESTER AVENUE

LONDON, W.1

London, June 10th 38

TELEPHONE: GERARD 3030

Dearest Milly. I feel relieved to have gotten a letter from one part of the Rocker house though I must say it is unkind of Rudolf not to reply to important letters. It is so discouraging it takes all my desire out of me to write to him at all. But as I said I was glad to hear from you and to know how you are. Thank you for it and the two \$5 checks you sent. Darling the idea of you sending money for the SIA when you are so hard pressed. But it is usually so. Only those who have little to spare are generous. Those who have a lot are too greedy to get more, they do not feel with our suffering friends in Spain.

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I was overjoyed to learn from your letter that Einstein and Thomas Mann have written favorably of NATIONALISM AND CULTURE. I must have copies of these letters and of any other by well known people because I want to approach British publishers to get out the book here. I only hope and pray that that crook

Govici Friede do not also have the rights for England. That would be too awful. Anyhow send me at once the written copies of Einsteins Thomas Mann and all other important letters Rudolf has received. I want to try my luck with some publishers here.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 20 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

209.1.1

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 694. E.

BARCELONA, a 11 de junio de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Acusamos recibo a la tuya 30 de mayo ppdo., quedando informados de su contenido e indicandote que pasamos a ocuparnos del documento que anexas a la tuya.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano

COMITE PENINSULAR
Relaciones Exteriores.

SECRETARIA

The Emma Goldman Papers

900117044

[Letter] 1938 June 11, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Freedman.— 1 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Write him June 24/38 238
Telephone CHelsea 3-9367

Freie Arbeiter Stimme

HEBREW WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

New York City

June 11, 1938

Dear Emma:

As I promised to write you again and always try to keep my word...here I am. I spoke the matter over with Mark, regarding Tresca and he agrees with what I told you in my last letter. As far as I have heard, he is a person who will promise you almost anything and everything but will not fulfill his promise. It seems that this is not only my opinion, but of some of our close comrades who have dealt with him in one instance or another. I do not know his wife, Margaret de Silver personally, but I have heard that she can do a great deal of work if she undertakes to do something. Perhaps, between the two of them, you can get favorable results. Anyway, I wish you luck.

May I suggest to you that you write Rudolf about the entire matter. I sincerely believe if he will speak to the Italian comrades to stop their slander and insinuations it would have the necessary influence. His address is Crompond, N.Y.

And now, dear Emma, I have very sad news for you. Two days ago I found out from Sadie Ludlow that Van died of a heart attack. The most peculiar thing is that none of our comrades knew. If I hadn't sent a letter to Starrett asking him to call a meeting of the committee, I would never have known. I cannot understand why Sadie Ludlow, his wife, who seems to be a fine person, did not notify the comrades about his death. I asked her to give me a few facts about his life and enclosed you will find a copy of her letter to me giving me the information. I hope you will use it for "Spain and the World" and in all the other publications in which you can insert this notice. If you know any additional facts about Starrett's life, I would appreciate your writing them to me, as I understand you knew Starrett for a great many years. According to Sadie's story, I am convinced that Van was a victim of liquor and it is very painful that an able man like Van with such a brilliant mind should have to pay such a price for his weakness.

Have you ordered the "Syndicalism" books for us? If not, please do so, as I haven't a single copy left and there is a demand for it.

Comradely greetings from all the comrades.

Comradely yours,

Samuel Freedman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 11, New York to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Samuel Freedman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COPY

419 E. 5th Street
New York City
June 9, 1938

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Dear Comrade Freedman:

As you asked me, I am giving you a few of the most outstanding facts of Starrett's life. I cannot put it into such a form as to be fit for the paper but I am sure it will be edited and put into proper form for printing.

One thing I did not think to discuss with you, but I am sure you will agree with me, and that is that you should use the name of Walter Starrett. I am sure that very few people, if any, know him by the name of Van Valkenburgh, so I think it best to use the name of Starrett.

He was born in Albany, N.Y. on October 25, 1884. For about 8 or 10 years he was a Socialist, but a friend of his by the name of Kaplan gave him some Anarchist literature (this man Kaplan was never in the movement) and between Kaplan's talks and his reading of the Anarchist literature and also Emma Goldman's visits to Albany on lecture tours, he became convinced of the truth and logic on Anarchism and became a devoted Anarchist which he remained for over 30 years.

You know how he worked as Editor of "Road to Freedom" and on the Sacco Vanzetti case on account of which he lost one of his jobs.

He died of a heart attack on May 22, 1938 and was cremated on May 24, 1938.

That is all that I can tell you but I am sure this information can be fixed up in literary form.

We had a small snapshot of him but he carried it in his wallet which he lost.

I am sorry I did not notify the comrades sooner, but I honestly could not do so as I get too upset even now to talk or write about him.

Please send me a copy of the issue in which you print the notice and also please don't forget to notify the other papers.

Sincerely,

Sadie Ludlow

let you ³ know the
results.

I am anxious to know how your meeting 7 Jan 5 turned out, as well as the Jan 14th meeting

They tell me that the
C. & T. Bureau here is also
publishing a "Bulletin"
which is had - have not
seen it - please have
them place me on the
list for "Spain & the World,
I forgot to get the bound
copy - shall mail a money
order Love Ron

Gettysburg
* 1863

211 E 14th
N.Y.C. 14
Jan 12 - 38 17668

breast Enw.

we landed here
yesterday and immediately
dispatched a letter to
Stella - Shall see it again
tomorrow and the other
as soon as I have a
chance to catch my breath

Conditions here have
grown worse - unemployment
mounting daily, and with
it relief, misery, starvation.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 12 N[ew] Y[ork to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rose [Pesotta]. —
2 p. ; 17 x 26 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17667

✓
 He and I had long
 talks which showed Aquatino
 He agreed now with me
 that before he does anything
 the comrades will be called
 together and a compromise
 report given with a view
 of discussing it after

unfortunately there is a
 la grippe epidemic
 here and several important
 people are ill in bed.

Anyway as soon as we
 hold the gathering I shall

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 13 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 9 x 15 cm.

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13 de junio 1938

Apreciado amigo Herrera,

He repasado el libro de A.B. y lo único que se puede hacer es condensar los episodios de cárcel. El traductor mismo debe juzgar lo que se pueda condensar y lo que se puede eliminar.

Mande el libro hoy, y te encargaras de hacer lo que creas mas conveniente.

Saludos cordiales a todos.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 13, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. Vázquez [and] P[edro] Herrera. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.
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No 712. E.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

12522

Barcelona, den 13. Juni 1938.

Emma Goldmann

L o n d o n .-

werte Genossin Emma:

Wir erhielten dein wertiges Schreiben vom 19. Mai, welches eine Fuelle von Erklärungen und Daten höchsten Interesses enthaelt, von welchen wir entsprechende Notiz genommen haben.

Wie du bereits weisst, ist das Ausscheiden Herreras aus dem Rat der S.I.A. durch Genuende organisatorischen Interesses bedingt. Du brauchst dir deshalb keine Sorgen zu machen da die Genossin Lucia, welche ihn ablöst, nicht nur vollkommen vertrauenswürdig, sondern auch befähigt und verständig ist, was dafür buerget, dass du dich voellig mit ihr verstehen wirst.

Wir sind befriedigt von der Taetigkeit, die ihr entwickelt und zufrieden, dass ihr trotz der Unannehmlichkeiten und Schwierigkeiten, die das Unverstaendnis der anderen als Grundlage hat, nicht einen Augenblick in Ihrem Bestreben nachlasst. Di von den Fuhrern der Trade Unions eingenommene Haltung kann keine andere sein. Aller Verdruss, welche diese in euch hervorrufen kann, kann als gut angebracht bezeichnet werden, wenn er dazu beitraegt, das Bewusstsein eines Teiles der englischen Arbeiter aufzuwecken; eine Tatsache, von der wir ueberzeugt sind, wenn sie auch nicht in dem Ausmasse verwirklicht werde, die zu wuenschen wäre.

Wir stimmen mit deinem Urteil ueber die Moeglichkeiten, die Nordamerika darbieten kann, ueberein, und wenn wir uns auch keinen allzugrossen Illusionen hingeben, so erwarten wir doch ein Resultat der Bemuehungen, die Nye und andere Elemente seiner Tendenz verwirklichen. Natuerlich warten wir nicht mit gekreuzten Armen, wenn es etwa zu lange zoegern wuerde oder gar kein Resultat ergaebe; wie du weisst, setzt das spanische Volk den heftigen Angriffen des internationalen Faschismus einen heroischen Widerstand entgegen.

Wir akzeptieren alle Erklärungen, welche du uns ueber die "Independent Labour Party" gibst, ohne dass wir deinem Urteil irgendwelche Einwendungen gegenueberstellen, da wir mit ihm uebereinstimmen.

Sie erwarten die Aufstellung, welche du uns in deinem Schreiben versprichst, und welche fuer uns unerlaesslich ist, um die Angelegenheiten wirtschaftlichen Charakters mit den Genossen der S.I.A. regeln zu koennen.

Die im Namen der C.N.T.-F.A.I. fuer Materialkaeufo gesammelten Betraege muessen nach Paris ueberwiesen werden, da es sich um eine Angelegenheit handelt, die diesen beiden Organisationen uebermittelt zu werden hat; Marseille gilt lediglich fuer die Angelegenheiten der S.I.A.

Sobald wir die Auswahl jener Liste von Werken fertigstellen, die an Martin uebersandt wurde, werden wir dir mitteilen, welche von ihnen man erwerben kann. Wir erwarten das Exemplar von "Spain and the World", welches du uns in deinem Brief versprichst.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 13, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. Vázquez [and] P[edro] Herrera. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.
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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
 Federación Anarquista Ibérica
 Relaciones Exteriores

12523

-2-

Ohne weitere Nachrichten fuer heute, gruessen wir Dich
 bruederlich.

Fuer das Peninsularkomitee der F.A.I.

Fuer d. Nationalk. C.N.T.


 P. Herrera.-Stellv. Sekretær.


 Vázquez.-Sekretær.


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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 13, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Sadie [L. Robinson].— 1 p. ; 21 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17970

New York, June 13, 1938

Dear Emma:

I have asked someone Friedman to write you the progress news but since your letter of the 6th arrived today, I shall immediately answer it. You may have received a letter from Friedman before you receive this.

Please excuse yourself for a great shock when you read the next few lines. Van died on May 22nd from a heart attack. Up until now I could not bear to tell of it nor write to anyone about it - If I met anyone on the street and started to tell them ~~and~~ my knees would begin to shake and my heart begin to beat until I thought I would faint - but I had to go up to the SAS a few days ago and of course I had to notify you and the other comrades. I can scarcely collect myself even now. It is a tragedy to me.

I know you will be very much shocked but alas, he had a terrible disease - the awful disease of not being able to control his desire for drink. I pitied him because I know that if it were - I want to say "unhappy" - for him to stop drinking he would put it actually was a disease and he could not help it. I sympathized with him and for him. So if he had loved you at any time ~~Emma~~, it was not delirious. He loved and admired you very much and would have done anything for you.

Would you want the copies of the letters you enclosed returned? Perhaps I can do a little on the committee which Friedman is organizing. I will call him. Best of luck to you. With love,

Sadie

P.S. Van's daughter asked for your address which I gave her. Perhaps she will write you.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 13, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Pauline [Turkel].— 2 p. ; 20 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10021

*I just wrote
Giles to tell me
the telephone - she sends
her love*

420 E. 86th
540 EAST 86th STREET
NEW YORK

June 13, 1938.

Dear E. G.:

I wonder how your literary & National Evening
of April 29th went off. I hope it was a huge
success. I saw Carl Sandburg before he left
and he said he had your speaking. He spoke at
a picnic given by Edwina Behre & I went down to
say hello to him.

I can very well understand that you cannot
withdraw from activity. After all that has been
and is your life. It is in a way your prison
d'etre. But I have not been active in the
movement for years and what I see of it, does not
inspire me. Take for example the paper that
Bluestein & others recently started - the Challenge.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 13, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Pauline [Tukel]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18022

It seems to me to be barking up the wrong tree & an empty bark at that. I don't want to condemn anything that exists - all for a millennium that I know cannot come not only because of conditions but because of the inherent nature of man. I could work on the battle field of Spain, but I cannot work with the hotted groups that I see around. I do feel the tragedy of man and I resent your saying "No one can give it you" if you don't feel it. But that is no reason why I must commit stupidities. But let's drop the subject.

Filzi is as well as can be expected. She works hard and keeping her place in the country is a great financial drain on her but she likes it - so that's that.

I am enclosing a check for \$5⁰⁰. I want you to buy a birthday gift with it. I hope it reaches you in time. My love to you always. Pauline

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, June 14th 38.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Freedman, New York,

Dear Samuel, Thank you for your prompt reply. To day I had another letter from Tresca. He was away for a cure of somekind. But he is back now and he intends to start on the campaign. I have definitely decided to let him. I feel certain there is no one else who will reach the right kind of connections such as Tresca has. As to the L'ADONATA, they are a petty bunch, hair splitters of the worst description. Tresca quoted my letter wherein I had congratulated him on having taken up the Poyntz case and in telling him that I fear he will be a marked man if he tries to uncover the sinister activities of the G.P. U. Something to that effect. The L'ADONATA has it appear that I congratulated Tresca on having gone to the District Attourney with his grievances. This is absurd of the face of it and only used to express the old time was Graham the Italiens who are extreme individualists have merely kept up their vindictive attacks. Dear Samuel I cannot bother about them. I have led my own ~~lonely~~ solitary life as long as I can remember. So I am not going to stop now. The L'ADONATA Has never brought forward the slightest proof for its charges against Tresca. People who so easily besmirch the character of a man or woman without real facts are rather loose and undependable. Anyhow I have just written Tresca to go ahead after he has called together our own people, you and whom ever else you will suggest, some one from the Federation, Rose P. Harry Kelly and Van if he is sober, also Harry Weinberger and two or three other close friends.

As to the campaign itself I have to leave that to the judgment of those who will be present whether it is to be started before or after the elections. I fear if it is done before it might fall flat perhaps nothing can be raised during that stupid period in American political life. As I say you people will have to decide.

I am frightfully sorry about Van. But it is certain that if he is so addicted to liquor he cannot be depended upon with any sort of work. He is something like Lavel impossible when under the influence of drink. I was shocked last ~~xxx~~ visit to find Van in such a condition. But I had hoped he has gotten over it. Well, we can not stop at personal tragedies and comedies when ~~public~~ public work is concerned, especially for Spain for which I want to sail to C. and also get into the States.

You will be glad to know that the comrades in Barcelona have approved my plan of sailing. In their usual Spanish enthusiasm they write "it will be of the greatest importance to our work"

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London,

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

merich I hasten to inform them not to expect the impossible from C. Yes if I could get to A, it would be different. Anyhow I am glad to have their approval because it would have been hard for me to go away without even asking them. *Canada*

About Canada, the comrades in Toronto like so many comrades in America live in such a narrow circle they are really not in a position to know what is possible in Canada. I am convinced that if I can get a competent comrade to act as organiser in cities like Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton and further as far as British Columbia a tour can be made successful. Certainly not as successful as in the States of course not. But still worth while. We must try it anyhow and let the West of Canada wait. As to the idea that Fascism is growing in C. hence we would not be successful. I consider that a poor excuse for doing nothing. I think the growth of Fascism places the bounden duty on us to increase our activities. So please do not worry about C. See what you and the comrades of the Federation can do about the fund. Jeanne Levey has done something and may do more. Toronto will not do much but it will also help I am sure, both groups those of the Arb. Ring group, the Seltzers, Langbords, Steinberg etc. And the Joe Desser group. Get in touch with them.

I have written Secker and Warburg to send you 25 copies of Rockers book again and give you a larger discount. I have paid for the first shipment, for the second of £3,7,1. You sent me a bill for \$15.20. Please figure out the two amounts and see whether they are equal. If you owe me a surplus leave it for next time or visa versa. There is only one thing I must bring to your attention that we pay as much duty for the books you sent us as you pay for the A.S. We therefore must have a larger discount. As to charging us 8 cent for the Spanish tragedy that is impossible my dear. We have been selling it at 2d half d, or there. We cannot lose on them. Anyhow see what you can do.

I wonder why I had no answer from the comrades of Vanguard to my letters and the article I sent them. They were so eager for it even cabled. I wrote White and Clara several letters not a word in reply. That is no way in treating an old comrade.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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It is not so bad that Yaffee has become sole "publisher of Rudolf's book. It is that he has not judgment. I had to let him know that nothing is known by Johann Most by Rudolf and no one is interested in the work on his internment. If they are published we will try to dispose of some but that we had no means and no way of putting such books on the market. I am sure I love Rudolf and am as devoted to him as comrade Yaffee but there is no use getting away from facts.

Well, my dear I must close. See Treason and write me as soon as possible.

Love to the family, fraternal greetings to all the comrades and yourself

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14 [London to Alfred A.] Knopf, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24015

June 14th 38

Dear Mr Knopf.

A letter from my comrades in Barcelona informs me that they would like to publish *LIVING MY LIFE* in an abridged size of 300 pages. It is because they are short in paper and also because they sell their book for a few pesetas. I replied that before anything less I would have to get your permission. I hope you will be as generous as you have with my Dutch comrade. The translation is still in 1935. But some day I suppose the book will appear in Holland also in an abridged form. Will you please do the same for my Spanish comrades. That people facing daily danger and death should still think of cultural work is extraordinary indeed. But then the Spanish people are really a people apart. Their valour, their courage and their undying faith are among the many splendid traits of the Spanish people.

My friends asked me to delete the material in *L.M.L.* for them. I dread to face it. But all I will do is just give the public work of my ~~career~~ career. In the present madness in our world with individual lives of so little value it will not matter if my own personal experiences do not appear in Spanish. I understand why the Spanish anarchists feel that the historic background of the U.S. is more important to them. However, the main thing is to have your kind permission and also the release from royalties. Will you kindly send both on.

I received a volume of *L.M.L.* through the Baker and Taylor Co. I find it is a copy of the Garden City edition. I wanted one of the \$3 edition with the photos in the book. Are there none left? If you please send me two copies. And let me know whom to pay for the copy received to day. By the way B. and T. charge an awful lot for books. I wonder why. I have ordered 12 copies from the Garden City Pub. Co. I need no more of their edition for the present. But I would like one of the ~~other~~ second edition.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17930

June 14th 38

Dear Dorothy. To day I got your letter and I hasten to reply. I was of course interested in all your letter contained but I was surprised and grieved at your luke warm attitude towards my coming to Canada. What is it? Are you and the comrades not interested? Or do you permit your pessimism to paralyse your energies? Some years ago I had the same experience with Joe. He was in the dumps at the time and he wrote me he did not think it was any use coming to Canada. I came and we had some splendid meetings. Now I understand perfectly that just as Joe at that time meant for my best so do you. But that is a poor way to show your interest in my coming and in the work I might be able to accomplish. I realize that Fascism is growing in Canada as it does everywhere. Far from being a reason to discourage me from my plan to come to C. it should prove greater necessity to strain every effort for intense work. However I do not want to persuade you or the comrades. But I must know by return mail what Toronto intends to do.

Carlo Tresca Margaret De Silver and several other friends of mine have offered to start a campaign for a new visa for me. I am not fool enough to bank on their success but I do want them to try. So in any event I shall have to go to Canada as England is too far to try for a visa. Naturally I would like to believe that the comrades in Toronto care about my coming and are willing to help. Your letter aside of the length of time it took to reply, Joe is in the same boat shows no interest whatever. I am sure it is because you want to save me heart ache and disappointment. Still it gave me a queer feeling. However it is alright. Only please see Joe and whoever else there is who cares make some definite decision and let me know as soon as possible what to expect. The comrades in Spain are keen on my sailing for C. They think I might be able to rouse interest. I will certainly try my damndest.

Now listen Dorothy dear, I want no publicity connected with my coming to C. Plenty of time when I am in the country. With the growing Fascist tendency in C. I may not be permitted to land because I have several Spanish visas in my passport. That's why I want everything kept quiet as we always have before I was in the country. But I must know what the comrades themselves are going to do.

I will have to leave all the news your letter contained for another time. I am rather busy now. Affectionately

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14 [London to] Carlo [Tresca, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.
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17918

June 14th 38

Dear Carlo. I am sorry to learn that you were not well. I did wait anxiously to hear from you. But I am glad to could go away and build up your health. Lately I myself have not been so very much on deck. So I know that good health is essential to much activity. It is nothing serious in my case except overfatigued from the strain of the work for our people in Spain and the disappointments one meets here on every step. But then my heart though still "young and frisky" of course can no longer bear up under too much strain and anxiety. And our heroic Spain has caused me both. I am sure I will be alright once I can get away on a ship. I am a good sailor and I always feel twenty years younger when I am on the sea.

Dear Carlo I am delighted to know that it was not antagonism you felt against me because of my stand on the Soviet machine that has crushed the Russian Revolution. I should not have blamed you if you had been opposed to my franc criticism. My own comrades, at least some of them were opposed to my first articles. I suppose largely because they were opposed to my articles appearing in the New York World and being syndicated in 197 papers. Many of our comrades especially of the foreign elements still believe it is against the principles to write for a Capitalist paper. They do not realize that one can reach more people in one issue of a Daily than in revolutionary papers during years. After all the workers read most of the Dailies some of them the most yellow journals. Should they not be reached? Well, I have been much of a heretic in my own ranks. I am afraid I am too old to ment in that respect.

Thank you my dear for getting together the more intimate friends and comrades to talk over ways and means of the larger campaign. Do not forget to invite Samuel Freedom and one of the comrades of the Anarchist Federation. In a small circle it would also be good to invite a comrade or two of the Cultura Proletaria. As to the public campaign what do you think about the Elections? Do you not think it might be better to wait until that craze is over? I really am too far removed to be able to judge so I leave it to you, dear Margaret and the other friends whom you will invite. You will all know best whether to go ahead or wait.

You will be glad to know that my comrades in Barcelona have agreed to my going to Canada. They are such incurable optimists; they wrote me "we are sure your trip to Canada will be of the greatest importance to us". I hastened to assure them that while I will do my utmost they should not expect miracles. Perhaps it is just as well that they should have such profound faith. How else will they, surprised at the onslaught of the whole world against them? Marvelous people

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14 [London to] Carlo [Tresca, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17916

these Spaniards. Their letters will me with awe and wonder and often shame me for my faintheartedness about their chances of victory. Oh, I wish I could cry from the house tops of their valor, their courage their burning belief in their power of endurance. More for this than anything I may long myself do I want to get back to A.

Dear Carlo my attention has been called to some objections the L'ADONATO people have raised regarding something you are supposed to have quoted from my letter. I understand that they claim I had complimented you on having gone to the District Attourney or some such office in re the Poyntz mysetery. I cannot imagine that you quoted such nonsense because it was not your appeal to the authorities that I approached, it was your courage in taking up the case at all knowing as I do how dangerous to life and limb at is to lift the lid from the putrid swamp of G.P.U activities. I certainly did congratulate you on that and do so again now. As to appealing to the court I have no faith in that for the simple reason that one never gets at the truth through that institution. Besides even if the rotten person who did away with Miss Poyntz were found it would not bring her back to life by legally putting out his. In this respect the rotten Moscow outfit are better off. The most despicable method ~~it~~ does not disturb them. But those of us who will not stopp to jesuitism naturally cannot ~~gack~~ ~~gare~~ are at a disadvantages in disclosing the criminal ~~factbook~~ ~~factbook~~ ity of the G.P.U. But better this than jesuitism. In due time the truth will out as it has already in regard to the Communists in and out side of Russia. It is this that I want you to make clear to your reader and incidentally also at the readers of L'ADONATO.

I will send you a copy of A.S. But I will have to make inquiries about the other book. You do not say who the publishers are. A.S. goes with this letter under separte cover.

I hope you have return to New York in better health and good spirit and that you will start the ball arolling.

Kindest greetings to Margaret and yourself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 14, Perpignan [France to] Emma Goldman, London / [Author unknown].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Comité de Defensa de la Revolución Española Antifascista

Federacion de Comités Españoles de Accion Antifascista

Toda la correspondencia debe ser dirigida:

AY JEAN
5 bis, Rue des Cardeurs
PERPIGNAN (P.-O.)

Compte Chèques Postaux: AY Montpellier 23.579

Permanencia:

Ancien Hôpital Militaire
Rue Maréchal Foch
PERPIGNAN

Téléphone 23-01

Le 14 junio 1938

Apreciada compañera Emma GOLDMAN/
L O N D O N

SALUD:

Hemos recibido tu carta con otra adjunta para remitir a Martin, la cual salió ayer mismo.

Como tu dices puedes enviar todo lo que desees para remitir a él, con la completa seguridad de que llegará a destino, esto lo harás a la dirección de Ay.

Si envías prensa no envíes mas de tres ejemplares de cada nº. que es como nos tiene indinado Martin, y siendo en ingles aquí no lo entendemos para leerlo.

Sin otro particular, te saluda cordialmente



E. Paton

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 14, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 17 x 21 cm.

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No 703. E.

20903

A. I. T.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Comité Nacional

BARCELONA, a 14 de junio de 1.938.

A la Delegación Permanente de la C.N.T. en Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Te enviamos con la presente, para tu conocimiento y propaganda, un ejemplar del Sumario nº 4, "Servicio de Prensa para el Exterior".

Te saluda fraternalmente,

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL.

Mariano R. Vázquez

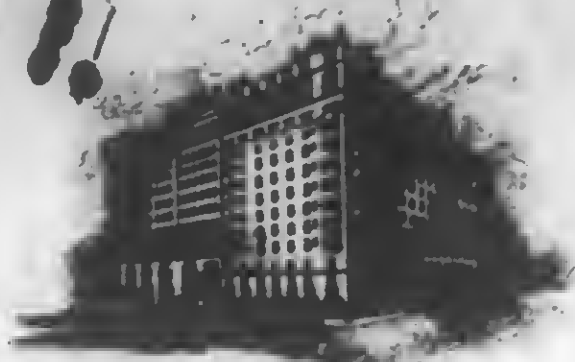
Secretario.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14, St. Louis [Mo. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ben [Capes]. —
6 p. ; 23 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



Hotel Jefferson
The Aristocrat of St. Louis

800 ROOMS

12th BOULEVARD AT LOCUST

6/14/38

My dear Emma
Believe it or not I've written
you at least a dozen letters in
my mind but none of them
have gotten on paper. For
one reason or another.....
Mainly I was in search
for a consoling word.....
The one and only hope spring
has been swinging between life
and death for weeks and weeks
I just dread to look at a
paper for fear of facing the
stark reality.... And yet ^{there} always
that appears a faint ray of
hope that some power some
may against all odds they will

502

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14, St. Louis [Mo. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ben [Capes]. —
6 p. ; 23 x 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18035



Hotel Jefferson
200 ROOMS

800 ROOMS

1200 BOULEVARD AT LOCUST

they must conquer.... Hope is
of course father to the thought.
For there is nothing, absolutely,
in reality to support the thought
-except the magic in
-high spirit and the will to be
masters of their lives that supply
them with superhuman powers to
go on. It is already our indictment
against the "International
Bulitariat" that the Spanish
People must fight world
fascism single handed with
no help from any one
while their enemies are getting
support from the four corners
of the earth. Its just sickening

Air Conditioned Guest Rooms

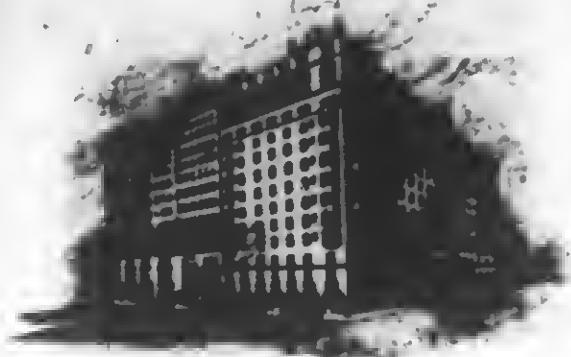
503

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14, St. Louis [Mo. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ben [Capes]. —
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18056



Hotel Jefferson
THE ARISTOCRAT OF ST. LOUIS

800 ROOMS

to think of such frightful
slaughter that could have been
ended in a few weeks if not
for the fascist bandits from the
outside. you can well imagine
how we hang on to every word
that comes from our side. I can
safely tell you that the entire press
without exception hint nothing
but Packer of lies from Franco's
side. according to their reports
Spain should have been in
Franco's hands 2 years ago....
From the above remarks you
will understand fully how I
hang on to every word of your
report on your second trip
to Spain more than once.

Air Conditioned Guest Rooms

504

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14, St. Louis [Mo. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ben [Capes]. —
6 p. ; 23 x 15 cm.
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800 ROOMS

18037

12th BOULEVARD AT OCEUST
did I find myself with a
lump in my throat as I read
the birth of a new world.
The people themselves arranging
their own lives, working together,
learning their experience the value
of society. At the greatest experiment
there all history, and as you
remarked even if it is not a
complete success at the moment
the great lesson of it will be a
quest for the future generations
of men my other disgust will
be on Bakunin that led me
to suggest that Mettlyn be chosen
to write Bakunin's life. I agree
with you that only an artist
of the first rank could treat
Air Conditioned Guest Rooms

505

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 14, St. Louis [Mo. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ben [Capes]. —
6 p. ; 23 x 15 cm.

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Hotel Jefferson
The Aristocrat of St. Louis

800 ROOMS

12th BOULEVARD AT LOCUST

such a dazzling personality again
as your say historic facts are not
enough for his life was so full
so overwhelming, so magnetic,
that its nothing short of an indictment
against the movement that no one
has ~~or~~ ^{has} ~~resented~~ ^{to do} him justice.
This Mr. Kaminski, ^{his wife} you mention
are they writing Bakunin's life in
English? I received a notice from
Chicago that Massimoff is also
working on a treatise on Bakunin
and I understand that Massimoff
has a lot valuable on his life
etc. Anyway Carr's reactionary and
ideally book on Bakunin may
yet prove a blessing in disguise
if nothing else. I will subscribe
All Conditioned Guest Rooms over

506

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]38 June 14, St. Louis [Mo. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ben [Capes]. —
6 p. ; 23 x 15 cm.
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18039

the lovers and admirers of Boburin
at least to make an attempt to do him
Justice. Things here are rather at a
very low ebb.... Bob has been at
the hospital for nearly 2 weeks,
a complete nervous break down....
and that is our great problem at
the moment. We are working on
a scheme to pack him off to the
country, to lead a Gypsy life for
a few months. Mary also has given us an
awful job... He decided to give
up medicine after seven hard
years of schooling. It broke his
heart, but there is nothing we
can do about it. He is for now
looking for a job.... Not an
easy thing to get with 6 million
unemployed men looking for the
same thing. At the moment Bob's
health is our greatest concern if
we can only see him there we will
some how some way manage
to wrangle thru the rest of it. Every
one has their little love much love. Bob.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 14, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne [Levey].—
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

June 14, 1938.

Have just received your most welcome letter and note what you have to say in reference to your tour. I am very happy to learn that you attempting to get started. I believe it will be a wonderful thing for all of us, as well as yourself. You will be able to do some valuable work here.

My brother, Dr. William A. Mendelsohn and his wife are leaving on the 22nd of June for England and Ireland. I have given him a package for you and have asked him to stop and visit with you. Believe you will find him a charming fellow and he will be a very good listener. I hope you will have some time to spend with him and I believe both of you will enjoy the visit. I did not know just what to send you. I knew I could not send you any silk things, so I sent some rayon hose and slips. I hope you will be able to use them, but if you cannot, I am sure you will find someone who can make use of them. I was not certain of the size, but took a chance.

About raising some money for your trip, Emma, dear, you know I have \$200.00 and do not see where I can raise any additional money in Chicago. I have written to the Los Angeles group a number of times, but of course they too are busy raising money for their various funds and it is just one of those difficult things. I have just written to Jeffrey and asked him to let me know by return mail if there is any chance of their raising any money. As far as Aaron is concerned, my dear, I wish you would write to him about advancing the \$300.00. I believe you might be more successful. I wrote you that he has given me \$50.00 and I find it very awkward to ask him for any additional help. His office is located at 841 W. Washington Street, Chicago. I believe the New York committee has raised some money. If each one of the states would do something it would not be difficult to get the money together. I am dear let me know just how you want me to send the money to you, by check, money order or whichever way you get the most in exchange. If you cannot get into the United States, we will go to Canada and meet you at some point there. I know that Ben will make every effort to do the same. Of course things are a bit bad in this country now, it is difficult to make many plans. Most everyone feels the present business conditions. Anyone attempting to ask for money at this time is decidedly unpopular. However, you know I will do all I possibly can to help you. Have you heard from the Canada people? Perhaps they will be able to raise some money.

Write and let me know just what your plans are and when we can expect to see you. Jay joins me in sending our sincerest love to you.

Always,

Jeanne

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June? 15? London to] Edward Dahlberg, [East Gloucester, Mass.] / [Emma Goldman]. -- 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3928

Dear Edward Dahlberg,

I am in the midst of getting ready to leave for France for some weeks, so I will not be able to treat your letter at great length, though it calls for a thorough analysis of many of the points you raise; but as I do not know when I might get a chance to write you I have decided to do whatever I can in reply.

First of all I want to tell you that I am going to Paris in the hope that I may get into Spain. It is necessary for me to go back to Spain for new impressions and observation. I want to be able to say I come direct from Spain when I get to Canada. On my return from Spain I shall have to go to Amsterdam for a few weeks to sort material my dear departed friend, Alexander Berkman, left which the International Institute for Social History is very keen on acquiring. Then some time in October I hope to sail for Canada. I will be very glad to see you there or, if the gods are willing, perhaps in New York.

When I said that Peter Kropotkin was very prophetic in what he wrote and said about Germany, I did not mean to imply that he was therefore justified in supporting an imperialistic war. I only meant that Kropotkin knew the nature of the Prussian beast, and that all he foresaw of the pander of Germany to the rest of the world, if victorious, came true; indeed, far beyond in evil anything the Grand Old Man imagined in his wildest dreams. However, we need not argue the matter, since I never meant for a moment to suggest that I justified Kropotkin's stand on the war.

You ask how people who represent the greatest ideal of human freedom can go back on it to the extent that Kropotkin did. The explanation is first of all in the terrific hold war has on the imagination of people. Then there are the unaccountable changes of human beings. I see that you quote Miguel De Unamuno who called for "more warmth" rather than "more light". Well, a greater collapse of a fine mind than Miguel De Unamuno one can hardly imagine - the great Liberal who had lived in exile during the dictatorship to go over to Franco and Fascism, both the worst enemies of liberalism or "warmth". It is true Unamuno soon came to see his grievous mistake. If there is such a thing as dying of a broken heart, there is no doubt his disillusionment brought about his sudden end. So you see, my dear friend, neither you nor I is able to explain the changes some of the greatest minds undergo and the flights they take from the sublime to the ridiculous.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June? 15? London to] Edward Dahlberg, [East Gloucester, Mass.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3925

8

I agree with you that creeds are dangerous things and should be guarded against. In fact when an ideal becomes a creed it defeats itself. To be sure, ideas do not make revolutionists, much less anarchists, but they help to bring out what is latent in human beings. They make man conscious of his desire for and need of freedom. We cannot therefore separate ideas and principles. Life is larger and more powerful than theories, yet they do affect each other.

Dear friend, you and I need not argue about the consequences of war. I know only too well that you are right when you say that "war will beget war in everlasting succession", but there is nevertheless a difference between a war for conquest of power and loot - in other words Imperialist wars - and one for the defence of revolutionary achievement. Though I firmly believe that Fascism is an ogre that justifies almost any means to crush it, I can nevertheless assure you that if the war in Spain were only to conquer Fascism, I should not give my all for it. It is because I know that as far as the National Confederation of Labour is concerned and the F.A.I., the war is primarily to safeguard the Spanish Revolution. This is the distinction between their struggle and that of an Imperialist war.

Although one may be against violence, for the life of me I cannot see how the Spanish workers and peasants could be expected to fold their arms and tell Franco and his backers to come along. It would have meant the extermination of every libertarian idea and ideal and the sacrifice of the most ardent and devoted champions of liberty. That is exactly what the workers in Italy, Germany and Austria have done, folded their arms. You know the result as well as I. I cannot therefore agree with your attitude and that of many pacifists. I myself abhor violence, but I still more abhor Fascism.

The Spanish Anarchists have demonstrated that Fascism must be fought to the last degree. Otherwise it would set back progress for a hundred years. The unfortunate thing was that the people of Germany and of Italy submitted without raising a finger to that insatiable monster, Fascism.

Well, the Spanish Anarchists, in fact the Spanish people and peasants are the only ones in the world who still love liberty so intensely and devotedly that they would prefer to die fighting for it to becoming cringing slaves. That is why I am with them and intend to be to my last breath.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June? 15? London to] Edward Dahlberg, [East Gloucester, Mass.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
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3930

3

I have looked over my copy of my letter to you of the 24th May. I cannot find the one of April 8th. I do not see what there is in the one of May 24th to merit its reproduction. By all means help yourself to both letters.

My mail will be forwarded, so please address all letters to the above address.

With warmest greetings,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 15 [London to Germinal? de Sousa?, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19295

15 de junio 1938

Estimados camaradas,

He recibido vuestras cartas del día 10 y 25 de mayo, también vuestra opinión sobre los trece puntos del gobierno, que hemos publicado en Spain and the World. Mucho trabajo me ha impedido contestaros hasta ahora, y siento haberos hecho esperar mis noticias por tanto tiempo.

Queridos compañeros, desde hace un año, he procurado sin descanso, explicar a los camaradas ingleses y americanos las razones de vuestras acciones y vuestros criterios como las del comité nacional. Me atrevo decir que he dado esperanza a los camaradas aquí en América que habéis sido obligados por las circunstancias de partir de vuestras líneas tradicionales y hacer concesiones a causa de la conspiración de los poderes democráticos en liga con los fascistas contra España y los trabajadores. Pero es cierto que los anarquistas de todas partes del mundo han sufrido una desilusión por el hecho de la negación de las ideas y ideales nuestras; lo que ha contribuido a aminorar el entusiasmo que el heroico 19 de julio sublevó en los corazones y cerebros de los obreros en todas partes. Se puede decir, de todas maneras, que los camaradas, aquí y en los Estados Unidos han hecho todo lo posible en pro de vuestra causa y han propagado a sus respectivos socios el gran valor de vuestra lucha.

En cuanto a Inglaterra, hay que ser franco y decir que no existe movimiento anarquista en este país, ni siquiera grupos aislados— fuera de un pequeño grupo "Freedom group" de antiguos camaradas que no entienden nada de la situación actual y son demasiado pobres para servir de ayuda. Hemos organizado un grupo anarco-sindicalista, que esperamos podrá crecer en importancia. Además en nuestro bureau-CNT-PA y SIA, hay solamente cuatro camaradas que trabajan. Hemos de todo modo conseguido distribuir literatura, y publicado bulletines, y recoger fondos para la SIA. En los U.S.A., es diferente— hay grupos de varios idiomas, principalmente en español y hacen mucho para vuestra lucha, a pesar de sus diferencias de criterios.

Me preguntáis mi opinión, pero creo no es tiempo para discutir diferencias. Yo por mi parte, creo que no tengo derecho a discutir con vosotros. El tiempo vendrá cuando el espectro negro será destruido en España, y entonces el pueblo se sentirá libre de proseguir su obra revolucionaria. Hasta entonces, nosotros en el extranjero, es debemos todos nuestros esfuerzos de ayuda y no de impedimentos. Es por lo menos mi parecer y lo de los pocos camaradas que trabajan con mígo.

Os ruego de mandarme todas las noticias importantes en alemán o en francés. De momento el compañero Frank quien ha traído el muy interesante film de las colectividades y otras fases de la vida española, me hace las traducciones. Publicaremos el material que pueda interesar los lectores, y si es material privado, haremos copias para enviar a los camaradas aquí y en América.—Con saludos fraternales, a todos.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 15, London [to Germinal? de Sousa?, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19297

London June 15th 38

Dear Comrade. I have before me your two letters of May 10th and 25th. I also received your attitude to the 13 points of your government. The latter has gone into our publication Spain and the World. I am sorry dear comrades to have kept you waiting for word from me for so long. My silence was due to considerable work on hand which had to be cleared away first. It is only now that I find time to answer your two letters.

Dear comrades ever since a year ago last May I have spent most of my time trying to explain to the comrades in England and the United States the reasons for your actions and your stand as well as that of our comrades from the National Committee. I dare say I have succeeded in bringing hope to our comrades in this country and America that you were forced by insurmountable circumstances to divert from your traditional stand as Anarchists and to make the concessions forced on you by the conspiracy against the Spanish people on the part of the so called democracies who are in league with the world fascists to crush Spain and the Spanish workers. But it is certain that the disappointment of ~~the~~ our Anarchist comrades in the world over the denial of our ideas and ideals is very great and it has helped to dampen the enthusiasm which your heroic 19th of July has awakened in the hearts and minds of the workers everywhere. Yet it cannot be said that our comrades as far as there are Anarchists in England and certainly in the States have remained indifferent to your great needs. They have done their utmost to raise funds and enlighten the workers of their respective countries about your wonderful courage and fortitude.

As far as England is concerned it is necessary to be frank and tell you we have no Anarchist movement, not even isolated groups. There are a comrade here and there but neither able nor materially in a position to do anything for our ideas or for Spain. In London there is Freedom group consisting of old comrades mostly who understand nothing of the present world situation and are too poor to help in a material way. We have organized an Anarcho Syndicalist group which is so far of not much consequence but we are hoping it might eventually grow into an active body. And then we have the CNT-FAI and SIA Bureaus for which only three or four comrades consecrate their time and energy. Nevertheless we have succeeded in doing a considerable amount of work, in raising funds for the SIA and in spreading a lot of manifestos and bulletins which we have published. It is different in the U.S.A. There all sorts of language groups including the Spanish have their active groups and they have a great deal for your struggle although as I said the American comrades especially are disappointed in many of the steps taken by you and the CNT.

You ask for our opinion dear comrades this does not seem the proper time to argue our differences. You need all your energies all your strength and power of endurance to crush fascism. I for one do not feel I even have the right to argue with you. The time will come no doubt when the black spectre will be destroyed and the people of Spain can once more feel free to resume their revolutionary con

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513

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[Letter] 1938 June 15, Corwen, Wales [to Emma Goldman, London] / John C[owper]
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23371

that proletarians will
 emerge so as to give
 the people at the
 same time livelihood
 and liberty!
 The unemployment in
 America seems awful
 but now I suppose
 that the bribe the
 Fascist States offer their
 labouring class - "if
 you'll drill & salute
 become obedient patriots,
 we will feed you &
 give you work".
 There's the alternative! In
 the Democratic personal
 liberty and the dose -
 In the Fascist states
 Drilling & saluting, &
 thinking all alike, but
 with work & pay guaranteed
 - only the latter pretty
 small!
 The test for you,
 my old friend, and
 your

I pay to you as you to me, don't bother to
 hurry to write. Tell the short message you of
 burden yourself a
 bit to a fellow-writer! you as
 John C. Powys

7/ae Coed

Corwen
 Merionethshire
 N. Wales

June 15
 1938

Dear old Friend

Ag: but it was
 meant of you to take
 this time in your
 crowded & agitated
 life to write me
 such a calm & interesting
 letter, dealing with
 so many things of
 great moment.
 I value your friendship
 so deeply - oh how
 would like to
 see your friend
 in Catalonia emerge
 from this war

P.S. The world is slowly getting better, thanks to the war!

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 June 15, Corwen, Wales [to Emma Goldman, London] / John C[owper]
Powys. — 4 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.
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23372

victorious and
really at last
create an absolutely
new experiment
in social life
and government
free from politicians
and dictators —
country really
free, and one that
would realize all
those hopes that
we all had at
the beginning
of the Revolution
in Russia!

I suppose your friends
are in reality in
the majority in
Russia and

if after the defeat
of Fascism some sort
of Federated Government
in Spain was the
issue, it would
be there rather
than anywhere else (eh?)
That this great new
experiment might be
made. They would have
to have some sort of
centralized authority
elected directly by
the syndicates to
deal with exports &
imports etc etc and
with settling of the
the division of the
profits of the whole
district's production
and exchange
with other districts
in Spain &
other countries.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

901009000

[Letter] 1938 June 15, Corwen, Wales [to Emma Goldman, London] / John C[owper]
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some sort of authority,
elected by the workers
will be necessary —
What forum would that
authority actually take?
I do feel sure, my dear
old friend, that
in the long run some
such new system
will be evolved such
as the world has never
seen.

Your friends have hitherto
been in the position of
critics — They've been
in opposition — I do
wonder how they
will work it all
out when they
are — as in the
end they must
be — in power!

23373
I must confess that
all the anarchists I've
ever seen are no more
honest & idealistic
~~and~~ and no free
from those tricky
ways that they
call "real politics"
that I cannot see how
they will guard themselves
from the tricks of
oratorical demagogues and
clever unscrupulous
plotters with treacherous
"slogans".

And once in power I wonder
how much freedom of thought
they will allow to their "Intelligentsia!"
That will be a difficult
question too. But they
have suffered so long
and so deeply themselves
that perhaps they
will find some
way of guarding their
liberty & their men

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 June 15, Corwen, Wales [to Emma Goldman, London] / John C[owper]
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creation, and
not allowing their
intelligence all
the indulgence in
the world to criticize!
Well! you & I may
not live to see it;
but you, old friend,
will be one of
the "saints" & "pioneers"
of the New Era for
humanity when it
does come. That
is certain.
I expect all sorts of schemes
& plans are hatching, one
after another. But your
active brain as to your
own future — in addition
to the few you hint at
here. — Such be yours
Well Good Goldman whatever
Emma! & after all
hobbies! — to be
to have been, & to be
Emma Goldman, in, as
our Americans say,
some luck! in
itself!

friends will come
when you have
won and have
not some district, some
province, however
small, where you
have to entirely
your own way —
A real Libertarian
Anarchist Commonwealth!
What would it be like!
Certainly it doesn't look
as if you & your friends
would allow even the
beginning of a
dictatorship by one
man or by a small
group of men over
the rest — but
to exchange commodities
& settle disputes and
establish justice between
people, between
families & different
industries

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 15, Corwen, Wales [to Emma Goldman, London] / John C[owper] Powys. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3945

JOPX.

7, Cas Coed,
 Corwen,
 Merionethshire,
 N. Wales.

June 15th, 1938.

Dear old Friend,

Aye! but it was sweet of you to take the time in your crowded and agitated life to write me such a calm and interesting letter, dealing with so many things of great moment. I value your friendship so deeply - Oh! how I would like to see your friends in Catalonia emerge from this war victorious and really at last create an absolutely new experiment in social life and government free from politicians and dictators - a country really free, and one that would realise all those hopes that we all had at the beginning of the Revolution in Russia.

I suppose your friends are in reality in the majority in Catalonia and if after the defeat of Fascism some sort of Federated Government in Spain was the issue, it would be there rather than anywhere else (ah?) that this great new experiment might be made.

I suppose they would have to have some sort of centralised authority elected directly by the syndicates to deal with exports and imports, etc., etc., and with the settling of the division of the profits, of the whole district's production and exchange with other districts in Spain and other countries. What problems will emerge so as to give the people at the same time livelihood and liberty!

The unemployment in America seems awful just now. I suppose that's the bribe the Fascist States offer their labouring class - "If you'll drill and salute and become obedient patriots, we will feed you and give you work." There's the alternative! In the Democracies personal liberty and the dole. In the Fascist States drilling and saluting, and thinking-all-alike, but with work and pay guaranteed - only the latter pretty small!

The test for you, my old friend, and for your friends, will come when you have won and have got some district, some province, however small, where you have it entirely your own way. A real Libertarian Anarchist Commonwealth! What would it be like? Certainly it doesn't look as if you and your friends would allow even the beginning of a dictatorship by one man or by a small group of men over the rest - but to exchange commodities and settle disputes and establish justice between people, between families and different industries, some sort of authority elected by the workers would be necessary. What form would that authority actually take? I do feel sure, my dear old friend, that in the long run some such new system will be evolved such as the world has never seen.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 15, Corwen, Wales [to Emma Goldman, London] / John C[owper]
 Powys. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
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3946

8

Your friends have hitherto been in the position of critics - they've been in opposition. I do so wonder how they will work it all out when they are - as in the end they must be - in power! I must confess that all the Anarchists I've ever seen are so sincere and honest and idealistic and so free from those tricky ways that they call "real politics", that I cannot see how they will guard themselves from the tricks of oratorical demagogues and clever unscrupulous plotters with treacherous "slogans". And once in power I wonder how much freedom of thought by speech and pen they will allow to their Intelligentsia! That will be a difficult question, too. But they have suffered so long and so deeply themselves that perhaps they will find some way of guarding their liberty and their new creation, and yet of allowing their Intelligentsia all the indulgence in the world to criticize!

Well, you and I may not live to see it; but you, old friend, will be one of the "saints" and "pioneers" of the New Era for humanity when it does come. That is certain.

I expect all sorts of schemes and plans are passing, one after another through your active brain as to your own future - in addition to the few you hint at here.

Well, good luck be yours, Emma Goldman, whatever happen! and after all to have been and to be Emma Goldman is, as our Americans would say, some luck in itself. I say to you, as you to me, don't bother to hurry to write till the spirit moves you or you want to unburden yourself a bit to a fellow-writer!

Yours as ever,

(Sgd.) JOHN C. POWYS.

P.S. Howelllyn is slowly getting better, thank the Lord!

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 15, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nacional del Trabajo
 y
 Anarquista Ibérica
 Relaciones Exteriores

No. 716. E.

12524

Barcelona, den 15. Juni 1938.

An das Propagandabüro der C.N.T.-F.A.I. in England.
L o n d o n .

Werte Genossin Emma Goldmann:

Wir erhielten Dein Schreiben vom 20. Mai.

Es freut uns, dass es Deinen Beifall gefunden hat, dass wir Dir die Korrespondenz in Deutsch senden.

Wir sind von dem Meeting unterrichtet, welches im Albert Saal stattfinden wird.

In Bezug auf das Buch von Cánovas Cervantes teilen wir Dir mit, dass auf Grund von Unannehmlichkeiten, welche sich ergeben haben, keine englische Ausgabe veröffentlicht werden wird; dass ist unser endgültiger Beschluss. Es ist deshalb notwendig, dass Du hiervon absiehst; wir möchten Dir mitteilen, dass die Anstrengungen, welche Du gemacht hast, um eine in diesem Sinne gute Arbeit zu leisten, uns ausserordentlich befriedigt haben. Wir wiederholen zu Deiner Genugtuung, dass unser Entschluss nicht auf der Tatsache beruht, dass 50 oder 60 Libras aufzuwenden wären, sondern vielmehr auf Unannehmlichkeiten, die in Verbindung mit dem Verfasser stehen.

Wir haben der Genossin Lucía Sánchez Saornil, Generalsekretärin der S.I.A., die Stellen aus Deinem Briefe, die sich auf letztere beziehen, mitgeteilt.

Ohne weitere Nachrichten fuer heute, gruessen Dich herzlich

Fuer d. Pen. und d. F.A.I.

Fuer d. Nat.-Kom. der C.N.T.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929024

[Letter] 1938 June 15, Washington, D.C. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Lillian Kisluk. — 4 p. ; 26 x 26 cm.
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17523

gather money and sell literature. He keeps up wonderfully well, tho he has aged very much of course. I belong to no group and have very few contacts. I tried to arrange an affair for Rucker thru the Friends of Spanish Democracy, but they would not have him because he is an Anarchist. They did not hesitate, however, to use my large house for a big party to raise money for medical supplies for the children of Spain. Rucker did speak for the Workmen's Circle in Yiddish

Washington, D.C.
June 15, 1938

Dearest Emma:-

The longer the time elapses since I have written you last, the worse I feel about it, and the more difficult it becomes to write and apologize for the long silence. And besides, I have gotten out of the habit of writing — I rarely write — or for that matter — rarely read. It has come down to merely

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working, resting and some recreation occasionally. Not that things have not been going well, for my nursery school has flourished but it takes most of my time and energy. We have about 40 children to take care of, and I do not work as hard as I did at first for I have two trained teachers helping besides Phil. The work is interesting and has possibilities for various phases of research but it leaves room for nothing else. The hours are long, the work never ending, always noise, tumult and disturbance. And last winter I had to take a course at the local college on nursery procedure, and there will be another next year on child development.

I have been terribly upset by all that has happened in Europe, and particularly Spain, but have not done as much as I would like to express my protest. There is no group of our own here in D. C., like there is in Chicago, for instance, and on that score I am terribly lonely. Father belongs to the Workmen's Circle at least and continues to

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P.S.

Do you remember Vera
Levine? One of the
Chicago comrades? Well, she
asks me to tell you
that she thinks of you
often and sends you
her warmest love.

2 17528
and I arranged that he
also speak in English
at their headquarters the
following night, at which
we raised some money for
Spain.

I did make an effort
to organize a prominent
committee to get a vast
list of important Americans
to protest against the
purges and lack of civil
liberties in Russia, but
I could not get enough
local people to help me
work on it and it was
too much of a task for
me to undertake to do alone.
I was terribly disappointed.

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17526

I have not yet sent
you that seven dollars.
If you will tell me how
to send it and where, I
will mail it immediately.

If you forgive me for
my long silence, write
and tell me how you are,
and what you are doing.
I have read with deep
interest and sympathy
some of your articles in
"Spain and the World." Father
Phil and all of us send
you our warmest love.

Affectionately,

Lillian Kishuk

1428 Euclid St., N. W.
Washington, D.C.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 June 15] Abisko, Sweden [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Manning]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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18217

SVENSKA TURISTFÖRENINGEN

ABISKO TURISTSTATION
POSTADRESS: ABISKO TURISTSTATION
TELEFON: ABISKO 8

Don't write
the - I shall be in
again before you get
Sweden

ABISKO TURISTSTATION den Thursday 1938

Dearest Emma -

It was dear of you to come & see me off -
I did appreciate it. I meant to give you the
enclosed then - you must have wondered at my
going away without fulfilling my long-standing
S. I. A. promise.

I have read Herbert Read's book with
great care & enormous interest. I don't think he is
as confused as you think. I think that by an ideal
common to Lenin, Marx & Bakunin? he means the
ideal of communism in the broadest sense - goods
in common, communal living, communal stocks,
abolition of private property, & so forth - an
ideal that is common to Marx & to anarchism
in that broad theoretic sense. I think it's
just that he expresses himself loosely. I don't
agree with all he says about art & abolition -
in fact don't understand all he says on that
subject, but his anarchism seems to be to have
been thought out for years the same to be
widely read in anarchist writings. I don't
find anything to quarrel with. (You ^{widely} ~~don't~~ ^{go up} ~~don't~~ ^{find} ~~find~~ ^{reading} the book. Notice, as I found

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1828

Several pages uncut towards the end!) I will write a long review of the book as soon as I get back.

Am writing this in Swedish Lapland - its all desperately wild & desolate up here in the Arctic Circle, & we are not staying, but working 8000 ft on Saturday. We find the unending daylight really rather horrible - night ought to fall! We came to this Alpine-bleat sort of hotel this afternoon across the most desolate world's end country I have ever seen or hope to see! Its odd to find in this wild desolation this modern, furnished & decorated ('Heal' furniture, rug, curtains, painted chairs, polished floors, blue-washed walls & so forth) place, so very 'artistic' & really very charming -

The three day boat journey up the wild mountainous coast, ^{which} is rather monotonous - I don't really like ship-board life, but I suppose the enforced rest was good. Only its strange stopping suddenly after working as I was working before coming away - one sort of forgets how to rest!

I hope you are not doing too much, my dear gallant one - soon I shall be with you again, doing what I can in my humble position. Bless you, dear. And I am glad you have seen my gentle little Jean at last. ^{My little love} Ethel

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 15, Amsterdam [to] Emma Goldman, London / Annie Adama
v[an] Scheltema-Kleefstra. — 1 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

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18110

Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis
International Institute for Social History
Institut International d'Histoire Sociale
Internationales Institut für Sozialgeschichte

Directeur: Prof. Dr. H.W. Posthumus  Keizersgracht 264 - Amsterdam-C.

A.V.S.B.N.

Tolst. 24409

15th. June 1938.

Mrs. Emma Goldman,
c/o. International Anti-Fascist Solidarity,
31, Frith Street,
Shaftesbury Avenue,
London W.1.

Dear Mrs. Goldman,

Mr. Nettlau was kind enough to write to me about the letter he received from you regarding the manuscripts and other documents in Alexander Berkman's collection and also regarding his and your own correspondence.

The International Institute for Social History has during the recent years acquired some very big libraries, largely composed of anarchist material. I would like to point out to you, that it is of such great importance to build up one really comprehensive international library on anarchism, where students could be sure of finding what they want. Mr. Nettlau told me, that you feel you would like to give your material to America, which has been the centre of a big part of your life and interests. I hope however you will consider the matter from the point of view of what will really be the most useful course in the interest of students of anarchism all over the world.

I have heard from Mr. Nettlau that you were thinking of going to St. Tropez. If so, the Institute would be willing to pay the expenses if there are any definite prospects, regarding the collection. On the other hand, Professor Posthumus, the director of our Institute, would be very pleased, if you could see your way to entrust him with the commission of examining this collection with a view to having it sent to Amsterdam. A third possibility would be to have the library packed by your friends and sent to Amsterdam, at the expense of the Institute. You would then perhaps also come to Amsterdam and arrange things here.

Could you be so kind as to let us know your present intentions in the matter?

Possibly I shall be coming to England in the autumn, and if so, I should be very happy to take the opportunity of making your personal acquaintance.

Meanwhile I am,

Yours sincerely,

Annie Adama v. Scheltema-Kleefstra

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 16, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Charles] Wolf. —
1 p.; 13 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BOITE POSTALE 110
41, RUE DU HAVRE
PARIS (8^e)

ohne Namensangabe!

19221

16. 6. 38.

liebe genossin emma goldmann,

all ihre briefe an den consejo general, die an vasques und herrera wie auch die-
jenigen an martin gudell, habe ich stets sofort weitergeschickt. ~~Es~~ könnte es
nicht verstehen, dass nur die an martin gudell nicht angekommen sein sollten, auch
die russischen zeitungsausschnitte für ihn — es waren zu viele, um sie alle auf
einmal zu senden — sind nach und nach alle abgegangen, und, wie ich hoffe, ihnen
inzwischen bestätigt worden.
mit kameradschaftlichen grüssen.

wolf.

WOLF

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 16 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] / Helmut [Rüdiger].— 2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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18951

Am 16. Juni 1938

Liebe Anna, entschuldige, dass ich Dir die Ankunft des Scheekes noch nicht bestätigte. Jawohl, er kam an, und die Freude darüber war riesengross. Ich schrieb nur noch nicht, weil ich eine Quittung des Genossen Zufall-Kassel selbst mitzuschicken wollte, der Junge rennt aber überall herum in seiner Angewissenheit und ich kann ihn kaum erwischen. Darum diese Quittung später. Übrigens war der Scheek "overhead", sodass ich ihn nicht selbst einlösen konnte, ich musste ihn über Renard flüchtig machen. Aber das ist ja nun gleich, ich habe Renard bei dieser Gelegenheit von der Geschichte erzählt, und auch er billigte meine Aktion. Ich habe also erhalten 980.- Franken.

Du erwähnst in Deinen Briefe mehrfach den Kongress der IAA. Gegenwärtig habe ich einige Zweifel, ob er wirklich schon August stattfindet. Vielleicht doch ein wenig später... Und wie wird es inzwischen in Spanien gehen? Es steht wieder einmal schlimm. Aber unsere Spanier sind furchtbarlich stöh, und die wildeste Entschlossenheit kommt ihnen oft gerade in der Katastrophe. Das ist ja das Wunder dieses ganzen grossen historischen Widerstandes, den sie leisten.

Ich würde an Deiner Stelle durchaus die Aufforderung der PAI befolgen und ihnen - nicht auf dem Wege der ordentlichen Post! - einmal die Meinung sagen. Sie, die Spanier, mögen schwer belehrbar sein, aber ganz unbelehrbar können sie doch nicht sein, sie wären ja dann überhaupt keine Menschen. Und sie müssten zunächst einmal das bittere Wort begreifen, das auf dem letzten IAA-Kongress geprägt wurde von dem sonst nicht allzu kling aufgetretenen chilenischen Delegierten: LEALDAD NO ES SINONIMO DE SERVILISMO. Sie dürfen von denen, die entschlossen sind, ihnen unter allen Umständen die Treue zu halten, nicht glauben, dass sie sich ihnen in allen Einzelheiten unterwerfen. Dann würde ja unsere anarchistische Grundlage zum Teufel gehen, und die liehen wir genauso wie Spanien.

Wenn heute spanische Genossen glauben, dass der kommunistische Einfluss definitiv zurückgegangen sei, dann betrügen sie sich selbst. Ich gehe zu dass in der heutigen Situation die Stellung der CNT in einigen Minscen (nicht in allen, keineswegs!) besser ist in dieser Zwischenzeit... Aber man muss doch der Wahrheit ins Gesicht sehen, wenn man eine praktische Stellung beziehen will.

Toll ist der Einfluss dieser marxistischen Hände in der spanischen Anarchisten-Propaganda. Hier in Paris der Pressedienst der Regierung - Mascarelli bezeichnet ihn treu und brav und ehrfurchtsvoll als "von der Regierung, nicht von den Kommunisten", ist eine Schande, und unsere Leute, vor lauter Loyalität, merken es nicht. Allerdings steckt dahinter noch eine andere Tragik: sie hätten auch gar nicht die Kapazitäten, diese Arbeiten selbst zu machen oder sich auch nur einzuschalten. Die taktischen Fragen der CNT sind z.T. Fragen ihrer geistigen Minderwertigkeit, die zu der moralischen Kraft der Bewegung ein grosses Missverhältnis bildet.

Soeben kommt Zufall, wir haben eine Quittung gemacht. Diese anbei.

Ich würde für mein Leben gern einmal das Deutsche Bulletin der CNT sehen, es kommt hier nie an. In einem, vor mehreren Wochen, soll ein theoretischer Artikel von Souhy gewesen sein, über historische revolutionäre Entwicklungen usw., und ich habe schon viel für und wider dazu gehört ohne das Blatt selbst zu sehen. Hast dieses Exemplar vielleicht? In diesem Falle würde

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18936

Ich Dich sehr bitten, es mir einmal leihweise zu schicken.

Soeben erscheint die englische Ausgabe der zweiten Nummer der International. Sie geht Dir in diesen Tagen zu. Mit der ersten Nummer sind wir Opfer einer schauderhaften, zweimonatigen Sabotage des Drückers (Prudhommeaux) geworden.

Spain and the World habe ich erhalten, die ganze Kollektion für das Archiv der IAA. Dank.

Elli.... Trotz gewisser Regrenztheiten ihres Wesens, die sie leider nicht erkennt, ist sie mir immer eine sehr sympathische Genossin gewesen. Ihr Unglück ist ihre Ehe mit einem grössenwahnsinnigen und dummen Mann, der sich in Barcelona sogar offiziell von der anarchistischen Bewegung trennte, um zusammen mit einem verrückten Marxisten (Schoyer) und Strasserleuten eine neue politische Richtung zu gründen. Diese neue "Partei", der sich Elli offiziell nicht anschloss, hatte für uns viele schlimme Folgen, es gab sogar schädliche Anzeigen bei der Polizei gegen die DAS usw., und verschiedene dunkle Geschichten, eine immer grössere Verärgerung zwischen Elli und der Gruppe, bis zur völligen Trennung. Mag da nun gewesen sein was will, so trane ich Elli keinerlei bewusste Schlechtigkeit zu, sondern ich betrachte sie im Grunde immer noch mit der alten Sympathie, wenn auch keine Beziehungen bestehen (sie grüsst mich nämlich nicht mehr). Die deutschen Genossen der Gruppe haben natürlich "Wut" auf sie, die ich auch verstehe, doch wie gesagt... Das übrige überlasse ich Dir.

Liebe Emma, nicht nur ich, sondern auch meine Frau und Kameradin, Dora heisst sie, lesen Deine Briefe immer mit grösstem Interesse und freuen uns sehr, dass wir durch die spanische Sache Dir nähergekommen sind. Das meinte ich kürzlich, wenn ich sagte, dass der spanische Kampf viele Menschen auseinandergetrieben, aber auch andere kameradschaftlich zusammengebracht hat, die sich früher kaum kannten oder die sogar innerhalb der Bewegung scheinbar durch Meinungsverschiedenheiten über Einzelheiten ~~zerrissen~~ unterschieden waren.

Viele herzliche Grüsse!

Helmut

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 16 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Gwendolyn Adams de Puertas. — 1 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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2400

SPANISH REFUGEE RELIEF FUND AND THE SPANISH NORTHERN HOSPITALS COMMITTEE

Delegate:
GWENDOLYN ADAMS DE PUERTAS

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....



NEW ADDRESS
87, Victoria Street
S.W. I.
TEL. Abbey 4554 ex. 30

SPAIN
Rambla 17, Figueras,
Catalonia.

16th June, 1938.

Dear Miss Goldman,

We are very sorry we were unable to come to see your film this afternoon but we had to get two cases of injections off to Spain today - we did not receive the cable until last night from Spain and the only boat that we could send them by was leaving the docks at Rotherhithe tonight for Antwerp. We did not have a moment to spare all day to stop and we had then packed and on our way to the docks at three p.m. but we did not get back until nearly six owing to the formalities we had to go through with the Bill of Lading etc., I am so sorry we couldn't get, but I rang up several people that have Spanish Committees but was afraid they seem, or at least many of them taken up with Chinese affairs now. I saw several of the Labour Party too these last few days and I mentioned it to them, they had all heard of your film and said they thought it should be very good but they could not use it. I asked them if they were going to see it and they replied it was very likely someone would be sent. I hope someone did, but as you know, there are so many half-hearted people working for Spain it makes you wonder if their interest in Spain is only so far as their "job" is concerned. I sound bad tempered, don't I? But I think it is only because I am tired.

Please let me know if you are having another showing, as I should very much like to see this film.

All best wishes from my husband and myself.

Yours sincerely,

Gwendolyn Adams de Puertas

Miss Emma Goldman,
21, Frith Street,
W. I.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 17, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 4 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 17th June, 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Harry,

Your letter of May 26th reached me last week. I am awfully sorry to hear that you are feeling so badly. I am hoping that you will have found relief by the time this reaches you. Your trouble happens very often to men going on in years. My brother, Herman, suffered from the same malady, but he could have reached a very high age had it not been for his heart. I am hoping therefore that with some rest you will be improving and be your old self again. My dear, I do not consider your photograph shows you old. You have never looked very sturdy. Now you look mellow. Fortunately you and I do not belong to the young generation who need to worry about their looks. We have too many other things to worry about, though of course we gain nothing by it.

I have heard from Tresca again. He seems very keen on undertaking the task of securing permission for my re-entry into the States. He writes that he has to go away for a cure, but that he would begin work just as soon as he returns to New York. It is certain that no one else but the convictions that Carlo has established on the time both he and Margaret will be able to give to the campaign. Anyway, I have definitely written him to go ahead.

I don't know whether you are aware of the feud that has gone on for years between Tresca and his comrades and the L'Adonato group. Some years ago they charged him with nothing less than being a spy. They actually wrote us to pass an opinion on the matter, which Sasha and I refused pointblank. They sent us no evidence of any character besides we have known Carlo so long that we cannot imagine him capable of such a thing. I had quite forgotten the whole business when lo and behold a few weeks ago the L'Adonato Group started a new campaign. This time not only attacking Carlo but complaining that I had written him a letter wherein I had congratulated him on having gone to the District Attorney in the Poyntz case. Of course I never wrote such a letter to Carlo and what is more, when I saw his quotation in his

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never I found that he had quoted incorrectly and that there was no mention of any compliments for having consulted the District Attorney. The whole thing is not worth referring to except that it is certain that the fanatical group will most likely begin a counter campaign the moment they find out that Carlo Tresca has anything to do with the efforts to secure a visa. However, I am determined to ignore the whole matter, only I wanted you to know in case you hear about it.

Carlo writes me that he would invite you and a few others of the more intimate comrades and work out a plan of action. I do hope, dear Harry, that you will respond when you hear from Carlo. I know you cannot do very much, but after all you have been long in the ranks and in various struggles to be able to make some suggestions, especially as regards people who might be approached. I depend on you, my dear, to do that without fail. As to Van, from the last letter I received from Friedman I am afraid that poor Van is in the same condition as Ivel. He is no longer dependable because of it. He has not answered my letter in months, and Fred has tried in vain to find him. He seems to spend most of his time going in and coming out of hospital. It is a sad case, because he used to be so dependable. He was really the one person I had in New York who responded to every request I made on his time and energy. I feel very sad about him, but there is nothing to do but let him make himself again.

In answer to Carlo's objections with the District Attorney, I wrote him this: "I told him that I should never have gone to the authorities even against the Communists. I don't see what Carlo could have done to gain by it. But on the other hand I understand how easily the Communists are taking advantage of all of us who refuse to use the capitalist courts against them. Knowing this, they take advantage to blacken everybody's character, to invent the most fantastic stories about people, and shrink from nothing to interfere in one's efforts and even to endanger one's life. So while I myself would never apply to the capitalist courts against Stalin's henchman I cannot get excited or indignant over Carlo having done so. After all, it is his affair and it is ridiculous to condemn the man for his action."

Stuart Kern sent me the New Europe and the American Communists, and the Sunday Times of recent date contained Browder's new confession of faith. How there ever been a political party so racking with corruption, so brazen in denying to-day what it proclaimed as gospel truth yesterday, as these Communists? There seems to be no limit to the

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perfidy and their utter lack of conscience. The tragic thing is that they are deceiving the whole world. In addition to all they have done since 1917, their latest slogan of democracy has incited them in the hearts of the most reactionary people. Thus the path lies on and it will probably take many years before it will be discredited.

to Yes, it is sad that a man like Roosevelt should be the one block the move to lift the embargo, but it seems that he has some very things contradictory to his starting point. Surely you and I need not be surprised at that. There never has been a man in power who can stand out for long against the power of reaction. Besides, why expect the impossible from Roosevelt who is after all born and bred in the most conservative traditions. What is the suffering of the Spanish people to him? In point of truth, I am no longer so indignant over anything Roosevelt and his class does. I am much more outraged at the cowardice of people who call themselves Labour, the Citrons, the Sticks and the rest. They have also on the shoulders of Labour the same old tradition and program at the expense of the working class, of all they do is to labour in the name of Citrons. Even when the workers are willing to break loose, to strike the necessary blow on behalf of their heroic comrades in Spain, they are kept in check. It is a sorry picture indeed. Imagine in the 1938 International Trade Union Conference, Citrons boasted that 10 million workers were represented there. Yet these 10 million workers remain inert and do nothing to come to the rescue of their Spanish brothers. A boycott, an embargo, not for Spain: against Spain, yes. The obvious reason for the difference is only too obvious. The British Government is interested in the Spanish Republic. They want a boycott against Spain to be introduced: but not against France. The whole situation would be the worst farce if it were not so tragic.

As to our Spanish friends, they seem to be invincible. Every defeat increases their determination to fight right on to the bitter end. I do not see how they can hold out against such overwhelming force, but it is certain that Chamberlain, Mussolini, Hitler and Franco will be disappointed in their hopes that the war will be settled soon. Nothing like it has ever taken place - a people attacked by such superior methods, fighting inch by inch against their enemies so poorly equipped as the Spanish people are. Imagine taking two months to get into Castillon? If that is not an indication of the greatness of our people, of their abiding faith and their almost superhuman courage and valour! Meanwhile the sacrifice is enormous

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One can only hope that some miracle may happen and that they may yet conquer.

A comrade who last year brought out a film from Spain which was called The Fury Over Spain, was a picture of the early beginning of July 19th and the gallant fight our people made - this time he brought a new film of the constructive part. We had two private showings. Everybody present considered it most stirring and fascinating. We are hoping that we may be able to sell it to the trade. If not, to some of the Co-operative organisations or the Labour educational colleges. I understand that the same film is also to go to the States. Do not fail to see it if it is shown. It is called Dawn in Spain.

I have written the comrades of the C.N.T. that I am planning to sail for Canada. I felt relieved when I received a reply that they agreed. I should have hated to let them down, yet I am determined to get away. I absolutely need a change, regardless of whether anything comes of the American effort. I expect to sail in the latter part of September, but then it is difficult to say what will happen until then. I will keep you posted, of course. I have never been particularly successful in Canada. This time it seems that the Catholic Church in Quebec has made decisions in Montreal almost impossible. I understand from the letters I received from there that the half owner is willing to let his place for meetings dealing with Spain, and the Press is absolutely under the thumb of the Catholic Church. It will therefore hardly be worth while to go to Canada just for Toronto, but I am very determined to go as far as British Columbia. The west is the industrial part and it has always been more awake and progressive than Ontario. Well, it is no use making plans in advance.

I have not yet received the third issue of Challenge but the first two were bad enough. I don't know why our people want to publish such a sheet. They would do better to try and make Vanguard self-sustaining instead of ~~wasting~~ splitting their energies. Yes, of course, he is the editor of Challenge. He is a dear boy and very sincere indeed, but I do not believe that he can be an editor of a paper. About the Vanguard, the comrades were in a hurry for an article even to the extent of cabling for one. It was a reply to Trotsky's attack in the New International on the Kronstadt event. It is nearly a month since I sent it to him. I have not even received an acknowledgment. The same old lack of thoughtfulness and consideration.

Once more, dear Harry, be sure to get in touch with Treaca and write me.

Affectionately,

Emma

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17th June, 1938.

Dear Harry,

Your letter of May 26th reached me last week. I am awfully sorry to hear that you are feeling so badly. I am hoping that you will have found relief by the time this reaches you. Your trouble happens very often to men going on in years. My brother, Herman, suffered from the same malady, but he could have reached a very high age had it not been for his heart. I am hoping therefore that with some rest you will be improving and be your old self again. My dear, I do not consider your photograph shows you old. You have never looked very sturdy. Now you look mellow. Fortunately you and I do not belong to the young ~~and~~ generation who need to worry about their looks. We have too many other things to worry about, though of course we gain nothing by it.

I have heard from Tresca again. He seems very keen on undertaking the task of securing permission for my re-entry into the States. He writes that he had to go away for a cure, but that he would begin work just as soon as he returns to New York. It is certain that no one else has the connections that Carlo has established or the time both he and Margaret will be able to give to the campaign. Anyway, I have definitely written him to go ahead.

I don't know whether you are aware of the feud that has gone on for years between Tresca and his comrades and the L'Adonato group. Some years ago they charged him with nothing less than being a spy. They actually wrote us to pass an opinion on the matter, which Sasha and I refused pointblank. They sent us no evidence of any character besides we have known Carlo so long that we cannot imagine him capable of such a thing. I had quite forgotten the whole business when lo and behold a few weeks ago the L'Adonato Group started a new campaign. This time not only attacking Carlo but complaining that I had written him a letter wherein I had congratulated him on having gone to the District Attorney in the Poyntz case. Of course I never wrote such a letter to Carlo and what is more, when I saw his quotation in his

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paper I found that he had quoted incorrectly and that there was no mention of any compliments for having consulted the District Attorney. The whole thing is not worth referring to except that it is certain that the fanatical group will most likely begin a counter campaign the moment they find out that Carlo Tresca has anything to do with the efforts to secure a visa. However, I am determined to ignore the whole matter, only I wanted you to know in case you hear about it.

Carlo writes me that he would invite you and a few others of the more intimate comrades and work out a plan of action. I do hope, dear Harry, that you will respond when you hear from Carlo. I know you cannot do very much, but after all you have been long in the ranks and in various struggles to be able to make some suggestions, especially as regards people who might be approached. I depend on you, my dear, to do that without fail. As to Van, from the last letter I received from Freedman I am afraid that poor Van is in the same condition as Havel. He is no longer dependable because of it. He has not answered my letter in months, and Freedman has tried in vain to find him. He seems to spend most of his time going in and coming out of hospital. It is a sad case, because he used to be so dependable. He was really the one person I had in New York who responded to every request I made on his time and energy. I feel very bad about him, but there is nothing to do until some day he finds himself again.

A propos of Carlo's connections with the District Attorney, I wrote him this week and told him that I should never have gone to the authorities even against the Communists. I don't see what Carlo could have hoped to gain by it. But on the other hand I understand how easily the Communists are taking advantage of all of us who refuse to use the capitalist course against them. Knowing this, they take advantage to blacken everybody's character, to invent the most fantastic stories about people, and shrink from nothing to interfere in one's efforts and even to endanger one's life. So while I myself would never apply to the capitalist courts against Stalin's henchman I cannot get excited or indignant over Carlo having done so. After all, it is his affair and it is ridiculous to condemn the man for his action.

Stuart Kerr sent me the New Pledge of the American Communists, and The Sunday Times of recent date contained Browder's new confession of faith. Has there ever been a political party so reeking with corruption, so brazen in denying to-day what it proclaimed as gospel truth yesterday. as these Communists? There seems to be no limit to the

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perfidy and their utter lack of conscience. The tragic thing is that they are deceiving the whole world. In addition to all they have done since 1917, their latest slogan of democracy has ingratiated them in the hearts of the most reactionary people. Thus the myth goes on and it will probably take many years before it will be dispelled.

to Yes, it is sad that a man like Roosevelt should be the one block the move to lift the embargo, but it seems that he has done many things contradictory to his starting point. Surely you and I need not be surprised at that. There never has been a man in power who can stand out for long against the power of reaction. Besides, why expect the impossible from Roosevelt who is after all born and bred in the most conservative traditions. What is the suffering of the Spanish people to him? In point of truth, I am no longer so indignant over anything Roosevelt and his class does. I am much more outraged at the cowardice of people who call themselves Labour, the Citrons, the Atlees and the rest. They have risen on the shoulders of Labour, they have gained tradition and renown at the expense of the working class, and all they do is to jabber in the House of Commons. Even when the masses are willing to break loose, to strike the necessary blow on behalf of their heroic comrades in Spain, they are kept in check. It is a sorry picture indeed. Imagine in the Oslo International Trade Union Conference, Citron boasted that 20 million workers were represented there. Yet these 20 million workers remain inert and do nothing to come to the rescue of their Spanish brothers. A boycott, an embargo, not for Spain; against Japan, yes. The ~~main~~ reason for the difference is only too obvious. The British Government is interested in the Sino-Japanese war. Therefore a boycott against Japan may be introduced; but not against Franco. The whole situation would be the worst farce if it were not so tragic.

As to our Spanish friends, they seem to be invincible. Every defeat increases their determination to fight right on to the bitter end. I do not see how they can hold out against such overwhelming force, but it is certain that Chamberlain, Mussolini, Hitler and Franco will be disappointed in their hopes that the war will be settled soon. Nothing like it has ever taken place - a people attacked by such superior methods, fighting inch by inch against their enemies so poorly equipped as the Spanish people are. Imagine taking too months to get into Castellon? If that is not an indication of the greatness of our people, of their abiding faith and their almost superhuman courage and valour! Meanwhile the sacrifice is enormous

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Once more, dear Harry, be sure to get in touch with Tresca and write me.

Affectionately,

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[Letter] 1938 June 17, London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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London Office

21, FRITH STREET,

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LONDON, W.1.

Telephone: GERard 2436

17th June, 1938.

Dear Arthur,

If I needed any reminder of my neglect of you, the announcement of Ralph's marriage should have acted as one, but of course I was conscious myself of not having written you for ages, but never conscious of having cast you out from my mind or my heart. The reason I did not write is really none other than the fact that I had nothing pleasant to record and in the past I had burdened you with so many troubles that I felt it would be wrong to start all over again, especially as I knew that you, too, were in the throes of a struggle and much worry and anxiety about our dear Hetty. However, I have felt the need of writing you ever since the announcement of Ralph's marriage came to me. First of all I want you to explain to him that I really did not know what to write in reply. I could not very well engage in the old platitudes of well-wishing because it has such little meaning, and I did not know what else to say. But I was interested in the event and I do hope for him much joy in the new life he is now leading. I am very much interested to know what he has done with himself. He held out such great promise. I was hoping that he would do great things with his talents and his knowledge. Do let me know when you write.

About yourself, I wonder whether there has been a change in your fortunes or misfortune. The two are usually separated merely by a hair's breadth. But I am really very concerned to know whether some change for the better has come to you, and especially about Hetty. Please do not punish me ~~xx~~ in the same way I have punished you. Write me and let us again resume our old friendly correspondence.

About myself, you have probably heard that I had gone to Spain two weeks ago. I found there that part of the ideas and ideals which I had held high all my life were in process of

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being realised, a great dream come true. I felt again last year and was overjoyed to find that the magnificent constructive work which had been started by my comrades in Spain was still intact although the struggle had become more acute and more intense. It was no doubt naive to expect that our world would permit so great a libertarian experiment as the Spanish anarchists launched after July 19th, 1936, to continue without a terrific price. I do not have to tell you what the price is. Not only the fascist powers, but the so-called democracies, are in league to crush the Spanish people and to destroy utterly their revolutionary constructive achievement, but here it is nearly two years and the Spanish people are fighting on. They are fighting on because /liberty they are the only people in the world who still love/passionately enough to be willing to die for it. I should not have believed such a thing possible had I not seen with my own eyes the epic greatness of the Spanish people. Their defence of Madrid, their superhuman struggle now to defend Catalonia against all odds. Whatever the outcome of the unequal struggle, the contribution they have already made to the greatness of the human spirit that will not be daunted can never die and never be lost.

My work for my Spanish comrades, while bringing but meagre results for them, has meant the greatest experience of my public life. It has given me the opportunity to come in contact with men and women of the rarest type, and it has helped me to overcome the great loss I have sustained in the end of my life-long friend. I am sure you will be interested to know all this. That is why I am writing you.

Now to something that will also interest you - and in which you probably may be able to help with suggestions and advice. It is that I am planning to sail for Canada in the late autumn. Again the dominant urge is the United States. A few friends want to try again for a visa for me. Of course you know Carlo Tresca, no doubt also Margaret De Silver. They have offered to start a campaign. I have heard from a number of friends that I could not wish for more competent people to handle the matter. I wonder! Would you like to help? Would you get in touch with Tresca and see what suggestions you can make? I do not have to tell you how deeply I would appreciate this. You have been very wonderful in the past and I feel confident if your time and state of mind permit you will be a help again.

Where are the Starks? Are they still living in Montreal? If so, send me their address. I would like to write Fan. In fact I promised her if ever I planned to go back to Canada to let her know, so I would like to get in touch with her. Meanwhile give her my affectionate greetings. I know one of her daughters married. I wonder what the other is doing, and Murray, and what about your youngest?

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[Letter] 1938 June 17, London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Dear Arthur, I do want to hear from you about yourself,
about Hettie, and Belle. Give them all my kindest greetings.

Affectionately as ever,

Emma

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C. N. T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

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London. 17th. June, 1790.

TELEPHONE: 614-457-1441

Stuart.

[illegible]

Yes, I too do not read very much over the paper. The feeling is that the paper can hold out no more. It is not at the moment that everything seems to be lost. The most important thing is the attitude taken by the National Government. The signifying act in declaring in the name of Congress that there is no power to bring the Government of the United States to a halt is a do to the first time in the history of the United States. The declaration is a very bold one. It is really not that. It is more in the nature of a declaration of war about leadership in getting it out. I can't tell you how I feel about it. I feel that the help of the people is needed.

[illegible]

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[Letter] 1938 June 17, London [to] St[ew]art [Kerr, New Milford, Conn.] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p.; 29 × 22 cm.

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One thing is certain - my efforts for the cause have been worth while. One must fight with the Communists or with their secret agents, or one is boycotted, no matter what one undertakes. I do not suppose it is very much better in the States. One, too, the intelligentsia seem to have been poisoned by the insidious methods the Communists employ. Also I hear that in Canada the situation is no better. Nothing succeeds like success, as you know. Against the powerful government and unlimited means to back them, it is not surprising that the Communists set out with murder. However, I have decided to take a chance. I am planning to go to Canada in the autumn. Carlo Tresca and Margaret De Silver have offered to start a campaign for a visa for me. While I am not very optimistic about their success, I have decided to let them try, but it is certain that I will have to be nearer to America than England. It is for this reason more than any hope of a successful tour in Canada that I mean to sail. But who can tell what will happen between now and the latter part of September?

Keep sending the clippings and the magazine until further notice.

Affectionately,

Emma

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[Letter] 1938 June 17 [London to] St[ew]art [Kerr, New Milford, Conn.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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17th June, 1938.

Dear Stuart,

Thanks for your letter of May 25th and the envelope of clippings which came a few days ago. I do not need any cuttings from The Times treating European affairs except articles on Spain. But I am keenly interested in everything you can send me about the United States. Yes, by all means send me Warner's Magazine. No one else thinks of such things, and I do miss keeping in touch with events in America, especially through the better magazines. I can't bear reading The Nation or The New Republic any more. They lie so shamelessly about Russia. I can't stomach it. As if that were not enough, they are now singing the tune ordered from Moscow about the Spanish Republic and the democracy. It is beyond me how people can change their colour so easily. I prefer not to read their stuff, at least I do not have to work myself up in a temper.

Yes, I too do not feel very happy over Spain. The amazing thing is that the people can hold out and rise to the very summit ~~xxxx~~ at the moment when everything seems to be lost. The heart-breaking thing is the attitude taken by the National Government. Imagine Mighty Britain declaring in the House of Commons that there is no way of stopping the bombardment of the civil population. It is undoubtedly the first time in the history of British statesmanship that such declarations have been made. One really does not know whom to be more indignant over - the Chamberlains or the Labour leaders who do nothing but talk. I can't tell you how sickening it all is and how helpless I feel.

One can't afford to be a prophet these days and foretell whether the war will go round the corner or whether it will be stayed off. One thing is certain, that the attitude to the loyalist struggle is leading the world to war. Certainly Hitler and Mussolini are not rendering such generous service to Franco out of love for him. They will demand their pound of flesh when the moment arrives and that will be the time when England and France will be forced to defend their possessions. Their interest in Franco will stop there and then. In either case the world has been turned into a slaughter house and the few who feel the situation and see the writing on the wall can do nothing to prevent the cataclysm.

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Affectionately,

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[Letter] 1938 June 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Saxe [Commins].— 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.
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BENJAMIN A. CHER, President

ROBERT K. MAAS, Vice-President

DONALD S. KLOPPER, Treasurer

SAXE COMMINS, Editor



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June 17, 1938

Dearest Emma,

The rest of the year may pass by without a word from me, but June 27th cannot be ignored. The day is too important. When it comes, I shall think of you even more than I do on the other 364. At any rate let me congratulate you now, if one can do anything with congratulations. Better still, let me send you all good wishes for a happier year.

As you probably know, Dorothy is in France now with the children, staying for the summer with her niece, David's daughter. The children are with her and will remain for three months. Her address is care of J. Valles, Saint Saens, S.I., France. They sailed on the Ile de France on June 7th. If Dorothy can manage to get to England, she plans to look you up. If you are anywhere in the vicinity of Havre, you must by all means go to Saint Saens, which is only a few kilometers away. She will welcome you in my behalf and in her own and the children's.

I spent Sunday with Moe and Babsie and found them much better than they have been at any time during the last three years. Moe, especially, looked very well and was quite as cheerful as one would dare expect. Of course, his movements are limited, but he suffers no pain and his heart is compensating well. They have a beautiful car and manage to get out a little. Babsie is working again and the economic strain is not so severe.

With me all is well. I am quite desolate without my family, and going home alone every night to our empty apartment brings a lump to my throat. But as long as I know that my kids are well, I have no grounds for complaint.

My work is as absorbing as ever. It takes every ounce of my energy, but there are enough incentives to keep me at it with real enthusiasm and devotion. My health, too, is all that I dare ask.

Don't expect me to venture a comment on the European situation. This is meant as a birthday letter. Let it be as joyous for you as my wishes for you are.

Ever with love,

Saxe

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[Receipt] 1938 June 18, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 1 p. ; 18 x 21 cm.

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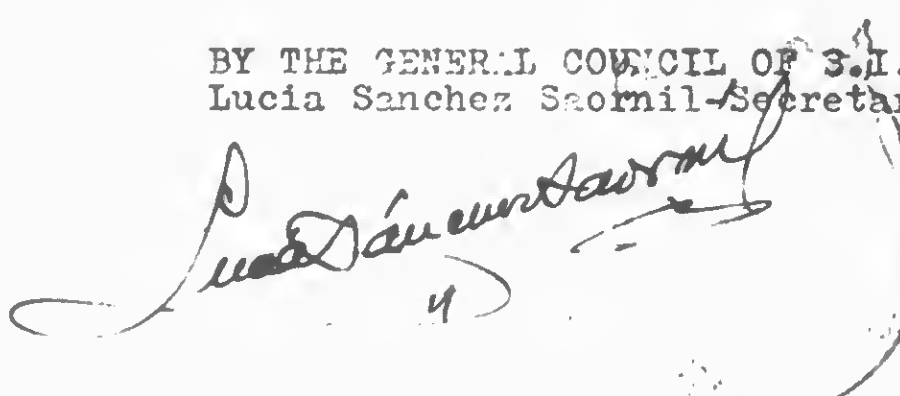
Barcelona 18 de Junio de 1938

*Solidaridad Internacional
Antifascista*

Consejo General

I have received from Emma GOLDMAN, honorary secretary to the English Section of S.I.A., the amount of ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN POUNDS, eight shillings and nine pence (POUNDS 114-8-9) it being the total collected at Friend's House concert held April 29 th. 1938.

BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF S.I.A.
Lucia Sanchez Saornil-Secretary.



Se extiende este recibo por duplicado
por extravío del original.

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870926038

[Letter, 19]38 June 19 [London to Annie] Adama v[an] Scheltema-Kleefstra, Amsterdam / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

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10133

June 19th 38

Dear MadamAdama v Scheltema Kleefstra.
International Institute vor
Social History
Amsterdam.

Deat Madam.

Thank you for your letter of the 15th inst. In reply I would like to say the following; I realise that it would be better to have Alexander Berkman's collection of MSS, correspondence and books in Europe rather than the U.S. If I feel deeply about America it is only ~~because~~ because my comrade and I had spent our most important years in the States had worked there and Alexander Berkman had suffered so many years in the States for our ideas. But as I said I am willing to ~~come~~ agree that it is preferable to have the collection in Europe.

Now about getting at the 18 boxes which I left in St Tropez two years ago. It is unfortunately out of the question for anyone but myself to assort the material which belonged to Alexander, Berkman from all the other accumulated stuff that is mine. You see the boxes would all have to be opened and repacked when the MSS and correspondence will be taken out. I do not see how any outsider could do it especially as I have the boxes with

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French friends of mine, neighbors who could not be bothered by anyone whom they did not know. If I had taken an invoice of the material packed in every box it would have been different. Unfortunately I was not in the state of mind at the time for it was but a few weeks after my comrades death to be accurate about the contents of the boxes. For instance; my correspondence with Mr. Berkman. I could not give this to the Institute until my own passing away. So you see how necessary it is for me to undertake the assorting of the whole material.

You say I could permit Prof Posthumus to examine the collection. I could not do that. But I might consent to have all the boxes shipped to your Institute and kept unopened until the time when I myself could go to Holland and assort the whole collection there. This plan has two drawbacks, one that I have been expelled from Holland, (I am surprised my friend Dr Max Nettlau has not informed you of that) and it is doubtful whether I would be permitted to re enter your country. The other is that a good deal of the material is mine and would have to be shipped back from Holland to me. That in return would mean a double expense. Then too I have two boxes of material of Alexander Berkman's in Nice largely his library. I dislike causing the Institute any expense. But

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]38 June 19 [London to Annie] Adama v[an] Scheltema-Kleefstra, Amsterdam / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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18135

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I really do not know how to avoid it because to ship the 15 or 16 boxes without some sort of an assestment would also mean an expense, in fact a double expense, as I have already explained.

The most practicle way would be for Prof Psthumus to meet me in St Tropez. Then I could let him see the collection of my dead friend and he could decide right there and then if he considered it worth while for the Institute. The question is the time. I am sailin for Canada in the autumn. Before that I may have to go to Spain for a few weeks, or meet my Spanish friends in Paris. Naturally I should like to combine my going to St Tropez with the above plans. If I can arrange it in this way the expense to the Institute would be very small only the trip from Marseille to St Tropez and return and a weeks stay in St Tropez. It would take fully that to assort the collection. This could however depend on whether I go to Spain which would be from Marseille. Otherwise it would mean a special trip from Paris to St ropez. I think the best thing will be if we wait until I hear from my friends in Barcelona if they want me to come there. Then I will be able write you more difinitely. I know I sound very vague now.

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I will write again directly I have word from Spain. We can then agree whether your Director will meet me in St Tropez or whether I am to ship the collection to Amsterdam.

To make myself quite clear I have to repeat that the collection in question is only Mr Berkman's, not mine. But there are some material of mine which I will be willing to include in the collection such as a file of an Anarchist paper published in the States "years" ago, a file of Mr Berkman's paper the ELAST, some autographed works some correspondence with various known people like Fred Havelock Ellis and others. I take it these are material of interest to your Institute.

Indeed I will be glad to make your acquaintance if you come to London. But as I said I may have to leave here for Spain at the end of July.

Yours sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 19, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Dorothy [Rogers].— 2 p.; 24 x 18 cm.

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17435

Chine Drive
Scarboro Bluffs
Ontario, Canada.

June 19th. 1938

Emma, Dearest;

I read your letter to Joe and we discussed your return at the Group meeting two nights ago. Indeed we do want you here, in fact we need you very much. Apart from the fact that having you with us gives us great personal happiness, your voice is always needed where there is any activity going on. Joe is writing you about our Friday discussion, but I want to send you the Group's Birthday greetings. We know that now June 28th, cannot be a really happy day for you. Our love and thoughts are with you trying to make you happy and sharing your sorrow and regret. Perhaps, next June you will actually be here with us.

We are continuing our anti-fascist activities, and are preparing for a busy three days July 2, 3, & 4th. For on those days the Fascists are holding a national convention here in Toronto.

The Toronto police are doing their best to start a "red scare" here and only last week Chief Draper presented to the Mayor a book, compiled by his "Red Squad," containing an account of all the radical organizations of Toronto, together with their personnel and activities from their inception.

I am enclosing two clippings from the "Star" which will give you an indication of how things are here. We cannot get any interest in S.I.A. The IGLWLU unions send their contributions to New York or to this League for Peace and Democracy. Mrs. Barrett, very active in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Rabbi Eisendrath has just opened his new \$100,000.00 Temple in a new ^{exclusive} residential ^{district} at the northern limits of the city and is now extremely respectable. The radio is being more closely censored, with pressure being brought to bear on the C.B.C. by the government. Two very capable news commentators are now not heard in Toronto. We miss Thorn very much; but he may return from New York soon. I expect you have been receiving the new paper from New York, "CHALLENGE" We like its tone and are delegating Thorn to represent us at their con-

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vention which is to be held in a few days.

Isn't it amazing and really awe-inspiring how our Spanish comrades are maintaining their heroic struggle with the fascist beasts. And yet there are thousands who are quite indifferent to the sacrifice and betrayal.

I will try to keep you posted on our coming activities and we will all do ~~our~~ our utmost in preparation for your coming in September.

lovingly,

Dorothy

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 20, London [to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

*London Office

21 PRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, June 20th 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

darling. I received your letter with tons to I and Margaret De
Silvers letters inclosed. I am so glad I finally succeeded in dispo
sing of ~~the~~ Sasha's stamps. I of course has not yet written her that
she received the letter and the money. It is just like her. Not that
it matters to me except that one gets tired of being merely a real
ticket. I never fails to write when she is laid up. Though she never
had to remind me of her monthly allowance. But she wrote me the last time
complaining that it is so expensive to live in France and that she was
told it is cheaper in England. Well, now she has the 72 she ought to
be able to get along better with the five hundred francs I send her every
month. The trouble with I. is she will spend the money quickly. However
that is her look out. The main thing is the stamps were sold. I certainly
hope she will be satisfied. But Sasha made her believe the stamps will
bring a fortune. Poor Sasha he spent several hundred dollars on his
collection and he really believed they would bring a big sum. Our dear
old Sasha imagined many things about his "wretched" indent and his
many ventures. No wonder he was caught off from life in his most impress
ionable years, and even after his release until his death he never
really had to meet life.

Dearest you can imagine how I feel with the life of
Sasha end approaching. In the past, especially when I had friends with
me or you to spend the 27th together it really used to mean much. But
Sasha having taken his life on the night of the 27th of June has ~~definitely~~
taken away all meaning from that date. I really hate the day now and
would like to escape from it if I could. For a time I did make up my mind
the loss of Sasha, not forget really but shove it into the back of my mind.
Of late the memory of Sasha has ~~xxx~~ again become terribly poignant.
More than ever I feel that part of my being was buried with him the
28th of June 1936. He was the strong ~~ie~~ that bound me to Europe and
always brought me back. Now there is no one and no interest. Nothing that
that accounts for the gnawing pull of America. I never felt ~~xxxxx~~
such excruciating isolation.

Angelica is right about ~~xxxxxx~~ Treaca. I too always con
sidered him light weight and very reliable although perfectly honest.
But I can lose nothing by letting him handle a campaign ~~xxx~~ for a visa
since there is no one else sufficiently interested, willing or in a
position to undertake the task. There is even no one to do some work
among the East Side people. Van used to be dependable. Since he became
a dipsomaniac he is out of the question. And that seems to be the case
with poor Van. Roger Baldwin has stopped writing me altogether. and

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And from his last letter of a year ago I could gather that he is not very keen on doing anything. He thought it was useless because of Perkin attitude. He may have been right. But if he had been interested he would have tried at least, no there is no one and since Trestra and Margaret offered to undertake the job I consulted. They can but fail. Perhaps Margaret will hold Carlo to his word. I hope so.

The thing that ~~xxxxxx~~ bothers me more is the pessimistic attitude of the Toronto comrades. I do not know yet whether they want me to come. They seemed enthusiastic last year and were going to help raise the necessary fund. I suppose Fascism in Canada has grown ~~this year~~ since last year. Instead of stiffening the backs of our people and increasing their fighting capacity it has weakened them. Dorothy Giesseck^{Re} the most active ~~ever~~ since I was in Toronto seems to be in the dumps and hopeless about my chances in Canada. However it may merely be a mood. I am waiting to hear from Joe Desser. Meanwhile Freedman of the Abr Stille wrote me that the comrades would raise some money. Jeanne Levey has also raised something. Frankly I don't know what else I can do. I must get away from here if only for six months. So I shall probably go to Canada whatever happens. Unless some miracle happens in Spain. Then I would of course go there for whatever years left me. Everything is possible in Spain my dear.

I had an offer from the International Social Institute in Amsterdam for Sashas collection of correspondence, articles, sketches and whatever else he left. They also want my stuff and my correspondence with Sasha. I course there can be no question of my parting with anything of Sashas that has bearing on me or visa versa. But I would not mind to let his general correspondence go, or his writings and books. The main thing to me is that I should like it to go to some American library. I think ~~xxx~~ anything of Sashas and mine belong there because it was our field for nearly forty years. Another thing is that I don't want to go back to St Tropez now to assort Sashas material. ~~anything~~ I would have to do if I am to let the Amsterdam Institute have it. Well, what ever I will decide. If I get some money for S's material I will of course give it to Emmy or the largest part of it.

I was just sitting down to write you when four people from America arrived Leon Cramer with Celia Bushwick, Dr Gold waters son and a young girl friend of his. Celia is sailing back to A. tomorrow. Leon Cramer remains. I like him very much. I will see him again. Just imagine dear, old Dr Goldwater sent his son £2 to give to me as a gift. The young man was most tactful. He did not pass it on to me. He handed it to a comrade a nice Scotch girl who helps me in the office. And she gave me the money when the visitors had left. It was so thoughtful of the old Doc. I must write him soon.

Pauline ~~xxxxxxx~~ remembered my birthday. She wrote me a nice letter and sent five dollars. I also had a letter from Moe and Babsie. They must have had an awful time. Babsie got a skin infection from a patient which was very painful and kept her indoors. Then she gave it to Moe. They are both better now. Babsie is waiting for calls. I think it would be a mistake for Allen to go to Moe. With our Moishe so helpless and with Babsie trying to earn some money neith^{er} of them could

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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look after Allen. He would only add to their exences and burden Babsie. Not that they have said anything. But I can gather it from their letter. Be careful dear in mentioning to your mother. But it would be well if she would have a talk with Allen and advise against his going to see and Babsie for a visit. Long physical illness makes people self centered. Even the greatest are not exempt from that. I am sure you will understand.

I am so glad for Ian and you that he passed his exams with such flying colors. I hope it will stand him in good stead what ever he undertakes in life. Give him my love and my thanks for having disposed of the stamps. I had to smile when I read that Ian writes E, she sent him the stamps. If it had depended on E's sending them she never would have done so or gotten a penny for them. She could not bear to keep anything of Sasha's. It was all left on my shoulders only to be charged with having robbed her of everything. Of course she did not tell this to me. She told it to Senia and Lollie. You can imagine how outraged they were. E. does not even know that I know. This too does not matter. I am so glad the money for the stamps went direct to her.

I must write Rudolf to day as well. So I will close for to day.

With love to the family and you self.

Dearest I fear the work of your house in Bearsville is too much for you. Another thing is your living in Bearsville during the hard winters. I am sure that must also have contributed to your depleted condition. Is it absolutely impossible to spend the coming winter in New York? With only you, Taddy and Davy you would hardly need an expensive Apt. You would have less work. And what is very important for people of our temperament is either some activity or some cultural distraction, a theatre occasionally or some music. I am sure you need that. I do hope you can manage somehow to move to the city this autumn or in Jan. I am anxious about your condition.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929049

[Letter, 19]38 June 20 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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17500

June 20th 38

Dearest Rudolf. At last a letter from you. It is too bad that one of my letters was wrongly addressed and took so much time to reach you and that the other one which contained Huxleys letter was also delayed because you were away. I feel bad about the delay of your reply to my request about Huxleys letter. It prevented my writing him all this time. And worse still even now I cannot write him. I am all in doubt whether I sent you Huxleys original letter or ~~lx~~ a copy. Comrade Barr who has been the only help I have had was supposed to have made copies of the Huxley letter for me. He happens to be away and I have searched high and low for either some copy of the letter or the original. I cannot find either. If the original was sent to you please, please rush it back. I simply must ask Huxley even if it is many months after his letter reached me. I want very much to keep in touch with him and win him for our work. So do not fail me dearest Rudolf.

Another one whom I have brought closer to our work is Herbert Tead. I wrote Milly about his book POETRY AND ANARCHISM and that I want you to read it and write a critical evaluation of it. We asked Faber and Faber to send you a copy. They answered they would if they will arrange for an American edition. But I do not want to wait so long. I will send you the review copy of Spain and the World. When you get it please dear take the time to write the ~~anarchist~~ evaluation. It is of the utmost importance here because the book is likely to be read by the entire Inelligentia which would of course ~~bring anarchy into disrepute~~ make Anarchism known. Al ready Reynolds had a scurrilous attack on Heads Anarchism. When you write the critique you can keep the original for A. in case the book does appear there. You may even be able to place it with Harpers or some such Magazine. Send me a copy. As I already wrote Milly you can write it in German unless you want your own translator to do it into English. Let me know. Meanwhile we are going to have a review by Ethel Mannin of POETRY AND ANARCHISM.

I did not realize that the CRITERION the Literary Quarterly containing Reads review of your NATIONALISM AND CULTURE costs 7/6 and can only be gotten through Smiths. I have ordered it. In fact I had hoped to be able to get it to day and mail it together with this letter. But it has not arrived. So I will send it with next sailing. I can hardly wait to get the Magazine. I am so eager to know what Herbert Read wrote. It will prove most valuable in approaching publishers. Meanwhile you must let me know whether these Crooks Covicci Friede also have the English rights. That would be awful. Then about the authorisation, if you can send me one. The letters from Einstein, Thomas Mann, Prof Beard are splendid and should go a long way to interest publishers. Anyhow I mean to try hard. If only

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Your American gangster publishers have not tied you up completely.

By way of a confession dearest Rudolf I want you to know that I had not gotten far into your work when Read arrived on the scene. He saw your book on my table and asked me if he could take it with ~~xxx~~ him to read. I consented of course because I felt he was just the man to review it and do so admirably. Well, I got the book back only ten days ago. At last I am able to read it. Of course I knew it from the ~~xxx~~ original. Still it is years since you read parts to me and I read all of it when Sasha had it. Poor Sasha the struggle with the translation added not a little to the breakdown of his health. Do not think I say it with any bitterness or any reproach. I was not blind to Sashas declining working powers though the largest part of the translation read extremely smooth. At the same time I felt then as I do now that he took too many liberties as the ditor. Sasha had that tendency. He wanted to do the same with *Living My Life* though he was very big about many things that ~~xxxxxx~~ went against his grain or judgment. Well, it all seems so long ago. Not so Sashas end. I suppose because it is so near the second anniversary that I feel so dreadful. You see my dear, at first Spain made every thing take secondary importance. But this year Sashas place in my life again began to loom high. I have missed him beyond words. Was it all worth while, his endurance in the Western Penitentiary and in Atlanta. The suffering in France? Only to end as he did? I can say truthfully part of my life is buried with Sasha in the soil of Nice. And the other part given meaning by the 19th of July is now nearly worthless.

A letter from Vasquez expressed approval of my plan about Canada. In their silly enthusiasm he wrote it would prove of the "greatest importance" for the CNT-FAI. That is nonsense of course. I want to go partly because I achieve nothing here, and mainly because I cling to the slender thread that a visa maybe gotten for me. Tresca and his wealthy wife ~~wax~~ offered to work for it. I consented to let them go ahead although I know Tresca to be rather flighty and not very dependable. wrote Milly that the L'ADONATO group is attacking ~~xxx~~ him and has also dragged in my name. I am sure they will do their utmost to create trouble should Tresca succeed to get me back. They ride the horse of "principle" but in reality it is nothing else but the old petty group quarrels started by that awful creature Graham. The L'ADONATO objection to Tresca now is that he went to the District Attorney in the Poynts case. It was stupid of him to do so ~~xxxxxx~~ but after all Tresca is not an Anarchist and has never claimed to be one. Besides the group is really rotten and has always been individualistic and hairsplitting. I cannot be guided in my action by them. Anyhow I have written Tresca to go ahead but not to pledge me to anything I cannot and will not keep.

Two hours ago I was inundated by four American ~~xxxx~~ visitors, Leon Cramer, Celia Bushwick, Dr Goldwaters son and his girl. Cramer brought me your note. They also brought a whiff of America with them. I realize only when people come from there how terrifically I am rooted in my erstwhile country. I liked Cramer very much and I am to see him again. I am sorry Celia is leaving tomorrow. She will also bring you my love and so will this letter which is sailing on the same boat.

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About Huxleys references, I feel rotten to know nothing about the writers he referred me to. I will certainly have to confess my ignorance. At least you know something. I had not even come across their names. I suppose their works can be gotten in the British Museum. If I have time next month I will find out. But the fact is I am so restless and so terribly torn and unhappy over Spain I cannot apply myself to any reading that requires much concentration. But it is true that one must keep abreast with modern thought if one is not to become rusticated or dogmatic. Thank goodness I will never be the latter, but there is danger of the former. In re your correspondence with Sasha about the works referred in Huxleys letter, I have everything of S. and mine packed away in boxes with the Sandstroms. The Amsterdam Institute wants to buy Sashas material. I dread the idea of having to go back to St Tropez to assort everything. Besides, I feel Sashas material and mine really belong in America. Gramer said he would get in touch with some of the Libreries to see whether they would be willing to buy S's collection. I would not mind selling that to get some money for E. I would not give up Sashas correspondence with me or mine with him, or his note books. I have not decided to go back to St Tropez. So long as the Sandstroms have their place the material is safe. Still, I will have to do something about it soon.

I must close my dear somebody care to see our Exhibit item of the photos of Collectives in Catluna and it is getting late.

Love to Milly and Fernin and much of it to you.

Polly will also bring you my loving greetings.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930257

[Circular] 1938 June 20, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / M[anuel] Mascarell. —
2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.
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Adressez toutes les communications à
Secrétariat de l'A.I.T.

4, Square Jean Palck
Bd de la Villette, 117

P A R I S (10)

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER-ASSOCIATION
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORATORI

Paris, 19. 20. Juin 1938

AUX CENTRALES SYNDICALES DE L'A.I.T.

CIRCULAIRE N° 17
.....

Chers camarades,

Par sa circulaire n° 13, en date du 6 Mai 1938, le Secrétariat de l'A.I.T. vous a informés que le Congrès Ordinaire International aurait lieu au mois d'août de l'année courante, dans la deuxième quinzaine probablement.

Après nouvel examen de la question, pour fixation de la date nous vous avisons que ce Congrès aura lieu à Paris, Palais de la Mutualité, du 24 au 31 Août 1938.

En ce qui concerne l'ordre du jour, qui est établi définitivement par le Secrétariat, après consultation des Sections, les questions qui doivent y figurer d'office, en raison des discussions et des décisions du Congrès extraordinaire, sont les suivantes:

- 1) Examen et mise au point de la Déclaration de Principes de l'A.I.T.;
- 2) Examen et mise au point des statuts de l'A.I.T.;
- 3) Rapports de sections et motions internationales de l'orchestre syndicaliste;
- 4) Organisation de la solidarité internationale pour les réfugiés des pays totalitaires appartenant aux organisations contrôlées par l'A.I.T.

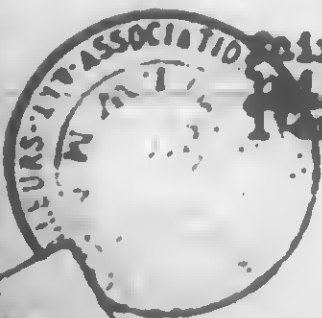
Et, bien entendu:

Le Rapport moral et le Compte Rendu financier.

Bien que cet Ordre du Jour soit déjà important et mérite de retenir l'attention du Congrès, il se peut que les sections estiment qu'il doit être complété et demandent que d'autres questions soient inscrites à l'Ordre du Jour.

Dans l'affirmative, nous les prions de bien vouloir nous faire parvenir leurs propositions avant le 15 juillet dernier délai, afin que le Secrétariat puisse en garantir la traduction et l'envoi à toutes les Sections en temps utile.

.....



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Dans le cas où aucune proposition ne nous parviendrait,
le Congrès serait définitivement arrêté avec les questions
en suspens.

Le Procès-Verbal du Congrès extraordinaire vous sera
envoyé cette semaine.

Le N° 2 de la revue de l'A.I.T., "INTERNATIONAL" est paru.
Nous prions les Sections, conformément à notre circulaire N° 15, du
18 Juin, de nous faire connaître la quantité qu'elles veulent
avoir, ainsi que les notes d'emploi qu'elles préfèrent.

A vous lire, recevez, Chers Camarades, nos meilleures salu-
tations fraternelles.

Pour le Secrétariat:

Le Secrétaire Général,



The Emma Goldman Papers

870929023

[Letter] 1938 June 20, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Charles Duff.—
1 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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17522

UNITED EDITORIAL LIMITED Publishers

Director: Charles Duff
Secretary: John Coulson
HOLBORN 0045

11 Great Turnstile
High Holborn
London, W.C.1.

20th June 1938

Dear Emma,

I am just off to Paris, and would be very grateful if you would drop me a line to HOTEL ROYAL MADELEINE, Rue Pasquier, giving me the name of a bookshop in Paris where I can buy Anarchist literature in French. Or perhaps you could tell me the name of someone who would recommend me to one.

If there is likely to be another show of the film DAWN IN SPAIN, we should be glad to have tickets. It is an excellent and very impressive piece of work and, if you will keep me advised as to where it will be showing, we will announce it in our little weekly paper (which represents the views of the popular front in Spain).

SALUD !

Charles Duff

Emma Goldman.
S.I.A.
21 Frith Street.
Shaftesbury Avenue. W.1.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Circular] 1938 June 21, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 2 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

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LIBERTÉ INTERNATIONALE
ANTIFASCISTE
Conseil Général
Pi y Margall 20
BARCELONE

Circulaire n° 13.

A TOUS LES CONSEILS NATIONAUX ET COMMISSIONS ORGANISATRICES DE S.I.A.

Le Décret de la Présidence du Gouvernement de la République Espagnole créant le "Comité d'Aide à l'Espagne" a motivé diverses consultations auprès de notre Conseil Général, qui en plus d'avoir répondu particulièrement, le fit dans un sens plus général, pour fixer notre position à cet égard.

Quelques jours après la publication du Décret mentionné, notre Conseil Général accorda de s'informer amplement auprès de la Section Espagnole de toutes les circonstances, détails, démarches etc., comme également de l'opinion que la susdite Section avait sur ce Décret.

Grâce à cette Section Espagnole, on a fait une étude détaillée et qui n'est point attrayante; mais qui ajoutait une information de la position gouvernementale, à ce qui concerne notre organisme d'aide qui était complètement satisfaisante.

Le Conseil Général ne se contenta seulement de l'opinion de la Section Espagnole; il chercha à connaître l'opinion des autres Organismes Prolétaires et sympathisants avec notre oeuvre qui ont indiqué, que dans les Ordres Complémentaires pour l'application de ce Décret annuleraient les asperités qui pourraient s'opposer à l'activité classique des Organismes d'aide qui procéderaient avec les normes de responsabilité et de noblesse.

Il a fait aussi des consultations avec plus d'amplitude auprès de la Commission de Solidarité Internationale. Organisme attaché au Comité de Coordination de Paris, composé de tous les partis politiques et Centrales Syndicales, comme aussi de la représentation de la Généralité de Catalogne et du Gouvernement Basque.

Dans cette Commission on a pu consulter le critérium de la majorité des partis qui ont manifesté leur conformité dans le sens qu'ils acceptent, que le Gouvernement contrôle tous les aspects de l'Aide en Espagne dans le but d'éviter les marchandages avec les produits. Par contre, ils suggèrent la proposition de faire une indication au Président du Gouvernement afin que l'Organisme National ait la représentation des Institutions typiques de l'Aide qui sont: le Secours Rouge et la Solidarité Internationale Antifasciste.

Le S.R.I. manifesta son étonnement devant quelques articles du Décret cité, notamment, devant celui qui se rapporte à la partie monétaire que le Gouvernement peut confisquer.

C'est maintenant, que le Gouvernement commence à appliquer la législation du Décret en partie seulement. Nous disons en partie, parce qu'il ne peut pas l'appliquer entièrement, vu que le Comité cité n'est pas encore créé et les ordres complémentaires n'ont pas apparu encore dans le Journal Officiel.

Dé manière qu'au bout de deux mois presque de l'apparition du Décret, le Gouvernement n'a rien fait pour le compléter. Mais s'il n'a rien fait pour son application, c'est sûr, que le Décret existe et qu'il peut l'appliquer quand il voudra.

C'est alors dans ces moments, quand on prend des positions et on sollicite des opinions des Sections déterminées et des Comités. Nous de notre part, nous devons indiquer ce que nous considérons opportun et prudent, du à la situation globale du problème.

En considérant:

1°. — Que le Décret créant le Comité d'Aide à l'Espagne en l'appliquant intégralement, annulerait toutes les activités des Comités d'Aide Populaire et par conséquence S.I.A.

2°. — Qu'en arrachant des Organismes Populaires cette fonction, elle perdrait tout son effet et le transformerait en un nid de bureaucrates, qui consumerait la majeure partie des entrées et,

3°. — Que le Décret peut annuler toute la labour de sympathie, que les Organismes d'Aide Populaire venaient d'effectuer.

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[Circular] 1938 June 21, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 2 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

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19220

Pour éviter ces effets, nous proposons:

1^{re}. — Un travail responsable d'information de notre opposition auprès des Organismes Gouvernementaux, en cas de ne pas être inclus dans la composition du susdit Comité, et de ne pas éviter par ces Organismes, certaines parties, qui pourraient être considérées comme attaque à notre Organisation.

2^{de}. — Réserver l'activité dans un aspect international, pour quand tous les procédés en Espagne aient échoués.

Comme tactique circonstancielle et à modifier selon le cas, nous proposons:

1^{re}. — Laisser faire l'opposition pour appliquer le susdit Décret par les autres Organismes, qui sont plus intéressés que nous.

2^{de}. — Ne pas faire des campagnes publiques contre la disposition allusive, parce-que cela tournerait au préjudice des donations et pour cela même contre le peuple espagnol.

3^{de}. — Que la Section Espagnole de S.I.A. fasse tous les travaux possibles, encheminés à ce qu'on obtienne des résultats avantageux pour notre Organisation.

4^{de}. — Que toutes les Sections Nationales nous informent de l'ambiance, créée sur cette question dans les Organismes d'Aide.

Avec cette position définitive et la tactique selon les circonstances nous croyons de toute manière pouvoir tirer parti de ce Décret.

Nous reconnaissons, que le Gouvernement s'est vu obligé pour deux concepts d'élaborer cette loi. D'abord, pour peu de scrupules de certains Organismes, après pour éviter le prosélytisme, qui se faisait faute de son autorité.

Cela ne doit nous effrayer. Nous avons procédé d'une manière bien claire et évidente et nous pouvons nous sentir orgueilleux. Avec cette activité, personne peut nier, que notre labeur nous facilite le travail d'attraction et de sympathie.

Maintenant, notre position doit être une opposition intelligente, pour ne pas provoquer la méfiance, vu, que nous ne devons pas donner à penser d'aucune manière, que nous éludons le Contrôle du Gouvernement où de qui ce soit.

Notre tactique doit nous éviter de tomber dans le piège, qui nous tendent certains "chers camarader", vu, qu'ils pourraient signaler notre opposition comme un moyen d'échapper au Contrôle du Gouvernement, pour ne pas avoir une activité bien nette.

En plus, dans ces circonstances, toute opposition faite à l'extérieur contre le Décret, se transforme en une opposition gouvernementale contre l'Organisation Nationale correspondante.

Et en résumé, il faut éviter à tout prix de donner la sensation du manque d'harmonie antifasciste et de ne pas exposer au public donateur, ce problème délicat.

POUR LE CONSEIL GENERAL DE S.I.A.
Lucía Sánchez Saornil-La Secrétaire.

Barcelone, le 21 Juin 1938



Lucía Sánchez Saornil

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 21, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 20 x 21 cm.

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Nº 728. E.

209 10

A. I. T.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Comité Nacional

BARCELONA, a 21 de junio de 1.938.

A la Delegación Permanente de la C.N.T. en Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Para los efectos de costumbre, os enviamos con la presente un ejemplar del Sumario nº 5, del Servicio de Prensa para el Exterior.

De saluda fraternalmente,

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL.

Mariano R. Vázquez

Secretario Nacional
SECRETARIA

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 22, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
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H. Rüdiger
Vol 1: 1938



C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

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21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, June 22nd 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

~~Secretariat~~
Square

Dear Helmut. Your letter received, also the receipt for the 980 francs. To day I am returning one of the subscription lists sent me from the Secretariat and a check for 178 francs in exchange for one pound. I still have two lists outstanding of the four from the Secretariat. I hope they will bring more than the inclosed for our suffering Refugees.

Sonia Edelman gave me 25 shillings for the young comrade in addition to the money I already sent you. Sonia was hoping to get some more. I am waiting for that. If I do not get it I will send what I have on hand.

The latest notice from the Secretariat which reached me Monday gives the 24th of August as the definite date for the I.A.A. Congress. I am sure Mascarell never looked at my report about the situation here I wrote him months ago. Else he would not keep on writing as if there were an organisation in London affiliated with the I.A.A., or who is important enough to send a delegate. I must ask you to explain it to Besnard and Mascarell that there is no organised body of any consequences, and that in any event there is not one comrade in the group clear enough in Anarcho Syndicalist ideas. The other day I was shocked to learn that the man who acts as secretary in the A.S.U. in a talk, fortunately only before the alte Knaster of the Freedom group, had denounced the CNT, had charged them with having eliminated the FAI. And worse of all he also proclaimed that there was much good in the Fascists, we should therefore take the good and leave the bad. The man is simply a fool. But sometimes a fool can do more harm than a dishonest man. Anyhow there is no one in England who could speak authoritatively for himself or anyone else at the I.A.A. Congress.

I have already written you about my attendance of the Congress. Naturally I would very much like to be there especially as I shall have to go to Paris to meet Vazquez. I fear that the situation in Spain being as it is V. will not want me to come to Spain. In that case I will have to see him in Paris. But what is the use to attend the Congress if I am not given a voice? I don't want special preveleges. But having been nearly fifty years in the movement might entitle me to some consideration. What do you think of it? Perhaps you would care to talk it over with Besnard and Mascarell. Anyhow let me know.

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2.



status Yes, it again looks desperate in Spain. And now the agreement of the government gangsters including Russia all agreed on choking off the life stream of Spain. We know what their so called agreement means, their control of only some ports with the land route free to ~~Italy~~ and German supplies to continue. And the suggested truce? How can there be such a thing with Franco? How will our people meet this preposterous suggestion to make even temporary peace with the slayer of tens of thousands of the Spanish people? I feel ill at the mere thought of it. I wish I knew the real situation, the reaction of our people to the damnable deal. England is trying to bring about. England the arch hypocrite of all governments is now posing once more as the savior of the European situation. No doubt Chamberlain will succeed in getting around Negrin and our comrades will simply be bartered. It is too frightful.

understand My dear Helmut it is useless to tell the FAI now what I think of their compromises. They could not ~~understand~~ ^{understand} them, besides when a man is condemned to death one cannot argue with him. If I could get to Spain and have a heart to heart talk with the FAI and the comrades of the Peninsular I would tell them frankly what I think. But it is hopeless to get them to see my reaction in letters. So I must let it go for the present.

Our Spanish friend deceive themselves in everything and not only as regards the Communist influence. It is particularly stupid of them to try and make me believe such nonsense. As if I do not know the nature of the Stalin beast, and the toll he exacts for every bit of help he gives to Spain. It maybe true that the gang in Spain is no longer so powerful than a year ago. But there is no doubt that their influence is strong. By the way, Frank who made our new Film and brought it here also reported that the Communists are no longer in important positions but that like Wanzel they have crept in everywhere doing as usual "boring from within".

As to the outside attitude to the Communists of the Spanish Bureau in Paris it is indeed scandalous. But as you say it is the poverty of the mentality of the people in the Bureau. It is tragic that the CNT is so poor in intellectual quality in and outside of Spain. Well, one thing is certain the Communists in England were not treated with kid gloves. Perhaps that accounts for their boycott of everything undertaken from the London Bureau. But better that than any dealings with the Stalin breed.

I am mailing you to day two issues of the German Bulletin from Barcelona. I get it regularly. One contains an article by Souchy. I don't know whether it is the one you were told about. You can keep the copies as I get several.

The English copy of the Review the Secretariat is publishing has not reached me. But the Bulletin is such kauderwelch I hardly care to read the Review. I consider such publications more harmful than good. For if Anarchists cannot even write a readable English they cannot claim the right to teach others. I have received

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the French Review twice, each time two copies. Why waste so much on one address?

I am very glad that you still feel kindly towards Elli. It is of course a misfortune if a woman is married or lives with a fool. I can assure you that greater minds and personalities than Elli have had the same misfortune, men more often than women. For a woman to love she must have something to admire in the man. The man does not need to admire. He is too full of his own importance. Besides if the woman can cook and keep house, that's all he needs. So poor Elli is no exception. I like her very much and I am glad I was able to raise a little money for her father and that of Anne Marie for their trip to Norway.

I am delighted to know that Dora feels about our having come closer together as you and I do. I have so very few free friends in Europe, and of the few fewer still left since the breach over Spain that your friendship and that of Dora have a double meaning. May our friendship grow and deepen my dear.

Herzliche Grusse an Dora.

Ich grüsse Dich liebe Helmut.

Deine alte Kameradin.

Emma



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870926108

[Letter, 19]38 June 22 [London to] Herbert Read [Beaconsfield, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18271

June 22nd 38

Dear Herbert Read,

I am so glad you want to let me have your talk before the Rationalist Society. I should like it for SPAIN AND THE WORLD and if the material is enough for a brochure we would like to print it and sell it for the paper. That is if you agree. Vanguard is unfortunately not regular in its appearance. Besides your work is better known in England. Please send us your lecture and we will proceed at once to set it up.

Ethel Mannin is very impressed by POETRY AND ANARCHISM and she is going to review it shortly she gets back from her holiday in Norway which is going to be next week. I also wrote Rucker about more than a review. I want it to be an evaluation of your book which we might also get out in pamphlet form.

I have not yet been able to get hold of CRITERION. I did not know it can only be gotten through Smiths. But I have ordered it and hope to have it in a day or two. It is certainly an expensive publication. But I must have it, in fact I shall also need one copy for Rudolf Rucker.

I received copies of letters of appreciation of NATIONALISM AND CULTURE from Einstein, Thomas Mann, Prof. Beard and others. When I will also have yours I mean to approach some publishers in this city about a British edition. What do you think of Faber and Faber? Or

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18272

18272

or whom else would you suggest? Please let me know.

Pardon the untidy writing of second and first page.
I was interrupted and when I got back to the machine I did not see I
had written on second page.

Sincerely

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 June 22, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / J. Prince.—
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comité peninsular

residencia enjertada

n.º 126

barcelona, den 22. Juni 1938.

Emma Goldmann

L o n d o n .

Werte Genossin Emma!

Wir erhielten Deinen Brief vom 15. d. M. und
und haben von Deinen Ausführungen Kenntnis genommen. Es freut uns,
dass "SPAIN AND THE WORLD" die Notizen unseres Pressedienstes ab-
druckt. Wir sandten Dir am 16. d. M. den Pressedienst Nr. 3. Wir
nehmen an, dass Du auch in diesem interessantes Material finden
wirst.

Mit Deinem Standpunkt in Bezug auf die Stellung-
nahme hinsichtlich unserer Haltung sind wir durchaus einverstanden.

Ohne mehr fuer den Augenblick verbleiben wir
bruederlichen, anarchistischen Gruessen

Fuer d. Peninsularkomitee der F.A.I.



J. Prince.-Sekretaer d. Internationalen Bes.

AD. J. PRINCE
F. A. I. PENINSULAR
F. A. I. PENINSULAR

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[Letter, 19]38 June 23 [London to Lucía Sánchez Saornil, Barcelona] / Emma Goldman.— 3 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

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23ste Juni 38

Liebe Kamaradin.

Am 4ten Juni sandte ich Dir ein Schreiben und auch eine Abrechnung von Einnahmen und Ausgaben der Englischen Section der SIA. Ich hoffe dieselben haben Dich erreicht. Ich begreife sehr gut dass ich noch keine Antwort auf den Brief vom 4ten Juni erwarten kann. Es dauert so lange bis Briefe von hier nach Barcelona and von dort hierherkommen. Aber ich habe Dir und Genosse Herrera einige Male ^{im} im Mai geschrieben. Bis jetzt leider keine Antwort. Ich ~~ich~~ einen von dem Schreiben im Mai hat ich die SIA mir ein Quittung uber 114-8-9 zu senden. Ich habe soeben nachgesehen unter die Briefe an die SIA Er war am 23sten Mai datiert und an Genosse Herrera adressiert. Der Brief enthielt genaue Instruktion dass die Quitting auf SIA Papier mit SIA Stample ausgestellt werden sollte und zwar wie folgt

~~Exhibit~~ Received from the Hon Secretary,
Emma Goldman of the English Section of the SIA
the sum of ~~£114-8-9~~ ¹¹⁴⁻⁸⁻⁹ hundred and fourteen pence and nine
xxxix
receipt of the Concert at
Friends House April 29th 1938

~~Emma Goldman~~th

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Genosse Herrera ich sollte alle Mühe anwenden zu vermeiden dass die Basquische Kinder nicht zu Franco zuruckgeschickt werden. Ich habe mich sofort an die Organisation gewandt die die Kinder auf nach England gebracht haben. Die Antwort die ich bekam war dass 2000 Kinder schon zuruck geschickt wurden und dass die Organisation alles tut um die andern Kinder vorleufig in England zu behalten.

Nun hat the Independent Labor Party 41 Kinder übernommen die sie seit einem Jahr versorgt. Voriges Jahr habe ich £250 beigetragen von dem Gelde das ich für Spanische Frauen und Kinder gesammelt habe. Herrera schrieb mir kurzlich ich sollte wieder £50 von dem SIA Fund für die I.L.P Kinder beitragen was ich natürlich tun werde. Leider ist dieses keine Lösung des Problems. Ferner Brockway der Sekretar der I.L.P war in unseren Barren und hat mich der SIA und auch die CNT zu schreiben dass die I.L.P nur die Ang mit die notige Mittel versehen ist die 41 Kinder zu versorgen. Falls sie dann nicht von uns, also von der SIA und der CNT unterstützt wird müsste sie die armen Kinder dem National Komitee der Basquischen Kinder zuruck geben. Das ware natürlich tragisch. Andererseits müsste die SIA Euer Beitrag jeden Monat regelmässig geschickt wehren und zwar eine grossere Summe. Brockway sagte mir dass die I.L.P. £125 wöchentlich für die 41 Kinder ausgiebt. Ich war in diese Kolonie und fand

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dass die Kinder sehr gute Behandlung und Nahrung bekommen. Ubrigens
gewissen die meisten dieser Kinder in CNT-FAI Kitas, daher diese Teil
sache sollte die SIA und CNT-FAI bewegen ~~ausserhalb der SIA~~
monatlich beizutragen damit die armen Kinder nicht weiter unter
der Obhut der I.L.P. bleiben können. Es kommt natürlich darauf an
ob die SIA und CNT-FAI das Mittel haben und sie entbehren können.
Leider hat die Englische Sektion der SIA und die CNT-FAI dazu
keine grosse Erfolge zu verzeichnen im Bezug auf Geld das wir
angebraucht haben.

Liebe Genossen Lucia ich bitte Dich dringend diesen
Brief Genosse Vanques lesen zu lassen und ihn zu fragen was er
in der Gelegenheit zu tun gedenkt. Er soll mir sofort mitteilen
was ihm der I.L.P. zu berichten habe. Und ich bitte Dich mir dasselbe
von der SIA mitzuteilen. Ich sende eine Kopie dieses Briefes an Ho
Genosse Barrera da er derjenige war gegen die Verhaftung der
Basquischen Kinder in Franco. *maléste*

Mit solidarischen Grüssen

Emma Goldman



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Estimada compañera:

Con fecha del 4. de junio te mandé un escrito y asimismo un estadillo de cuentas de entradas y salidas de la Sección Inglesa de la S.I.A. Espero, que ambas cosas ~~te~~ hayan llegado a tus manos. Comprendo perfectamente, que aún no puedo esperar respuesta a la carta fecha del 4. de junio. Tarda tanto tiempo el llegar cartas desde aquí a Barcelona y viceversa. Pero, te escribí, a ti y al compañero Herrera, varias veces durante el mes de mayo. Hasta la fecha estoy, desgraciadamente, sin respuesta. En una de las cartas del Mayo pidió que la S.I.A. me mandase un recibo sobre la suma de L 114-8-9. Ahora mismo acabo de buscar entre las cartas, dirigidas a la S.I.A. Fue ~~firmada~~ enviada con fecha del 23. de Mayo, dirigida al compañero Herrera. La carta contenía instrucciones exactas, de que el recibo sea escrita en papel de S.I.A., sellado con el timbre de S.I.A., y eso de modo siguiente:

"Received from the Hon. Secretary, Emma Goldmann of the English Section of the SIA the sum of L 114-8-9 hundred and fourteen eight nine, receipt of the Concert at Friends House, April 29th 1938."

Necesito este recibo para salvar £ 16, que tuvimos que deponer aquí antes de haber tenido lugar el concierto. Se nos devuelve el dinero en cuanto podamos enseñar el recibo. Por lo tanto, te tengo que rogar insistentemente que me envíes inmediatamente este recibo. Pero en inglés. Martin Gudell podrá extenderlo en inglés.

Paso ahora a un otro punto; hace algún tiempo, me escribió el compañero Herrera, que hiciera todo lo posible a fin de que no se mandara los niños vascos a Franco. Me dirigí en seguida a la organización, que había traído los niños a Inglaterra. La respuesta, que se me dió fue, que ya hubieran sido devueltos 2000 niños y que la organización hará todo lo posible para que los restantes niños continuarían, por ahora, de estar en Inglaterra.

Pues, la I.L.P. se ha quedado con 41 niños, a los cuales está protegiendo desde hace un año. El año pasado contribuía ya con 50 L., del dinero que he reunido para las mujeres y niños españoles. Herrera me escribió recientemente, que contribuiría de nuevo con 50 L. del fondo de la S.I.A., ~~pero que no podía hacerlo porque no tenía el dinero necesario~~ para los niños de la I.L.P., cosa que naturalmente haré. Desgraciadamente, no es esto una solución. Fenner Brockway, el secretario de la I.L.P., estaba en nuestra oficina y me rogó que escribiera tanto a la S.I.A. como a la C.N.T. que, la I.L.P. tiene solamente los medios necesarios para sostener los niños hasta el mes de agosto. En caso, que después no serán protegidos por nosotros, es decir, la S.I.A. y la C.N.T., habrá que devolver a los pobres niños al Comité Nacional de los niños vascos. Esto sería naturalmente trágico. Por otra parte, tendríais que mandar regularmente vuestra contribución, y esto mensualmente. Brockway me dijo que, la I.L.P. gasta semanalmente L 125 para los 41 niños. Visité aquella colonia y me convencí de que los niños reciben un trato y alimentos muy buenos. Por lo demás, la mayor parte de estos niños son de padres, pertenecientes a la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Solo este hecho debería mover la S.I.A. y la C.N.T.-F.A.I., contribuir mensualmente a fin de que los niños pudieran continuar bajo la protección de la I.L.P. Esto depende, naturalmente, del hecho, si la S.I.A. y la C.N.T.-F.A.I. disponen de medios de los cuales se pudieran privar. Desgraciadamente, la Sección Inglesa de la S.I.A. no tiene grandes éxitos en lo que respecta al dinero que hemos reunido.

Querida compañera Lucía, te ruego insistentemente, des esta carta al compañero Vázquez para que la lea y preguntarle, lo que piensa hacer en este asunto. Dile, que me comunique en seguida lo que tenga que comunicar a la I.L.P. Y a ti te ruego, me digas lo mismo por parte de la S.I.A. Mando una copia de la carta al compañero Herrera, puesto que fue él quien protestó contra el envío de los niños ~~a~~ vascos a Franco.

Con saludos solidarios

Emma Goldmann.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 23, London [to Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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18967

London June 23rd 38

Dear comrade Mascarell.

Please instruct the comrade ~~whomsoever~~ in your Bureau who sends on my mail from Barcelona that my address is 21 Frith Street and not 18 Castletown Rd. My address is clearly printed on this letter head. I therefore cannot understand why the Bureau keeps addressing my letters to the old place. I have moved from there early in Feb. Forwarding it to 18 Castletown Rd delays the delivery of my mail. Besides it is not safe to send it there since there is no one in the flat to receive it. Please be sure to give instruction in the Bureau that everything addressed to me should be sent to 21 Frith Street London W.1

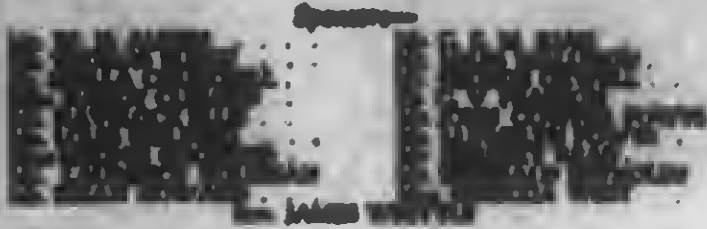
I have received a second bulletin from the Secretariat of the A. & T. that the date for the Congress has definitely been set for August 24th. Unless the comrades of the CNT consent to my return to Barcelona before I sail for Canada I will go to Paris to meet them the week of the Congress. I should very much like to take part in the sessions. But I do not want to be there merely as an "ornament" and there is no organized body here of any consequence whom I might represent. You will remember my report of some months ago about the situation here. We have no movement either Anarchist or Syndicalist in England. And the little groups are themselves so confused they have neither the intelligence or the spirit to reach anybody. It is painful I know to face the fact that so great a country as England has no Anarchist organized efforts. But it is necessary to face the truth. Whatever work done the last two years is almost

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S · I · A

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA
(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)



Telephone: 01234 5678

STYL. MARKS
TRADE MARKS
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London Office:
21, FIFTH STREET,
SHAPTHURLEY AVENUE,
LONDON, W.1.

through SPAIN AND THE WORLD, the G.T. Bureau and the English Section
of the SIA.

into
There is the beginning of what may develop something
if the membership will grow not merely in numbers but also in
intelligence and determination. It is the Anarcho Syndicalist Union.
For the present it lacks both. Well, I have given you the report
before. So you will know that no one from here would add anything to
the Congress Sessions.

Whether I can attend or not I shall have to be in Paris
during the last week in August to see comrade Vazquez and possible the
others who will come to the Congress.

Fraternally.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 23, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

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S · I · A

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(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

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London Office:

21, FRITH STREET,
 June 23rd 38, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,
 LONDON, W.1.

Telephone: GERard 2416

Lieber Genosse Herrera, Beiliegend ist eine Kopy meines Briefes an unsere Kamaradin Lucia Sanchez Saornil. Sie werden sehen dass die Angelgenheit der I.L.P im Bezug auf die 41 Basquische Kinder wichtig ist. Ich bitte Sie daher die Genossen von der SIA und auch der CNT Fragen ob sie willens sind monatliche Beiträge zu der Erhaltung der Kinder in England zu senden damit die I.L.P nicht gezwungen ist die Kinder dem hiesigen National Komitee der 2000 Basquischen Kinder wieder zu übergeben.

Machen Sie bitte der SIA klar dass die Englische Sektion Gelder für die SIA in Spanien gesammelt hat und nicht für die basquischen Kinder in England. Trotzalledem habe ich nachdem Sie mich beauftragten der I.L.P £50 zu geben diese Summe zu dem Zweck bei Seite gelegt. Den Rest soll natürlich zu dem Zwecke verwendet werden für den appelliert wurde, das heisst Spanien. Hatte unsere Sektion solche Erfolge zu verzeichnen wie die SIA in Paris oder New York dann waere das etwas anderes. Aber die wenigen Groschen die wir gesammelt haben kann doch unmöglich der I.L.P übergeben werden. Waere es nicht gerechter den Beitrag aus Paris aus zu senden? Dass heisst wenn die SIA, oder die CNT überhaupt beschliesst der I.L.P zu helfen damit die 41 Kinder weiter unter ihre Obhut bleiben können. Bitte sorgen Sie dafür dass ich baldige Antwort bekomme.

Hoffentlich haben Sie das Buch Genosse Alexander Berkman erhalten. Es wurde an Mascarell zur weiteren Beforderung geschickt. Meine Memoiren bekommen Sie sobald ich den Text gekürzt habe was ubrigen eine sehr wehrige und langsame Arbeit ist.

Bis jetzt noch keine Zeile von Genosse Santillan. Ich bin sehr froh dass er jetzt wieder tätig sein kann. Grussen Sie ihn recht herzlich von mir.

Herzliche Grusse an Sie.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 23 [London to] Sadie [L. Robinson, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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June 23rd 38

Sadie, my dear, my Dear.

The news your letter of the 13th inst contain was indeed shocking. It completely unnerved me. I knew of course the devastating hold drink had on poor Van. But when I heard he had gone into a hospital I clung to the hope that he maybe cured. How awful that a man of Van knowledge and faith was unable to extricate him self from the hold and get on his feet again. It sounds banal to say to you his death is the only solution since as you yourself say drink held him in such bondage. But your loss is not argued away by such reasoning any more than the agony of Sashas loss could be healed by the thought that it was for the best that he had ended his life.

Need I tell you how deeply I feel the end of Van. He was among my most devoted, most reliable and most loving of my comrades even if we often clashed. Our clashes were mainly due to my interest and affection for him, my concern that people will mis understand and misinterpret his roughness. I wanted everybody to know Van's qualities, his sincerity and his complete concecration to our ideas as I knew them. That is why I some times lost patience with him. But that in no way effected by feelings for him and my appreciation of him. Truth is Van was the strongest bond with America with my life and work there. No matter what I knew I could depend on him to help whenever I needed help, to present me as I wanted to be represented. So you can imagine what a shock his end ~~was~~ is to me. Who is there now I can turn to? Certain no one to compare with Van. No one on whom I could bank. And just now when he was to help with the effort to get me back to the States.

I am certain it was the long years of unemployment which drove Van to drink and also broke his will. I could see that only too clearly when I was in New York. He looked and acted as a different man. How could it be otherwise for one who had been so independent in former years, so self reliant. Then too it was his gnawing feeling that he was causing you such misery and being dependant on you. It worried him frightfully. I know because I had a wonderfully self revealing letter from him last year when there was a talk about

The Emma Goldman Papers

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his going to Spain to work there for the CNT. I am sure all this combined made him seek oblivion in drink which of course made him feel even worse. My dear my heart goes out to you in deep compassion. There is only one ray in the bleak picture it is that you are brave. That you will pull yourself together and that you will make your life count as Van always wanted it to do.

It is dear of you that you want to help in the efforts the comrades of the Freie Arb Stimme and others are going to make for my return to A. I am not very hopeful that they will succeed. But I am willing they should try. Carlo Tresca and Margaret de Silver offered to strat a camaping. But I am worried about Trescas part. First he ~~lacks~~ lacks sticktoitiveness. Everybody writes me he begins things but never keeps up the work. Secondly it is the feud between him and the L'ADONATO group. I should hate to be dragged into that swamp. I wonder if you could write me about Tresca. Van had always stood up for him and had defended him. I do not mean ~~xx~~ that I doubt T's honesty. It is his dependability that I am not at all sure about. Do tell me your opinion. And if you can help Freedman in the campaign for my return I will appreciate it very much indeed. We had our faith in Van between us and now his memory so we must keep in close touch as comrades and friends.

I have not yet heard from Vans daughter. I hope she will write me. ~~earhile~~ you might send me her address. Who has all of Van's collections? He was such an inveterate collector. Take care that it is not wasted. I understand that several universities in A. are on the look out of material on Anarchism and social thought. They may care to acquire it and pay a substantial sum which Van's daughter ~~orx~~ maybe able to use. Or you might place to good use. In any event take good care of the collection. I would very much like to have my correspondence with Van. I know you will not think ill of me for it. Naturally if you want to keep the collection than you should also keep my letters. I mean in case it should be taken by some university library. If only I could get to the States I would so much like to look over Vans material, that on the Sacco Vanzetti case and many historic events. Write me about it all please.

I am glad Freedman sent me the data of Van you let him have. I want to use it in an article I mean to write about Van for Spain and the World. I wish I had my material at hand to quote from Vans letters to me. But all my stuff is packed away in St Tropez. However I will draw on my knowledge of Van of all the years that we have been so closely knit together.

My dear Sadie I take you in my arms and to my heart full of grief over the last sad years and the end of Van

Affectionately.

EMMA

III

E.V.T.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 23, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately.—
1 p.; 22 x 14 cm.
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THE COUNTY HALL,
LONDON, S.E.1.
31, Brookfield,
West Hill, N. 6.

June 23rd, 1938.

Miss Emma Goldman,
Hon. Secretary, S.I.A.,
21, Frith Street, Shaftesbury Ave., W. 1.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I have written to the Members of
Parliament as requested by you, and I hope
that you will be able to arrange for the
Film to be shown in the House of Commons.

I hope as well that you are coming to
our very interesting Meeting on the 29th,
in which case I shall have an opportunity
of having a chat with you. Miss Foot also
hopes to be there.

Very sincerely yours,

Monica Whately

L.C.C.

Enc.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 23, Hong Kong [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Frank Wells.—
1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.
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Hongkong, June 23, 1938.

Dear Emma,

I have been planning to write you for the past two or three months but between influenza and the foul heat, I haven't had enough energy to do anything aside from trying to keep my work going. Last month Jacques Raoul came through on his way back to Peking. We had two or three extremely delightful sessions together. I like him very much. In spite of the Japanese occupation of Peking he says that thus far he has managed to get along without any undue trouble. He sends you his very best wishes and says to tell you that he'll write you as soon as he knows what his plans are to be.

I am leaving here for the States on an American freighter by way of the Panama Canal tomorrow. As soon as I get a permanent address there I'll write you again.

While I have been unable to learn exactly what's happening in Spain due to the lamentably inadequate press service here, I can surmise. It is altogether too horrible to think about. I wish you would drop me a line care of Dr. Morris Epstein, 206 State Street, Brooklyn, New York, U. S. A. if you get a chance. I hope you are well and not too wholly depressed by the dreadful turn of events in Spain. Take every care of yourself.

Love,

Frank
Wells

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 24, London [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
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Hon. Secretary

London Office:

21, FRITH STREET,
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,
LONDON, W.1.

Telephone: GERard 2434

24th June, 1938.

Dear Roger, —

I have before me your two last letters dated February 4th and 23rd, 1937. So many things have happened since that I cannot recollect whether I have answered them, or whether you owe me a letter. Nowadays Governments do not bother about debts, so why should we, such old friends as we are. Frankly, dear Roger, I have missed hearing from you. I know of course that you are a very busy man and that you have ever so many irons in the fire. I, too, have been frightfully busy. I hope that you have been more successful in whatever you have been doing than I. For some unknown reason I have never been able to take root in England or to rouse English people. I have failed even more so in my efforts for Spain.

Never think that I have forgotten you because I have not written. I feel sure that you, too, have not forgotten me or cast me out, but I have been frightfully absorbed in Spain to the exclusion of everything else. I only wish my efforts had been crowned with greater success, but then your friends, the Communists, or Stalinists as they are now called, have not changed in their loving kindness to me. They have continued their insidious slander and misrepresentation as they have in the past. That would not worry me if they were not also doing their damndest to alien and misrepresent the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the organisation known as the S.I.A. which the heading of this letter explains. They have done their utmost to boycott everything undertaken for my comrades and since they are very influential they have succeeded in doing considerable injury to the unfortunate victims of Franco. But that is not what I started to write to you about. It is something else, namely that I am planning to go Canada this autumn. I am not deceived about the great success I am likely to have in that part of the world, but I am still naive enough to think that

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2

perhaps being near America might make it easier for you or anyone else who still feels like trying for a visa.

Some weeks ago I received letters from Margaret De Silver and Carlo Tresca, offering to start a campaign for my re-entry into the States. I replied that I am willing they should but I wanted them not to make any pledges for me that I will not be able or willing to keep. I have known Tresca for many years. I have always found him most likeable although rather acetic in his ways. I mean have the impression that he has no stick-to-it in him, but he is willing to undertake a lot but has not enough perseverance to carry anything through to a logical conclusion. It occurred to me, dear Roger, that if you were willing to co-operate with Tresca and Margaret he might feel the need of sticking to whatever both of you will undertake for me. What do you say?

In your letter of February 23rd you state that no Commissioner of Immigration had yet been appointed. That was nearly a year and a half ago. I wonder is there a new man now? What about Currins? No doubt you know Rose Pasotta. She was in France where I met her again and she also spent a little time with me in London. She promised to interest people. Some time ago she wrote me that Currins may not be adverse to considering a visa. I know that Perkins is adamant against it, but surely there must be a way of reaching other people in important positions in Washington. Won't you please have a talk with Tresca and Margaret and tell me whether you still feel sufficiently interested in my return to try for it? You agreed in one of your letters that the time between August and January would be the best to proceed with the venture. Anyway, I want your opinion. I hope that you have not given up entirely to do anything in the matter.

I cannot write about Spain. I feel its tragedy too intensely. The betrayal of the Spanish people by the so-called democracies, including the Soviet Government, and the apathy of the international proletariat, stand out as the greatest crime of centuries. One would despair utterly in the masses if it were not for the epic greatness of the Spanish people themselves. Their fortitude and their courage are like unlike anything in the world, and it is this which holds up my spirit. That is all I can write about to-day. When I hear from you I might discuss Spain at greater length.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Affectionately,

Emma Goldman

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[Letter] 1938 June 24 [London to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17917

24th June, 1938.

Dear Roger,

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17918

perhaps being near America might make it easier for you ~~me~~ or anyone else who still feels like trying for a visa.

Some weeks ago I received letters from Margaret De Silver and Carlo Tresca, offering to start a campaign for my re-entry into the States. I replied that I am willing they should but I wanted them not to make any pledges for me that I will not be able or willing to keep. I have known Tresca for many years. I have always found him most likeable although rather hectic in his ways. I mean have the impression that he has no stick-to-it in him, but he is willing to undertake a lot but has not enough perseverance to carry anything through to a logical conclusion. It occurred to me, dear Roger, that if you were willing to co-operate with Tresca and Margaret he might feel the need of sticking to whatever both of you will undertake for me. What do you say?

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Please let me hear from you soon.
Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 24 [London to] Pauline [Tukel, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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18023

June 24th 38

Pauline, my Dearest,

It was very sweet of you to remember my birth day and send me a gift. I wish I could say the 27th of this month still has meaning to me. But since Sasha chose the evening of this day to end his life my birthday the last two years ~~only~~ have only ~~made~~ made Sashas loss more poignant and the memory of his ghastly end more alive and vivid. Not that one has reasons to celebrate ones birth. But there was a time when I used to look forward to the 27th of June. Mostly because of the dear friends often surrounding me, the flowers, the gifts the sweet and joyous fellowship. When Sasha went all else went, the largest part of my life went with him and lies buried with him in the soil of Nice. This year I am only being reminded that all my hopes are also dead one by one and that I have nothing whatever to look forward to the future years.

There was only one spark since Sasha died, the 19th of July in Spain and all the glowing promise it held out. The call from the comrades in Barcelona pulled me out of myself, made me feel as if I might yet be able to make my years count. I can honestly say it filled me with new vitality and inflamed my spirit to new activity. Now that is gone. For whatever the outcome of the Spanish struggle our people will have paid too great a price. So you see darling Pauline the 27th no longer counts with me. That does not lessen my appreciation and gratitude to the few friends who have remained staunch in their love and their thought of me. And you are among the few my dear Pauline.

Forgive me my dear if I have inadvertantly hurt you. When I wrote you "no one can give more than he feels" I did not mean to say that you do not feel the tragedy of our man. I meant to say that since your ideas have never meant the only *raison d'être* in your life much less can they mean that now when you see so much corruption, so much fake and such pretense in all radical and labor ranks. And even where there

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18024

sincerity there is such inefficiency, such lack of vision, such disheartening superficiality. I can therefore understand your disgust with everything and everybody. I know how my spirit has been tried all these years ~~xxxxx~~ why should you not be? It is in this sense that and in no other that I wrote no one can give more than he feels. So please let's make up and do not be provoked with me. I think I must be getting near my dotage because I find it even hard to hurt my enemies how then should I hurt my friends?

My literary and musical evening was a flop financial although it was very beautiful in the artistic sense. Alas, the women and children in Spain need food and clothing not art. You have no idea the obstacles in the way of anything I undertake for Spain. A complete boycott of the Communists against the CNT-FAI and the SIA. In addition a complete conspiracy of silence in the press. That outside of the black hate of the Stalinists against me. Really, I never felt so inadequate and so ~~paralysed~~ useless. True, I have always failed to rouse interest in this damned country. But my work for Spain has met with a solid impenetrable wall. Yet I wanted to give so much. My failure has made me physically ill. Something the matter with my heart. Over exhaustion the doctor said. I don't know what the devil it is but I do feel rotten most of the time. I am sure it is the worry over the Spanish situation and my helplessness.

I want to go to Canada this autumn. Not that I hope to do great things. But perhaps my being near America may help to get a visa. Tresca and Margaret Silver have written offering to start a campaign. The trouble is Tresca is not very reliable. He lacks sticktiveness. I always had that view of him and I have heard from a number of people since I heard from him that he may undertake the campaign but that he would never finish it. And who else is there? Perhaps you know already that Van went. He died of heart failure a month ago. Actually he drank himself to death. Years of unemployment have driven him to drink and have broken his stamina. He was among my most devoted and dependable friends. He was of no use to handle people outside of our ranks. He even antagonised many of the comrades. But with strangers and people of the middle class or the intelligentsia he could not deal with at all. Still he would have done the ground work as he had always done for me. Now this link with A. is also broken and so it goes.

Give my love to Fizzi. She does well she is keeping her little place. I have sold Bon Esprit for a pittance and have lost on the exchange of the francs into pounds. So now I have neither

land nor money. I will have no money especially as I have it all in the bank. I will not have a cross beyond his grave. As it is not enough while he was alive. Remember me affectionately

to Julia De Falco. She is a bad girl not to send me a line when she was in Nice. Yes, my dear I bought some nice material for a little dress with your gift. A friend of mine will make it up for me. I embrace you with love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 24 [London to Alfred A.] Knopf, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 18 cm.

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24th June, 1938.

Dear Mr. Knopf,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th instant and also copies of your publication which I was very glad to receive. I have not yet found time to begin reading the books, but I will soon.

When the copy of "Living My Life" arrived I understood at once that the 3 dollar edition must be exhausted. I am sorry because I wanted one or two copies for friends of mine, but it will be all right to send me a few sets of the first edition. You say that it now sells at 3 dollars. I wonder if you will see your way to giving me discount on the first edition. I may then be able to order more. For the present I want only two sets.

Enclosed please find a cheque for the volume you sent me of the Gadden City publication. At the same time I received the 12 copies I had ordered from them, and for which of course I will settle with them.

Mr. Carlo Tresca, Mrs. Margaret M. Silver and several other people have offered to organise a campaign for my reentry into the States. I feel confident that you will help to the best of your ability when they approach you. Meanwhile I may be coming very close to the States, if not in time. I expect to sail for Canada in the autumn. Perhaps I will also get near enough to see you and Mrs. Knopf again in the not too distant future.

Sincerely,

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[Letter] 1938 June 24 [London to] Evelyn [Scott, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 18 cm.

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24th June, 1938.

Dearest Evelyn,

I was delighted to hear from you so promptly in answer to my letter. What you say about the role played in America by the Communists is merely a repetition of the same despicable role they play here. Like in America their poison has been infiltrated in all ranks, even Conservative and reactionary ranks. Proof of that is that the most divergent people, such as the Duchess of Atholl, a Conservative, Wilfred Roberts, a Liberal, and people of other shades of opinion, are all working hand in glove with the Communists. As to the British intelligentsia, while it is true that some of them still own their souls, it is nevertheless a fact that they are serving the golden calf, that they have monopolised the Press, publishing houses and many of the critics. Take a man like Collanet - he poses as a Communist. Why not? It is a paying concern now; an organisation of the Left Book Club, comprising 50 or 60 thousand members is not to be sneezed at. Besides, Mr. Collanet has the marvellous gift of serving God and the devil at the same time. Not only is he the deciding factor in the Left Book Club but he has also organised the Christian Book Club. As to the critics, very few books receive any kind of recognition that lack the Communist blessings. All in all, it is as I have already said, the same situation as in the United States.

But what has the Communist bigotry to do with the ideas for which my Spanish comrades are fighting and dying? His ideas are as far removed as liberty and dictatorship can possibly be. No, I do not think that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are composed of angels or of superhuman beings. They, too, are but human. They have made mistakes. They have compromised many of their ideas. They have done that because Franco was at their throat and still is. But the difference between their ideology

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and that of the adherents of Marx is as light and darkness. It is because the Spanish Anarchists loath dictatorship that they preferred to compromise their opposition against government and to become a part of it, temporarily anyway. Whatever else posterity may not record of the heroism and the complete consecration to libertarian ideas on the part of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., it will record as the most shining example their refusal to have any truck whatever with dictatorship, and that is the most outstanding demonstration in this world of worship of dictatorship.

I appreciate deeply your desire to keep your spirit free, not to bind yourself either as individual or as a writer to any creed or any -ism. The trouble is that in the present world situation it is hardly possible to escape the need of making a definite stand for or against liberty and freedom. That does not mean, dearest Evelyn, that I would want you to use your pen to serve the ideal of freedom. Nothing on earth would induce me to curtail the right of expression of the creative artist. It is because the whole trend of Communism has attempted to fetter creative art and to hitch it to the Communist State that I loath their creed. Moreover I feel certain that my comrades in Spain would agree with me in my attitude towards any attempt to dress every work of art into the gaudy attire of a political creed.

Dearest Evelyn, I had another letter from Carlo Tresca, again repeating that he would start a campaign directly he and Margaret returned to New York. I have known Carlo for very many years. I have always liked him, though I was not impressed by his power of perseverance. I always thought him rather flighty, though perfectly honest. Of late I have received a number of letters from friends telling me that Carlo could not be relied upon in carrying out a promise.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 24 [London to] Evelyn [Scott, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 25 x 18 cm.

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I believe you once lived with Margaret de Silver so you must have come in close touch with Carlo. Will you tell me frankly what you think of his offer to organise a campaign for my re-entry into the States. I should hate to have him begin and then drop it. It would discourage everybody else who had any connection with it, and it would make a bad impression, should the newspapers get hold of it. I therefore would like to know your opinion. True, I have written Carlo and Margaret to go ahead with the campaign they have in mind. Naturally I have stressed the fact that Carlo must not pledge me to anything that I neither could nor would keep. But as he has not begun to do anything about the campaign there would still be time to write him not to bother with it. On the other hand, I naturally do not want to hurt his feelings. I know that I can depend on your estimation of the man. So be a dear and write me as soon as you can.

I was terribly sorry to hear about Jack. I know it must have been a frightful struggle for both of you, but under such painful conditions, a reparation is always for the best. Where does he keep himself in England? I should like to write him and get hold of him. He was always so kind when I met him with you. I would like to make him feel that my friendship has remained the same. I am so glad, my dear, that we are again in touch. It seemed awful not to hear from you ~~saxax~~ for so long a time. Now that we are again in contact, let us not drift apart too far.

Give Jig my affectionate greetings.
With love,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 24 [London to A.L.?] Goldwater / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

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Goldwater

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24th June, 1938.

Dear Friend,

It was quite a surprise to me to find on my office four friends from America, among them your son. Strangely enough in all the years that I have known you and have been thrown together with you in various undertakings I never knew much about your family. I have a vague recollection of somebody telling me last year that a son of Dr. Goldwater had been in Paris looking for me. Well, now I know, and what a fine looking chap your son is. He brought me your greetings and also your kind gift. Thank you for both, dear old friend.

You will want to know about me, my life and my work. I have been so completely absorbed by the Spanish tragedy that I have no existence apart from that. You see, the Spanish Revolution of the 19th July, 1936, came on top of one of the greatest losses I have sustained in my life, the violent end of my old comrade, Alexander Berkman. My whole world collapsed and there was nothing that seemed worth while to go on in this hideous world of ours after that. Then came the call from my comrades in Spain. Once more my life gained meaning and I threw myself into the service of my Spanish comrades and their struggle with every fibre of my being. I went to Spain and travelled up and down and realised for the first time that there is still a people who love liberty to such an extent that it would fight and die for it. I went back again last year and was even more impressed with the epic greatness of the Spanish people. What worthier cause could one find or love for than to serve to the uttermost these wonderful men and women whom the conspiracy of the world imperialists is trying to exterminate. Yes, I can say without exaggeration that the last two years have been among the sublimest in my life, because they lacked any

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personal needs or ambitions. My one regret is that I was not able to give more than I have and that my efforts in England on behalf of the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia have met with such poor success. For some inexplicable reason I have never been able to take root in England or to rouse English men and women. Perhaps it is all my fault. I do not seem to know how to penetrate their reserve. On the other hand there is the insidious opposition on the part of the Communists or Stalinists, as they are now called. True there is no love lost between us. In a way the Communists have all reason to dislike me truly, as indeed they do. After all I have fought them ever since I came out of Russia in 1921. They never have or can forgive me for that. It isn't that I mind what they do against me, but I do mind what they have done in Spain and outside of it against the most heroic organisation of the anti-Fascist struggle. It is their conspiracy against everything undertaken on behalf of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. and also the above organisation, which is so contemptible, and which has made my efforts here so difficult. However, one survives everything.

Dear friend, I expect to sail for Canada some time in the autumn. Perhaps being so close to my erstwhile country I may be able to get back to it, if only for a visit. A number of people in America are interested and want to help. I am not very optimistic of their success, but I am willing to let them go ahead. You may also be called upon to help. I feel sure you will not refuse.

Do write me how you are. I am always interested in the friends in America who have always shown kindness and fellowship, and you are among the outstanding.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 24, Venice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 3 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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Venice

June 24th 1938

Dearest Emma,

Monday will be the 27th.... and I want to send you a greeting for that day. I do hope things are prospering with you.... I had a letter from Stella this week and she said you were very busy. Many, many happy return dear Emma and send me a line when you have a moment.

Things here are much as usual. People come and go and I am kept very busy - ~~at~~ remunerative business^{hellas} - as rule just someone who wants to come and have a talk with "Auntie".... I get rather tired of it sometimes. M.D. is at present with his friend Dr. Levy in Morandy.... he was far from well and he thought the change to the bricker climate might do him good. Robert Nichols is here at the Colombe d'Or. I see a good deal of him. Last week the English actor Lawrence Olivier and Vivien Leigh were in St Paul. I met them and found them a charming couple^{hellas}. All roads lead to Venice.... it is amazing the number of people who pass through here, and now with the exchange so favourable, shoals are coming out. Are you likely to come this way, or are you done with France?..... I saw Mary for a few moments a few weeks ago, she was on her way to Greece by boat car and stopped off here. She has got remarkably fat.... I hardly knew here she has changed so much.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 24, Vence [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 3 p.; 21 x 17 cm.

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I ~~xxxxxx~~ have been doing a feeble bit for the Spanish children.... There is a man near here, about 4 kilos. away who has a school and now has about 24 Spanish refugees. He is a communist and gets lots of people up against him but he carries on in his own way and really the place is a model of what one hopes these schools are. Clean orderly, spacious... every possible encouragement for learnings arts and crafts. His wife struck me as a woman of great understanding and intelligence. It all seemed so perfect I looked for the snag - I wondered if there was one. Well, there, out it there is it is well hidden... But I got myself into a net of a false. Lady Jane Cuthorne-Hardy became president of the committee and we hoped to take a shop in Vence where people could deposit goods or money to be sent to the main depot for distribution. What an avalanche descended upon us... we were all Communists spreading propaganda, interfering with the French Govt. plans for helping the refugees. Poor Lady J. was besieged by 'phone calls, letters and visitors protesting. I am furious. Of course, a great number rallied around us..... I got quite a lot of money from people who would not otherwise have bothered, but they thought there was dirty work abroad, but the result has been we had to disband our committee, the landlord refused to let us the shop as had decided upon.... I know who were the prime movers in it all.... two American women played a big part..... and now I am after them. This little histoire will seem paltry to you, but it roused

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the Gordon love of a fight in me. "Never be the aggressor"
my mother used to say, "but if anyone attacks you let
'em have it hot and strong" So now I am all booted and
spurred, on the war path....

Your fight goes on like the bubbling brook,
for ever, at the thought of the suffering in Spain
knock me to pulp..... and not a soul lifts a hand to
help them. Shame on the whole world.....

I wish I could join you in a bumper to drink your
health on Monday.... but I will toss you in a quiet
one here. Cheerio dear Emma, and more power to you.

See li'l of belly. Sunday is the day she likes
to come to see me, but I always go out somewhere to get
away from this place.... the doctor says I must... I
still suffer a great deal with - now, both my
knees, I can't walk far and am really worried about my
condition. I need some special treatment, a cure somewhere
but now is one to get it, say you?...

Much love and many, many birthdays.

Affectionately,

Martha

Remember me kindly to Mrs. Goldofsky..

One feels a dull throbbing in one's insides, this time
of year. The thought of dear Sasha has been so much
with me for days. I hate getting that hopeless feeling
inside my vitals - you my dear must have a gaping wound
there. I thought I would not refer to the
horror of two years ago, but I could not close this
without some little tribute to such a noble man.

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[Letter] 1938 June 25, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Mariano? R.? Vázquez?].— 1 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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Barcelona June 25 1938

orig.?
frag.

Dear Comrades:-

Conforming to our promise to inform, in a private manner, the international movement on our internal situation we address to you a resume of political and military circumstances up-to-date, circumstances really grave and such as present to us a problem difficult to solve in as much as that movement is the advance guard in the fight against fascism. In spite of this, that is to say in spite of the disastrous politics, of certain sectors and the evident superiority of the forces of the enemy, the libertarian movement will accomplish its work in the struggle, in following to the end the line that we have laid down. We assume our entire historic responsibility, as revolutionaries and antifascists, fully realize that we can count, in all circumstances of the solidarity of the comrades of the whole world.

Antecedents:- (events leading up to)

When the Army of the East was brought to catastrophe. (nobody was surprised ? everybody was more than surprised ?) It existed of militarists, of comrade commissars and of sections of the Defence which continually prevented the organization of a critical state of criticism of the front. In the meantime one believed that one had to count with elements of judgements sufficient for power of assurance because one thought that in the secret Militaire of the Major States one had knowledge of the true situation at the front and that one had taken the measures for protection that should have been imposed. The reports reveal that because of the intrigue effected by the Communist Party in its misplaced desire to absorb everything, the greatest part of these services did not function regularly. The artillery, transmission, health services, administration, the transports, information, munitions, contact between units, their inner vigour moral were all displaced on account of corrosive work already indicated. And this was proved by the tragic reality commencing with the factious offensive of March 9, 1938. By the crises of the government, bold in the beginning of April, one hoped to hold back its negative attitude of the Communist Party, clarify commands, to make wholesome the rear, suppress unnecessary work and establish one joint action of all the antifascist sectors, which would permit the realization of the grand venture under all its aspects especially those to do with the war. The manner in which the problem of the crises had been solved occasioned doubts in our minds as to the efficacy of the government. And the constitution of the Popular Front, composed by all sections, did not present any more of a guarantee. The events proved that these doubts were without reason, for under the military plan, the communist offensive intensified itself in absorbing practically all of the command (official positions) in the Eastern Army, Antonio Gordon, a principal of the Communist Party, who had already demonstrated his incompetence and a marked disposition to execute the monopolistic projects of his party, was named Under-Secretary of the Army of the Land. Jesus Hernandez was at the same time named as commissar for groups of armies of the other side of the loyalist zone ect..ect... They did not purify the Commandants in the army nor in the under-secretaries and all continued as had the terrible experience of the Eastern Army, that is to say, without improving the vital organism of the army, its services, its Central Major State, its commissaryship, fortifications, its plans of prevision, ect.: The will to do intention restrained by desposition which revealed the belief for those, who were at the head of the Ministry of National Defence-----that was our unity, which counted the most courageous and the most decisive elements. And in this state of things, proceeded the offensive of the enemy in Castellon, it began and continued its march.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 25, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. — 5 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Crompond, N.Y., den 25. Juni 1938.

Liebste Emma:

Dein Brief an Milly ist gestern hier angekommen. Er beunruhigte mich ein wenig, denn nach meiner Berechnung solltest du längst im Besitze meines langen Schreibens sein, das ich dir vor ungefähr 16 Tagen sandte. Ich nehme indessen an, dass du dasselbe unmittelbar nach der Absendung deines Briefes an Milly glücklich erhalten hast. Ich habe dort alle Fragen in Bezug auf Huxley's Brief beantwortet und ziemlich ausführlich. Deshalb wäre es mir sehr unangenehm, wenn der Brief verloren sein sollte, was ich mir übrigens schwer vorstellen kann, denn er war mit der Rückadresse versehen. Deine Vorwürfe, dass ich dich vernachlässige, sind also nicht stichhaltig, wenigstens nicht in dem Masse wie du angibst. Alte Liebe rostet nicht, wie das Sprichwort sagt, das solltest du längst wissen. Ich bin natürlich die ganze Zeit schwer beschäftigt, wie du weisst, und da kann es mitunter schon vorkommen, dass ich nicht so pünktlich bin, wie ich es selber wünsche. Nun, hoffentlich hast du inzwischen meinen Brief längst erhalten und daraus ersehen, dass ich in Wirklichkeit doch nicht ein so schlechter und gottvergessener Kerl bin wie du dir einredst. Und damit du siehst, wie sehr ich dich in mein Herz eingeschlossen habe, warte ich gar nicht erst deine Antwort auf meinen letzten Brief ab und schreibe dir sofort, um dir Balsam auf die Wunden zu streuen, die ich dir gegen meinen Willen verursacht habe. Verzeihe, Emmachen; ich bin wirklich nicht ein so schwarzes Ungetüm, wie du dir vorstellst, und das ist immerhin etwas.

Nun zu den wichtigsten Punkten deines letzten Briefes an Milly, die du in so unverantwortlicher Weise gegen mich aufzuwiegeln versuchst, um den Familienfrieden zu stören. Seit dem Eintreffen deines Briefes liegt sie mir den ganzen Tag auf der Pelle, dir ja sofort zu schreiben, so dass ich bereits an Ehescheidung gedacht habe.

Zunächst die Frage mit Carlo Tresca. Ich werde dir hier ganz vorurteilslos meine eigenen Erfahrungen mitteilen, das mir umso leichter fällt, als ich mit ihm sowie mit den Kameraden der Adunata auf freundlichen Fusse stehe. Die Adunata-Leute sind lange nicht so schlecht wie du dir vielleicht vorstellen magst. Sie umfassen die grosse Mehrheit aller italienischen Genossen in diesem Lande; mit ich habe die meisten ihrer Gruppen von New York bis San Francisco persönlich kennen gelernt, und ich kann nur sagen, dass die meisten ihrer Mitglieder brave Leute sind und im höchsten Grade opferwillig sind. Obwohl sie mit der Taktik der CNT-FAI nicht übereinstimmen, haben sie während der ganzen Zeit des Kampfes in Spanien bis heute eine Masse Geld an die FAI abgeschickt. Das Schlimmste bei ihnen ist ihre Einstellung in Bezug auf die Frage der Organisation. In dieser Hinsicht sind sie ausgesprochene Individualisten, obgleich sie theoretisch durchaus auf dem Boden des kom. An. stehen. Es ist dies eine Erbschaft Galeanis, der auf Grund seiner aussergewöhnlichen Fähigkeiten einen ungeheuren Einfluss auf die ital. Bewegung in den USA hatte und von den meisten wie ein Heiliger verehrt wird. Während in Italien selbst die grosse Mehrheit der Bewegung den organisatorischen Bestrebungen Malatestas folgte, ging die Bewegung in Amerika ihre eigenen Wege. Mitunter nimmt die Antipathy gegen jede Form einer grösseren Organisation bei den Adunata-Leuten oft ganz groteske Formen an, die man sich in Europa schwer vorstellen kann.

In dem Kampfe zwischen dem Martello und der Adunata spielen nicht bloss taktische, sondern leider auch sehr persönliche Motive eine wichtige Rolle.

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Tresca kam als Sozialist nach Amerika und, nachdem er Anarchist wurde, vertrat er die anarcho-syndikalistische Tendenz in der Bewegung. Das brachte ihn in offenen Widerspruch mit der Richtung Galeana, und da er neu in der Bewegung war und, wie das ganz natürlich war, die Eierschalen seiner sozialistischen Vergangenheit nicht sofort im ganzen abschütteln konnte, so wirkte sich das doppelt schlimm für ihn aus. Dazu kamen bestimmte Charakteranlagen Carlos, die nicht dazu beitragen konnten, seinen Einfluss zu stärken. Carlo ist ein ungemein aktiver Mensch und ist aus diesem Grunde leicht geneigt, auf allerhand Kompromisse einzugehen, von denen er sich einen Erfolg für die Bewegung verspricht. Während die Adunata-Leute den Bolschewismus von Anfang an schroff ablehnten, war Tresca bestrebt ein Zusammengehen der Anarchisten mit den Kommunisten herbeizuführen, was die grosse Mehrheit der ital. Genossen ungeheuer gegen ihn aufbrachte. Auch heute noch, wenn er die Kommunisten auf das stärkste bekämpft, hat er eine schwache Seite für Trotzky und arbeitet vielfach mit dessen Anhängern Hand in Hand. Dazu kommt noch eine starke persönliche ~~aktive~~ Ambition, die vielleicht an und für sich ganz harmloser Natur ist, aber die es ihm zu einem inneren Bedürfnis macht, möglichst viel von sich reden zu machen. Für die Adunata-Leute, die in Punkto "Autorität" auch nicht das kleinste Zugeständnis machen, ist das natürlich ein direktes Verbrechen. Vor allem aber kommt bei Carlo noch eine Eigenschaft in Frage, die ihm viel geschadet hat: das ist seine absolute Unzuverlässigkeit in Bezug auf persönliche Versprechungen. Er verspricht das Blaue vom Himmel und vergisst es in der nächsten Minute vollständig. Sogar seine besten Freunde sind in diesem Punkte einer Meinung.

Wenn er etwas verspricht, hat er sicher die ehrliche Absicht, sein Versprechen zu halten; aber er ist stets mit soviel verschiedenen Dingen beschäftigt, dass er nie dazu kommt. H. Kelly, die spanischen Kameraden hier und viele andere erzählen von ihm die unglaublichsten Geschichten und sie tun es nicht etwa, um ihm etwas am Zeuge zu flicken, sondern lediglich um etwas Homorvolles zum besten zu geben. Alle halten ihn für einen ausgezeichneten Kerl, der leider den Schönheitsfehler besitzt, dass man sich auf ihn nie verlassen kann. Zur Illustration will ich dir hier erzählen, was ich mit ihm persönlich erlebt habe.

Ich kannte Carlo nur dem Namen nach, obwohl ich mit seinem Streite mit der Adunata wohl vertraut war, denn ich las in Europa sowohl den Martello als auch die Adunata. Als Milly und ich das letzte Mal nach Amerika kamen, lernten wir C. persönlich kennen. Siegfried Nacht hatte uns eines Abends bei sich eingeladen, und da er ein sehr guter Freund Trescas ist, so bat er auch diesen zu Gaste. Der gute Carlo, der natürlich all die Jahre viel von mir gehört hatte, begrüßte mich mit aussergewöhnlicher Herzlichkeit und machte auf mich einen sehr guten Eindruck. Er ist ein ausgezeichnete Gesellschafter, hat gesunden Mutterwitz und verschmähst keinen guten Tropfen, alles Eigenschaften, die ich wohl zu schätzen wusste. Im Laufe des Gespräches kamen wir auch auf unsere Angelegenheit zu sprechen. Unsere erste Extension, die uns Doubinsky verschafft hatte, war nahe zu Ende, und wir mussten uns um neue Protektionen umsehen. Als Carlo davon hörte, sagte er mir, dass ich mir keinerlei Sorgen machen sollte, er habe gute Verbindungen in Washington und sei für ihn nur ein Kinderspiel, uns eine neue Extension zu verschaffen. Er nahm meine Adresse und versprach mir binnen drei Tagen zu schreiben. Es vergingen drei Wochen, und als ich noch immer nicht die versprochene Antwort hatte, schrieb ich an C. Er antwortete mir nicht. Darauf fand ich es geraten, mich wieder an Doubinsky zu wenden, der uns auch zwei Stunden, nachdem wir bereits vom Immigration Office die offizielle Aufforderung erhalten hatten, abzureisen, eine neue Extension verschaffte.

Zwei Tage danach schrieb mir Carlo einen Brief und beglückwünschte uns beide sehr herzlich zu unserem Erfolg, wobei er durchblicken liess, dass

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[Letter] 1938 June 25, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker].— 5 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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er es gewesen sei, der Doubinsky entscheidend beeinflusst habe, sich für uns einzusetzen. Das war natürlich durchaus nicht der Fall, wie mir Doubinsky später ausführlich versicherte. Du begreifst, dass Carlos Handlungsweise in diesem Falle wirklich unverantwortlich war. Hätte ich mich auf ihn verlassen und nicht noch im letzten Moment zu Doubinsky meine Zuflucht genommen, so wären wir heute sicher nicht mehr in Amerika. Ich habe ihm das nicht nachgetragen, habe ihm auch nie einen Vorwurf gemacht, aber ich war mir nach dieser Erfahrung vollständig klar darüber, dass auf ihn kein Verlass ist. Wir sind auch heute noch gut Freund, obwohl ich ihn lange Zeit nicht gesehen habe.

Ich brauche dir wohl nicht erst zu versichern, dass ich all den Verdächtigungen, die gegen ihn ausgestreut wurden, keinen Glauben beilege, obwohl ich mir nicht verhehle, dass er selbst durch eine ganze Anzahl unüberlegter Handlungen zur Verbreitung dieser Gerüchte beigetragen hat. Tresca ist ein sehr fähiger Mensch, ein ausgezeichnete Journalist, und es ist jammerschade, dass zwischen ihm und dem Gros der ital. Kameraden eine solche Kluft besteht, die wohl niemals zu überbrücken sein wird, da sie bereits zur Tradition gehört, und nichts ist dauerhafter als die Tradition.

Was deinen eigenen Fall anbelangt, glaube ich, dass du auf Carlo nicht allzuviel bauen sollst. Es ist immerhin möglich, dass er dir gegenüber etwas anders handeln wird, als in unserem Falle. Vor allem aber ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass seine Frau, die ich zweimal gesehen habe, und die einen sehr guten Eindruck machte, in dieser Hinsicht gewissenhafter ist. Jedenfalls hast du nichts zu verlieren, und so kannst du es immerhin versuchen. Schwierigkeiten mit den Adunata-Leuten werden wohl nicht eintreten. Sobald du näheres weisst, schreibe mir, und ich werde dann sofort mit Borghi und Valerio sprechen, die zwar beide Tresca wie die Pest hassen, aber die sicher alles tun werden, um keinen Zusammenstoss mit ihm in deinem Falle zu verursachen. Jedenfalls werde ich alles tun, was in meinen Kräften steht, um solches zu vermeiden. Da ist nur eine Gefahr, dass Marcus in seinem "Man" sich in die Sache mischen könnte. Marcus ist mit den Adunata-Leuten auf sehr gutem Fusse und seine Zeitung existiert fast nur mit der Hilfe der Italiener. Aber ich glaube, dass sich auch in diesem Falle etwas tun lässt. Uebrigens ist das ja keine öffentliche Affäre, solange Carlo es nicht selbst zu einer solchen machen wird. Dazu liegt aber gar keine Ursache vor, denn jede öffentliche Behandlung deiner Angelegenheit könnte dir nur schaden und Aussichten, die vielleicht vorhanden sind, gründlich zerstören. Das musst du Carlo besonders ans Herz legen. Es gibt Menschen, die man oft mit der Nase auf Dinge stossen muss, um ihnen gewisse Dinge verständlich zu machen, und ich glaube, dass unser guter Carlo zu diesen gehört.

Was die Besprechung des Buches von Read anbelangt, so werde ich sie natürlich sofort besorgen, sobald das Buch ankommt. Vorläufig habe ich es noch nicht zu Händen bekommen.

Deine Stimmung in Bezug zu deiner Arbeit für Spanien kann ich nur allzugut verstehen. Aber da ist nichts zu ändern. Unsere Leute befinden sich in einer so furchtbaren Lage, dass sie sich an jeden Strohalm anklammern müssen, der sich ihnen bietet. Die Ermordung des republikanischen Bürgermeisters von Teruel und die Hinschlachtung unschuldiger Opfer durch die Horden Francos zeigt, was unsere Genossen zu erwarten haben, wenn es diesen Schuftentum gelingt nach Barcelona zu kommen. Die Fehler, die gemacht wurden, lassen sich heute nicht mehr ändern; sogar wenn sie nicht begangen worden, hätten sie an der allgemeinen Lage selbst nichts ändern können. Man kann nicht mit Erfolg Krieg gegen eine ganze Welt führen. Dass vergessen die meisten, welche heute so leicht bereit sind, die Spanier zu verdammen. Du hast dir nichts vorzuwerfen. Du hast gehandelt, wie du unter den Umständen handeln musstest. Vielleicht

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wirst du bei manchen unserer Genossen dadurch an Popularität verlieren, aber es gibt Zeiten, wo man auch gegen den Strom der öffentlichen Meinung in eigenen Kreisen schwimmen muss. Was meine eigene Person anbelangt, so bereue ich meine Stellung keine Sekunde. Mein Gewissen liess mir keine andere Wahl. Ich will und kann nicht die ungeheure Belastung auf mich nehmen, Leute in der Öffentlichkeit anzugreifen, die auf Leben und Tod für ihre Existenz kämpfen, auch wenn mir alle ihre Fehler völlig klar sind. Mit allen ihren Fehlern hat die spanische Bewegung etwas geleistet, was keine Bewegung vorher getan hat. Sogar der Todeskampf der Pariser Kommune verblasst vor diesem ungeheuren Kampfe, der mit soviel Todesverachtung und Selbstaufopferung geführt wird. Wenn diese ganze grausige Tragödie vielleicht mit einem furchtbarem Blutbad endigen wird, was wahrscheinlich nicht zu verhindern ist, dann möchte ich mir nicht den Vorwurf machen, ~~aus~~ meinen eigenen Kameraden Steine in den Weg gelegt zu haben, wenn sie Blut und Leben für ihre Sache einsetzen mussten. Es gibt für mich noch eine revolutionäre Ethik, deren Grundsätze für mich heilig sind. Das mag in den Augen vieler ein Fehler sein, aber ich kann nicht anders. Wenn ich sehe, wie heute, angesichts dieses entsetzlichen Todesanzuges Sozialdemokraten, Stalinisten, Trotzlisten usw. in holder Eintracht über unsere Genossen herfallen, dann würde ich mir lieber die Zunge ausreissen und die Hände abhacken lassen, um nicht in die Gefahr zu kommen, in denselben Reigen mit diesen Gesindel zu ~~kamman~~ geraten.

Was die Verbrennung von Santillans Buch anbetrifft, so ging mir das furchtbar auf die Nerven, als ich davon hörte. Später aber erklärte man mir, dass dies lediglich geschehen sei, um Santillan vor dem Tode zu schützen. Das Buch sollte gerade herauskommen, als die reaktionäre Situation sich bis zum Extrem verschärft hatte. Santillan, der sich schon nach den Mai-Ereignissen verborgen halten musste, wäre auf diese Art in eine grosse Gefahr geraten, und das wollte man nicht verantworten. Ich habe Santillans Buch nicht gelesen, weiss auch nicht, ob alles so zutrifft wie man mir sagte. Aber ich weiss, dass Santillan auch heute noch mit den spanischen Genossen Hand in Hand geht. Ich habe erst vor drei Tagen einen Brief von ihm erhalten, worin er mir mitteilt, dass ihn die FAI und CNT zum Redakteur einer 200seitigen Monatsrevue gemacht hat, deren erste Nummer noch diesen Monat erscheinen wird. Er forderte meine Mitarbeiterschaft in seinem Briege, die ich ihm natürlich von ganzem Herzen zugesagt habe. Ich kann mir nicht vorstellen, dass ein Mann wie Santillan noch weiterhin mit denselben Menschen zusammenarbeiten würde, wenn man sein Buch lediglich vernichtet hätte, weil die Tendenz desselben nicht in die Linie der CNT-FAI passt. Es müssen also schon andere Gründe vorhanden sein, die man erst kennen muss, ehe man ein Urteil abgeben kann. Ich habe S. gebeten, mir die ganze Sache zu erklären, und sobald ich seine Antwort erhalte, werde ich dir sie sofort zugehen lassen.

Mein kleines Buch über Anarcho-Syndikalismus kann mir hier noch Schwierigkeiten machen. Warburg schrieb den Genossen der Vanguard, dass sie mein Buch öffentlich ~~amman~~ annonenzieren sollen und versprach ihnen dafür 500 Exemplare zu sehr günstigen Bedingungen. Aber Mrs. D., die unseren Fall in der Hand hat, sagte mir, dass dies unter keinen Bedingungen geschehen soll, da die offene Verbreitung dieses Buches leicht zu unserer Ausweisung führen könne. Es ist einfach zum Verzweifeln. Man kann sich nicht rühren und nicht regen in unserer Lage. Vielleicht kannst du Warburg, wenn du gerade Gelegenheit dazu hast, die Sache erklären und ihm sagen, dass mein Buch nur unter der Hand, d.h. ohne öffentliche Bekanntmachung vertrieben werden kann, sonst kann es ihm ~~xtatm~~ vielleicht noch einfallen, selber eine Annonce vom Stapel zu lassen, die mir das Genick brechen könnte. Das wäre gerade, was mir noch fehlte.

Von Govloi habe ich heute die ersten 160 Dollar erhalten. Er schuldet mir

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 25, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker]. — 5 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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...viel mehr. Trotzdem er keinen Cent zur Bekanntmachung ...
...hat, sind ihm von einer Auflage von 2.000 Exemplaren ...
...geblieben. Das Komitee will diese von ihm kaufen und ...
...entziehen, wenn er nicht zu hohe Forderungen stellt. Für ...
...er keine Rechte. Wenn du also etwas tun kannst, so wäre ich dir ...
...bar. Ich habe dir in meinem letzten Briefe Urteile über mein Buch ...
...Mam, Albert Einstein, Louis Adams, Rupert Hughes und einer Menge ...
...geschichte, die du vielleicht verwenden kannst. Da ich nicht weisse, ob ...
...meinen Brief erhalten hast, sende ich dir hier noch eine verbesserte ...
...pie.

Bitte, sende mir die Rezension Read's sobald sie erscheint und wenn ...
möglich in zwei Exemplaren. Das Komitee in Los Angeles will nämlich ...
Besprechungen etc. über mein Buch in einer kleinen Broschüre herausgeben ...
und da wäre es natürlich wertvoll, auch Reads Meinung einzuverleichen.

Eine englische Uebersetzung meines Buchs "Die Sechs" wird Ende ...
Monats erscheinen. Vielleicht werde ich mich doch noch durchsetzen und ...
meiner literarischen Arbeit wenigstens soviel verdienen, dass ich ...
hasschen ohne ständige tägliche Sorgen meine Arbeit fortsetzen kann. Es ...
swar zu gut, um wahr zu sein, aber vielleicht passiert doch noch ein ...

Und nun genug für heute. Du kannst dich dieses Mal gewiss nicht ...
denn ich habe dir ein gutes Mass gegeben.

Herzliche Grüsse von uns dreien und mit

aller Liebe

Rudolf

Grüsse auch Dora Zhook und alle, die uns kennen, sehr freundlich von

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 25, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25 Prospect Street,
New Rochelle, N.Y., U.S.A., 17442
June 25, 1938.

Dear Emma:

Your letter of the 17th recieved this morning and I am answering now because you say you have not received the 3rd issue of Challenge. Perhaps you have recieved the other copies since but if not here is No. 8 with the account of Starrett's death. I knew nothing of it until the paper came a week ago. I intended to write you then but felt sure you would hear of it. I didn't know him very well and he said some unkind things of me probably when he was in his cups but he was a contemporary and each time one passes I realize that time is on the wing.

I am still taking treatments for my rupture and have had eight so far. The Specialist and Leah's brother both say I am improving nicely; the former told me the usual number of treatments is 10 to 15 so I'll plug along and see how it comes out. The treatment themselves do not cause much pain it is the truss I have to wear that causes pain and inconvenience and keeps me close to the house.

As to Carlo I must have told you that when the L'Adanato Group attacked him some years ago he asked Leonard, Starrett and myself to act as a committee to hear and judge the case. Starrett and I wrote 2 letters to be submitted to the committee and Carlo selected mine and I sent it to the group. They failed to answer and I wrote a second one and they failed to answer that. Starrett told me they told him to give names etc. to prove their case would jepordise the liberty and perhaps the life of certain people. This may have been true but I could not condemn a comrade merely on the word of others I did not even know so the accusation never affected my relations with Carlo. Yes, he could do a lot if he set himself to it and you can be sure I will do all I can if he calls on me.

Like you I cannot see myself visiting the D.A. as Carlo did but not everyone sees things as you and I do. As to Juliet Poyntz if she was really done away with it is sure the irony of fate. About ten years ago an independent committee was organized to protest against persecutions for political opinions and a meeting was arranged at the Town Hall with various speakers for different countries and Roger Baldwin and Vladeck to speak on Russia. Charley Ervin and myself as members of the committee went to the meeting from the Civic Club and on the way discussed the possibility of the Communists creating a disturbance. We agreed that no matter how dumb they were they would surely not be as dumb as that. We were wrong for ~~xxxx~~ led by Ludwig Lore and Juliet Poyntz they created such a row that Vladeck was not allowed to speak at all and Roger only after much interruption. Lore was later expelled from the party and if Carlo's surmise is correct Juliet Poyntz murdered.

As to the New Pledge and Browders' new confession of faith I read the Times review of them and feel pretty much as you do. Day before yesterday I recieved the pamphlet with Browder's speech from Bertha W. Howe whom as I probably told you is at 71 years an ardent "communist". I have'nt read it but will in a day or two for I must write her.

Talking about Communists and our own people on the last page

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 25, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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of the paper enclosed is an article by Abe. and if it isn't a patronizing defestest article I never read one. ¹⁷⁴⁴³ The workers and peasants of Spain no longer know why they are fighting.....Their mistakes have been many, their compromise suicidal, their present participation in the Negrin Government beyond understanding.....we cannot bring ourselves to condemn them too much." A child should know if with the aid of the honest if conservative Republican forces, the Socialist Trade Unions and even with the good catholic workers of the Basque country fighting the Anti-Fascist forces are slowly being forced back what would happen if The CNT-FAI tried to fight alone. Why literally the whole of Europe and America are against the Loyalists and this boy talks about their compromises being suicidal. Honestly it makes me boil. When he grew tired of Spain and its hardships he probably wrote his father for money and then left for home. Those poor "benighted" workers and peasants who do not know why they are fighting couldnt write home for money and leave, they had to stay and fight, suffer and oft-times die for in their struggle against Germany, Italy, Portugal, hypocritical England and war torn France afraid to antagonise that same England and Russia forcing them to barter their very souls for aid. All of this and our own comrades talk him snugly about compromises etc.

Of course Negrin strengthens his subservient ties with the foreign bankers and of course Roosevelt also insists on "reasonable profits" and radicale and revolutionists of all shades fall over themselves to uphold him for the simple reason they know he is better than the other fellow and know that Fascism grows and grows and we not only look like ninies, but act like them. Honestly E.G. I feel like Sasha must have felt when the only way out. I am in fair health in spite of my rupture, have a swell girl friend, a lovely daughter and granddaughter, a son who is more than worth while even if I don't see him often and plenty of friends but the criminality of present day society, its cruelty and stupidity makes me feel indifferent whether the sun shines for me tomorrow or not. It is the hopelessness of the whole bloody mess and my inability to even express myself against it to say nothing of doing something more than that.

Well, this wail for that is all it is, has gone on long enough. I hope you are feeling well and that Van's death will not upset you too much and if Carlo gets busy and calls on me I will surely do whatever I can.

With love and many good wishes and kindest greetings to Sonia and her family, I am,

Affectionately,

Harry

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 27, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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London Office

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, June 27th 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

My dear Rose. What can be the matter with you that you stopped writing? Your last letter, dated May 12th I answered May 24th. I have not heard from you since, over a month ago. You can imagine I am anxious. Since I heard from you I had another letter from Tresca saying he and Margaret had been away but that he would begin work on the campaign for me directly they would get back to N.Y. The trouble is a number of people have written me that Tresca is not dependable. I don't mean to petty attack and slander carried on by the L'ADONATO group. They are frightful biggots. I mean others who do not question Tresca's honesty. But they write that he promises much but never carries out what he undertakes. That certainly would be a ~~calamity~~ calamity for me to be left high and dry after I had made all arrangements for sailing. Worse luck there is no one else who could ~~has~~ has the necessary connections. I have written Roger Baldwin. Perhaps if he would join Tresca and Margaret De Silver Carlo would keep going. It was Roger more than anyone else who got the visa for me four years ago. Anyhow I have written him.

And you my dear what have you achieved? Have you seen any more important people? Were they favorable to the schemes? I wish you would let me know.

I suppose ^{you} know that poor Van is no more. It is certain that he drank himself to death. Such a waste of a man with ability, such capacity for work and for selfless devotion. There was never a time when I wrote Van for anything, books, research work when I wrote L.M.L. or anything that he refused. I am sure he would have worked his head off to help bring me back. But I fear this year drink held him in its clutches. So perhaps it was the only solution for his wrecked life. And it must also be that for poor Sadie who led the life of a martyr since Van began to drink heavily. Nevertheless it was a frightful blow to me when the news came from Sadie and comrade Freedman. To day also came the news of Tom Keella's death. He went in his sleep. In his case too death was a solution because Tom was growing blind. Anyhow the old guard goes and there is no one to replace them.

To day is a double anniversary, my 69th birthday and the beginning of Sasha's end. He fired ~~that~~ a bullet into his vitals on the night of the 27th. In the past when I was surrounded by friends as often happened on the 27th that day had some meaning. Since 36 my life became tied to Sasha's end as it had been to his life. Since then the 27th only opens up the old wounds. But enough of gloom.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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2 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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LONDON, W.1

London,

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Gloom.

Please, please dearest Rose write me how matters stand. You will be glad to know that the comrades of the C.N.T. not only agree with my plan of Canada but they wrote me it would help them "tremendously" Their usual optimism. I may attend the Congress of the I.W.M.A.s the 24th of August, meet the Spaniards there for a talk unless they consent to my returning to Spain for a few weeks and then sail I need a change of scenery badly and a rest. I have not been feeling very extra. An overexhausted heart the doctors say, nothing organic. That's a comfort isn't it? A sea trip would do me good. But of course it is not for the luxury of it that I want to sail but for the work I might be able to do and the slender hope of getting back to the States.

Thanks for the stockings dearest I got them at last. Please thank your mother for me.

With love.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 27, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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London, June 27th 38.

TELEPHONE: GERBARD 3636

Freedman, New York

Dear Samuel, I should say you are prompt. If all my correspondents were like you letter writing would not be a burden as it often is when one writes in the void. Thank you my dear.

The news about Vans death contained in your letter I had received the morning of the day when your letter arrived, from poor Sadie. It is tragic for a man with such abilities as Van to have thrown away his life in drink. I am sure the years of unemployment drove him to despair and to drink. It must be that because all the years I had known Van especially before the war and through a long and steady correspondence with him he did not drink at all. I can say without exaggeration that Van was among my staunchest and most devoted friends in the States. I had never once found him wanting in anything I had occasion to ask him to do for me, such as research work of material I needed for I.M.L. Books and magazines that enabled me to keep in touch in American affairs. In short there was nothing too much for him to do in my behalf. You can therefore imagine what a blow his death ~~xxx~~ is to me. Yet I feel his death was the only solution for him and for poor Sadie who had led a wretched life since ~~xxx~~ drink became Vans most dominant drive. I mean to write a little article for Spain and the World this week. I will send you a copy.

of Paul
The news of Vans death was followed day by day by the death of comrade Tom Keell. He too died of heart failure in his sleep. Liquor was certainly not the cause of our comrades end. It was a weak heart. In his case the end was also a solution for he was nearly blind and growing worse every day. I saw him about five months ago when he could barely see his way up the steps of our office. Outside of his growing blindness he had a comfortable and peaceful old age. He had retired to Whiteway, an old colony where he had a piece of land and a shack. His companion lived with him. She has remained self supporting and independent and even contributed most of the cost of their sons education. Tom managed to make his share through the literature of our literature and the printing he used to do on the old Freedom outfit. I think Mettlan ought to be able to write something about Keell. He knew him ever since he came into the movement, into Freedom Group. Mettlan is in Switzerland now. I will write him a line and if he writes the article you will of course get it.

myself
To day is indeed a sad day for me. For it was at midnight of the 27th, by birthday incidentally that Sasha ended his life. Alas the end did not come until the following night. He was conscious until 4 P.M. of the 28th. In these sixteen hours Sasha suffered more than the rest of his years and as you know his life was replete with

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LONDON, W.1

London, —

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

suffering. But the physical agony caused by the bullet was beyond all else in his life. His haunted eyes and twitching face are still before me and will remain until my own end. As you see my 69th birthday is not a very cheerful one. Nor can it ever be again so intrinsically tied to Sasha's life and his death.

My dear Samuel several people have written me that Trecca is not dependable. Not as far as his honesty is concerned but he never carries anything he undertakes through to the end I am told. Frankly I don't know what to do. I wrote the man to go ahead since he and Margaret de Silver were the first and only ones to offer their help. I have also written Roger Baldwin again. Last year he was very discouraged. He wrote me Perkins definitely refused to give a visa for me. The situation may have changed. Anyhow it was Roger Baldwin who had faithfully worked for my return four years ago. He might be willing to do the same this year. Anyhow he knows Trecca well and in as much as Mrs De Silver is one of the heaviest contributors to the Civil Liberties Union Trecca may stick to the undertaking as it was started. I know no one else. Do you?

About the L'ADONATO, I have decided not to involve Rudolf in the mess. Sufficient unto the day if Trecca really starts a campaign and the petty bunch of L'ADONATO start their bickering. They are not the only ones who have dogged my steps in the long years of my work in the Anarchist movement. I have ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ always ignored these petty souls and have gone on the thorny path without a halt. After all, one's life and one's actions count not the miserable fault finding of those who call themselves your comrades.

Speaking of those who undertake to do things and never get far. You seemed to think the same about Rose Pesotta. You wrote me in one letter that she talks a lot but does not act. So who else is there? Or is the effort to be given up altogether? Rose has not written me lately. I really do not know what to make of her silence. I am writing her to day.

Please keep me posted what you are achieving in re the fund. By the way Sadie Ludlow writes that she had offered to help you when the campaign is started. She is a first class secretary and could be of very great help with correspondence. It would also help her over the first painful time of Vans end.

Write me to your family and the comrades

Fraternally

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 June 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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18772
N°

12 27 Juin 1938

Solidaridad Internacional
Antifascista

Comité General

Emma Goldman
L o n d r e s

Chère camarade:
Nous avons reçu ta lettre du 9 courant, ne réponds à la nôtre (605).

Conformes avec l'état de comptes et toutes les dépenses réalisées.

Nous sommes aussi d'accord avec ce qui se rapporte à l'abonnement de 50% de frais du bureau de notre mouvement confédéral à Londres.

D'accord aussi avec l'aide à la garderie de l'"Independent Labour Party" mais comme nous ne savons pas quelle relation peut avoir les nécessités de la dite Garderie avec notre situation monétaire, nous considérons plus opportun, que la Section détermine la quantité, qu'on peut désigner.

Avec satisfaction nous avons lu la nouvelle de l'arrivée du film et nous croyons qu'il vous plaira. Nous en faisons un film actuellement, qui sera une chose bien faite.

L'idée du voyage à Canada nous paraît très bonne et nous cherons de vous procurer beaucoup de matériel de propagande. Vous fassiez une active et intense campagne de S.I.A.

Nous comprenons l'effort que tu fais pour trouver un remplaçant, qui te substituera provisoirement et nous espérons tes suggestions pour faire une lettre de créance convenable.

Tu nous causerais un vrai plaisir, si tu pourrais faire un voyage en Espagne; nous t'aurions présenté le travail réalisé pendant un an et ces derniers mois. A part, nous t'envoyons un rapport du travail, effectué par la Section Espagnole, qui, nous espérons, te satisfera entièrement. Maintenant, nos Garderies et Collèges de la Section Espagnole ont changé beaucoup de celles que tu as à Valence, vu que toutes, organisées parfaitement, fonctionnent efficacement.

La dernière partie du paragraphe, nous trouvons parfaite. nous pensons, qu'en travaillant de cette manière, nous pouvons obtenir un triomphe complet très prochainement.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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En profitant cette occasion, nous te salu
ement

POUR LE CONSEIL GENERAL DE S.
Lucía Sanchez Saornil.—Secré

Lucía Sanchez Saornil



S. I. A.
CONSEJO GENERAL

Nº 153 (27-16-38)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 27, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[anuel] Mascarell. —
1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.
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N°1.011/121/20.

Emma Goldman
21 Fench Street
Searcy
LONDON

Querida camarada,

Aprovecho la ocasión del viaje del compañero portador de la presente para entregarte esta nota y dos cartas que he recibido de Barcelona para ti.

En cuanto a la tuya que he recibido hoy, la contestaré oportunamente mañana o pasado.

Sin más por hoy, te saluda fraternalmente.

POR LA DELEGACION PERMANENTE DE LA C.N.T.-F.A.I. DE PARIS.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 27, Beaconsfield [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

27.6.38

Dear Emma Goldman,

Here is the new material from my talk on
 Conway Hall - the rest was from my book. Do with it as you
 like. Use it where you think it will be most effective.

I am very glad to hear that Ethel Mannin is to review my
 book and I shall look forward to her criticism. My review of
 Fisher has at last appeared in the Criterion and I have asked
 to send you a copy. I am afraid you will be disappointed in
 its moderation, but in that particular milieu one must adopt
 cautious tone if one is to make any impression.

I doubt whether Fisher would be interested in Nationalism and
 Culture. Routledge, or Allen & Unwin, are more likely. Have you
 discussed the possibilities with Sackor & Warburg?

With all good wishes

Yours sincerely,

Herbert Read

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 27, Amsterdam [to] Emma Goldman, London / Annie Adama van Scheltema-Kleefstra. — 1 p. ; 28 × 18 cm.
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Directeur: Prof. Dr. H. W. Pothuizen



Klovenburgstraat 264 - Amsterdam-C.

A.v.S./B.N.

Telef. 24449

27th. June 1938.

Mrs. Emma Goldman,
 c/o. International Anti-Fascist Solidarity,
 31, Frith Street,
 Shaftesbury Avenue,
 London W.1.

Dear Mrs. Goldman,

I was very pleased to receive your kind and very prompt reply to my letter and to see that you now favour the idea of having Mr. Berkman's collection in Amsterdam.

Although I did not mention it in my letter, Mr. Nettlau had informed me that you were expelled from Holland. We feel sure however that we could manage to get the authorities to give you permission to come to Amsterdam again, if the purpose of your visit were limited to the sorting of your material in our library.

We considered the two plans you mention and we think the more convenient plan would after all be to have the whole collection sent from San Tropez and from Nice to Amsterdam. We should keep the cases unopened until your arrival. When you had sorted the material we should be quite willing to send what you wish to keep, at our expense to England.

If possible I would like the forwarding to be done by the agents of our forwarding firm here, because we know them to be very careful people.

Naturally if you should decide on another course, we will do our best as soon as you are able to inform us of something definite, to fall in with your plans.

Meanwhile I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Annie Adama v. Scheltema-
 Kleefstra

Librarian.

Annie Adama van Scheltema-Kleefstra.

615

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 28, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

F.A.I.

My dear Rudolf, I write you last week in reply to your letter of the 2nd instance. I am sorry to have bothered you about the Huxley letter. I was in a hurry to have mailed you his original letter. After a thorough search in my desk I discovered it among other letters. So that is alright. I will write him now and quote what you have to say about the work of his economists since I myself have never read them. As it is awful to be cut off from necessary material for ones writing you referred me to your correspondence with Sachs. Well, everything is packed away in boxes and left with the bookstems. I am handicapped because all my own stuff is also there. Then too about buying new books. I simply cannot afford them. In fact I have never neglected my reading so much as the last two years. Recently I could get all sorts of works free from four, five American publishers and also English. That was when I lectured on Russia or Education or Education. Since I have absorbed myself in Spain I have no excuse for asking for books except those on Spain. Everything else had to be cut off. Moreover, even if I had received books I would not have had the time to read them, or the patience. Spain has completely consumed me so much so that it has even impaired my health. I never went through such agony of spirit, such impassible grief over the sacrifices our people are making, not even during the dreadful conflict in Russia. I have become obsessed and have lost interest in everything outside of Spain.

Referring to all our material in St. Tropez, France and mine, I have an offer from the Amsterdam Institute for whatever I am willing to part with, all of Sachs material. He has left a vast correspondence, several sketches and articles not published, the Huxley play and scenario for a film. I could let that go to get some money for A. But the thought of having to return to St. Tropez and that Ben Hurit is also gone is terrifying to me. But I will have to do so in order to assert everything. I don't know yet what I will do. I have written Jacques that before I sail for Canada I would like to return to Spain, if only for a few weeks. If the National Committee consents I would again fly from Barcelona. Then I would be only three hours from St. Tropez. I would grit my teeth and go though I know it will open up the old wound over Sachs and. At midnight yesterday was just two years since he made the last voyage. His copy went on until 4 P.M. to day when he went into camp and left nothing more. He died at midnight to night and we buried him. He was so kind to me as to let it be known that it is to be when I go to St. Tropez. I am sure that I will be able to get the material I need for my work.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 28, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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A.I.T.

F.A.I.

CONFEDERATION OF LABOR
C.N.T.-F.A.I.-BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London, June 28, 1938

the horrible end. He told me Sasha had dressed himself up must
painstakingly and had told her he must celebrate my birthday somehow.
He would take her to a Cinema he said. If only they had taken a taxi
as the whole transport was on strike. But he walked and that was
the end. It was all so unnecessary for Sasha wasn't incurable. It is
this which keeps boring in my mind all the time. Can you imagine
how ghastly the 27th now appears to me?

Dear Rudolf I am sending to day under separate cover
the CRITERION MAGAZINE. It contains Reads review of ANARCHO SYNDI-
CALISM AND NATIONALISM AND CULTURE. Both are sympathetic and favorable
as you will see. But it is unfortunate that Read spends more than half
on A.S. when he should have used all his space for your large work.
You will find in the same Magazine a rotten review of Carrs rotten
work on Bakunin. In any event Anarchism is being mentioned in the
same Magazine. You should have seen Reynolds review of Reads
POETRY AND ANARCHISM. No more scurrilous attacks could be expected
of the Daily Mail. Has it not always been the case that Socialist
papers were more contemptible against us than the Capitalist Press.

My dear I have to send you the sad news that Tom Keell
died Sunday. He died in his sleep, I suppose from heart failure.
At least he had an easy death and relief from complete blindness. He
was nearly that and was getting worse. Last week I also had the sad
news of Starretts death. His real name was S.W. Van Valkenburgh. Until
four years ago he was the most devoted ~~xxxxxx~~ American Anarchist
though not so able since Albert Parsons. He was among the most
consecrated comrade and friends I had left behind in the States.
Long years of unemployment drove him to drink. It became an obsession
which he had no will to fight and it led to his end. It was a great
blow to me to lose Van especially now that a campaign was to be started
to bring him back to America. Yes, ones friends go and life
grows poorer and poorer.

I just had a letter from Herbert Read suggesting
that Routledge, or Allen and Unwin should be tried for your book.
Also Warburg. The trouble is Warburg does not pay much. I think I
will try Routledge first. I can leave Warburg for the last. I
will let you know the result of course.

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617

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 June 28 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17503

June 28th 38

My dear Rudolf, I wrote you last week in reply to your letter of the 17th instance. I am sorry to have bothered you about the Huxley letter, I mean in regard to having mailed you his original letter. After a thorough search in my desk I discovered it among other letters. So that is alright. I will write him now and quote what you have to say about the work of his economists since I myself have never read them. Yes, it is awful to be cut off from necessary material for ones writing. You referred me to your correspondence with Sasha. Well, everything is packed away in boxes and left with the Sandstroms. I am handicapped because all my own stuff is also there. Then too about buying new books. I simply cannot afford them. In fact I have never neglected my reading so much as the last two years. Formerly I could get all sorts of works free from four, five American publishers and also English. That was when I lectured on Drama or Literature or Education. Since I have absorbed myself in Spain I have no excuse for asking for books except those on Spain. Everything else had to be set aside. Moreover, even if I had received books I would not have had the time to read them, or the patience. Spain has completely consumed me so much so that it has even impaired my health. I never went through such agony of spirit, such insupportable grief over the sacrifices our people are making, not even during the dreadful conflict in Russia. I have become obsessed and have lost interest in everything outside of Spain.

Referring to all our material in St Tropez, Sashas and mine, I have an offer from the Amsterdam Institute for whatever I am willing to part with, all of Sashas material. He has left a vast correspondence, several sketches and articles not published, the Machno play and scenario for a film. I could let that go to get some money for E. But the thought of having to return to St Tropez now that Bon Espirit is also gone is terrifying to me. Yet I will have to do so in order to assort everything. I don't know yet what I will do. I have written Vazquez that before I sail for Canada I would like to return to Spain, if only for a few weeks. If the National Committee consents I would again fly from Marseille. Then I would be only three hours from St Tropez. I would grit my teeth and go though I know it will open up the old wound over Sashas end. At midnight yesterday were just two years since he made the last plunge. His agony went on until 4 P.M. to day when he went into coma and felt nothing more, I hope. He died at midnight to night and we buried him the 30th. It is all so vivid with me as if it happened to day and so excruciating. How will it be when I go to St Tropez? June 27th once brought some gaiety into my life, friends near, my Stella, and above all Sasha who never allowed the day to pass without being near if only I was in reach. Two years ago he was not feeling well on the 27th. Still he called me up on the phone to give me his loving greetings. After

The Emma Goldman Papers

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I just had a letter from Herbert Read suggesting that Routledge, or Allen and Unwin should be tried for your book. Also Warburg. The trouble is Warburg does not pay much. I think I will try Routledge first. I can leave Warburg for the last. I will let you know the result of course.

Polly sails on the Queen Mary which will also take this letter. She will bring you all my love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] June 28, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman]. —
1 p.; 30 x 21 cm.
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H. Rüdiger
June 1, 1938

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAPTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, Der 28ste Juni.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Lieber Helmut. Ich habe beschlossen ein Manifest zum Andenken an den 19ten July 36 heraus zu geben und auch eine Demonstration entweder in Trafalger Square oder in Hyde Park abzuhalten. Die Kameraden die mit mir zusammen arbeiten sind begeistert von diese Idee and bereit nitzuhelfen. Nun wusste ich Niemanden der über den 19ten July so schreiben konnte wie Du. Denn schliesslich warst Du ja Augenzeuge der Ereignisse. Ich kam leider 2 Monate später an. Ich bitte Dich daher lieber Freund eine kurze Übersicht zu schreiben und so weit wie möglich den Geist der Spanier ~~wand~~ des 19ten Juli wieder zu geben. Natürlich kannst Du den Artikel Deutsch schreiben. Es wird hier gut übersetzt werden. Aber ich muss Dich bitten mir den Aufsatz so schnell wie möglich zu schicken. Bitte, bitte sag nicht nein.

Ich werde eine kurze Einleitung schreiben mit mit einem Appel für Waffen enden. Nicht wahr ich kann mich auf Dich verlassen den wie gesagt ich weiss keinen andern Genossen der so verständnis voll und auch so tief empfindet über die hohe Wogen des 19ten Juli schreiben kann wie Du. Natürlich darf das Manifest nicht zu lang sein denn der Durchschnitts Englische Arbeiter liest nicht gerne lange Auseinandersetzungen. Ich bin sicher Du weisst ungefähr wie gross Dein Beitrag sein soll.

Ich erwarte Deine baldige Antwort im Bezug of dem Congress der I.A.A. Herzliche Grösse an Dora and Dich.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 28, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell]. —
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19198

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

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Barcelona le 28 juin 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère camarade,

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 9 courant, concernant le film. J'espère que vous aurez déjà tout arrangé en ce qui fait référence à la censure et que vous aurez les autorisations nécessaires pour la présentation de ce film. Je suppose que la censure britannique ne sera pas si réactionnaire que la française, car vous savez bien qu'à Paris l'on voulait couper tant de passages que l'on ne laissait presque rien du film. C'est évident que le film a quelques lacunes, mais c'est le meilleur que jusqu'à présent l'on a fait en Espagne.

Je considère que la façon dont vous avez arrangé l'exploitation du film est très bien, ayant compte que votre nom est très connu en Angleterre; mais je vous prie de ne pas laisser d'avoir les rênes dans vos mains et tout doit se faire avec votre approbation.

A l'avenir, je vous prie de remettre toutes vos lettres à Perpignan à l'adresse suivante:

Jean Emile AV - 5 bis, Rue des Cardeurs - Perpignan (Pyrr.Or.)

C'est l'adresse la plus sûre et tout ce que l'on m'envoie par son intermédiaire m'arrive plus rapidement. Les lettres que me parviennent par Paris, m'arrivent toujours, mais tardant beaucoup.

Je regrette que les camarades de Paris ne me fassent pas parvenir le journal russe que vous me remettez. Je vous prie de l'envoyer aussi à Perpignan à l'adresse ci-dessus et ces camarades et ces camarades feront la retransmission.

Les coupures de ce journal que vous avez envoyé à Perpignan, je les ai reçu. Ils contiennent un très intéressant matériel concernant les maîtres de la Russie.

Concernant votre visite à Barcelone, je vais parler aux camarades Vazquez et Herrera. Je trouve très bien votre idée de venir passer quelques jours à Barcelone avant

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avant de partir pour le Canada; mais il y aura beaucoup de difficultés. La plus grande de ces difficultés sera pour vaincre les obstacles qu'actuellement l'on fait à tous les étrangers qui désirent venir à Espagne. Je vous communiquerai sa décision.

L'exemplaire de votre livre ne m'est pas encore parvenu. Sans doute, la personne qui a ce livre ne veut pas le laisser. Je vous en serai gré si vous voulez bien me dédier le exemplaire que vous allez envoyer à Ferrera. Je trouve très bien l'idée que vous êtes la seule personne qui peut réduire bien votre volume.

Le camarade Ferrera, employé maintenant la plupart de son temps dans l'editoriale qui vient d'éditer une série de bons livres et se propose d'éditer d'autres encore.

Je dirais au camarade Vazquez de ne pas vous écrire à votre ancienne adresse.

Je ne puis pas communiquer au camarade Germinal de Sousa que vous avez reçu ses lettres, car il se trouve maintenant à Madrid; aussitôt que je pourrais le faire, je vais lui communiquer.

demain je vous enverrai une collection de photos que je vous prie de publier pour la commémoration du deuxième anniversaire de notre lutte.

Veuillez agréer, chère camarade, mes salutations bien fraternelles.

1^{es} ¿Polymus en Ben motu homines "Solidaridad obrera" ¿de prolegatama vana citamur? ¿Persever dñu citamur iz Spain and the world and not me van razzy.

Серверов и учителей
Банг Мартон

Chère camarade,

Le camarade Martin me transmet le paragraphe de votre lettre qui me concerne, dont je vous remercie. Vous voyez bien que je continue toujours à côté de lui. J'aime bien mon travail. J'espère avoir bientôt le plaisir de vous serrer la main.

En attendant, recevez mes fraternelles salutations,

Angelos Fernández

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 June 28, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein.—
1 p.; 29 x 22 cm.

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24420

Emmy Eckstein
American Express Co.,
NICE A.M.
FRANCE

June 28th 1938

My dear Emma,

you must never think that it is ~~thoughtless~~
my being thoughtless in not writing to you. Think of it, I
have been VERY ill again, was in bed for 4 weeks and could
not budge.

Dr! Gasiglia cannot make the second operation
before the end of the year, but he gave me a new treatment
and I followed his advices and am much better now. Needless
to say that the moment I got up I looked for work, that is
lessons and just now I have a few so that I can drag along
with some money which I take from the Bank. That is something
and when I will feel still better I will right away look for
a steadier job.. but Emma, I have to rest so much and any
steady job would put me to bed again. But I am so glad, I tell
you that I have a betterment in my state of health now....

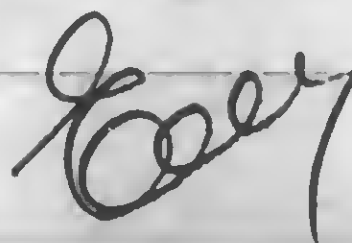
Dear Emma, do you know that the dear fine
Ian sent me 73 Dollars about a fortnight ago? For the stamps.
Emma, I was so deeply touched, and I never needed the money more
than then! I had again a bill with my teeth and - though my
doctor did not take money for the visit I had more than
100 Francs for medicaments, and then for more than 2 months
I have had not a bit of work but the expense of living, the room
and so forth! I have no penny debts now and a part of that
money from Ian left on the bank.....

I answered right away Ian.

Now dear Emma I got the 500 from you,
dear and thank you for them! They were received about the 11 of
June.... I was so sick that I was not even able to write a card.
And since I ~~am~~ feel a strong betterment since 3 days you are
the first I am writing to! I only wrote to Ian...

Emma, Emma my dearest own, when it comes
to the 30th of June..... Emma it is so dreadful fresh all this.
And you are then so near to me, and Sasha is there and all is
well again and he is with us and I want him so terribly and then
I wished you were here to soothe me....

Emma, my girl, the band that is there
where Sasha is with us, will be with me forever as long as
I live. I want to embrace you for your birthday and want you
to know that there is a girl who the 30th of June will be with
you, wholly, intensely, affectionately and will never cease
to love you there, where you meant to her a part of her great
love! With my deepest love Emma.



623

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 30 - July 1 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18109

June 30th 38

Sasha's Burial Day.

Auntie, my Dear. It was not of you to remember my birthday. Unfortunately the 27th of this month has been stabbed in the heart by Sasha's final plunge on the night of this day. Poor Sasha it was not given him to go in a flash. His agony which lasted sixteen hours, he became unconscious at 4 o/c on the 28th must have been far beyond anything he had endured in his life. And you know how replet with mental and physical suffering Sasha's life had been. His shrunken face and his haunted eyes spoke volumes for all he had endured the last hours. They have become "ruven on my memory" and will remain ever before me to this very last day. You can imagine my dear how sad the 27th was and the last three days so filled with Sasha and our life and work. My dear, my dear I have not forgotten our day frightful night when I was called by Nica. Your presence helped much to prevent my giving way to the grief and sorrow and the agonized wait of hours before I left for Nica. And it was again you who stood by so helpfully and so devoted. Never will I forget that. For the rest I can say without exaggeration that the largest part of my life and its meaning went with Sasha.

Dearest Auntie so you too had your experience in re your efforts of the tragic Spanish people. I am not surprised most of the inhabitants in Vence and most of its visitors are if not conscious Fascists, certainly that none the less. The more so because they are in a foreign country and afraid of their skin. I mean the tourist outfit. However they are no exception. The callousness in the world is blood freezing. My own experience here has weligned put me on my back. The old heart no longer functions as in the past. The doctors say it is nothing organic, only overstrain. What wonder. If anything I worked harder this year than when you were with me. So you can imagine what my life has been. Yet it was not so much the strenuous work as the poor results and the anxiety about my friends in Spain that effected my heart and spirit. The fact is Auntie dearest I have to give up England. I cannot make it go here. I am only worrying myself ill.

You will ask what doing? Well, I mean to sail for

Canada some time this autumn. Not that I expect wonders there. Still it will be a change and I am sufficiently known in Canada to help Spain more than here. Then too, friends in America mean to start a campaign for my return. They may succeed though I am

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 30 - July 1 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. - 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18182

2

not too hopeful. Still being so near the States might help more than being so far away as England. I am glad to say my people in Barcelona favor my going. I should have hated to go away and disappoint them. But since they agree with my plan I feel easier about going. I wrote them if I might return to Spain for at least a few weeks. I am waiting for their reply. In any event I am not leaving England before the 20th of August when I will go to Paris to attend an International Conference. After that I may either go to Spain or return here and sail the end of Sept or beginning of Oct.

There is another possibility my going to Holland for a month. Not to lecture but to work on Sasha's material which an important Social Institute in Amsterdam wants to buy. The first I thought I would have to go to St Tropez to assort everything in the 13 boxes and two trunks I left with the Sandstroms and my friend in Nice. I confess I hated the possibility. I hated to go through once more all the lacerating experiences of the last years. Another matter I dreaded is to have to see E. during my stay, or in Nice. I really could not face that. We get along alright by means of an occasional letter and the allowance I send her every month and will continue as long as I still have a few sous. Not much I am sorry to say because I failed to turn the francs from the sales into pounds or dollars. The loss was therefore a double one. First the low price I got and then the loss on the exchange. Anyhow E. gets her allowance. And so we got along. But to be in St Tropez or Nice I could not face that. Dear Nellie invited me to come to her for a rest, she suggested I could be in Nice a long time and not meet E. That is nonsense of course. Even if that were possible, I mean not to run into E. I could not get myself to make it a secret of my visit to Nice.

July First. I was interrupted yesterday by Littlewood, Stella's chauffeur who came for me to take me to Ruth's and Donald's party. So I will proceed with this letter to day. As I said it would have been extremely painful to go back to St Tropez and Nice. But the Dutch Institute interested in our material has solved my problem. They offered to have all my cases and trunks collected from the Sandstroms and Honore Teissier and shipped them to Amsterdam. They suggest that I should then come there to assort the material and whatever of the lot I want to keep they would ship on to England all at their expenses. That is going to be a load off my back. I have written the Sandstroms and Teissier asking if they will be ~~at~~ home this month so I can notify Amsterdam to go ahead with the shipment. Someday I may come to Nice and to visit you. But this year the wound struck me by Sasha's and is still too raw.

I had not seen Stella for about six weeks I don't know how she knew that I was busy. Fact is I was not busy because there ~~was~~ all response to my appeals for the SIA and the CRT-FAI has come to a standstill. The hope that our new film brought by Louis Frank, the man who gave us the first film is also being shattered. It is a purely constructive film and we thought

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 30 - July 1 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18103

it might appeal to the trade, if not that to some of the labor Co-Ops or Trade Unions. Poor Frank has worked like a beaver trying to get at them, but so far without results. It is just heart breaking to see the indifference underneath all the pretended interest. In addition is the fact that the Communists have penetrated every channel and their word goes. Yes, of course your Communist maybe all you say. The individual is always bigger than party rules. But the C.P. here especially among the intelligentsia is predominant insidiously so. Well, that is an old story which you always doubted my dear.

I am not surprised at your experience. The opposition to Spain in Torrance is widespread. Poor folks if they only knew how little they have to fear from the B.P. that has become more reactionar than the Tories bawling away their revolutionary birth right they would not see in the C.P. an danger.

Ruth and Donald had a nice sherry party about fifty people were there. The trouble is one never can get acquainted at such parties. I enjoyed more the cold dinner Ruth served to me which I was asked to stay. Then Stella asked Littlewood to take me home that was a treat. To night Ruth and Donald are taking me to see Gogol's Marriage and to dinner. Monday Stella is giving a party to which she has invited a hundred people. I suppose it is her house warming and to celebrate the sale of her old house. She invited me to it. If I feel decently I will go. My heart is not behaving very nicely these days.

I intend to go to Paris about the 21st of Aug to attend our Conference. Then go to Holland if the Institute can get a visa for me. I was expelled from there four years ago. In Oct I would sail for Canada. Perhaps the miracle will happen and my friends will succeed in getting a visa for my return to the States. One goes on hoping, for how else is one to go on living.

Thank you again dearest Auntie for your nice letter.

Affectionately:

Remember me to David. How is he? Tell him that after two years and much effort my nephew sold Sasha's stamps for \$72 which he sent E. It develops that our Sasha knew nothing about stamps and how to organize them. Also the price of stamp collections has gone down considerably. Remember me also to the Parsons.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 30, Westmount [Canada to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Marjorie Goldstein.— 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1000 Avenue, #20,
Westmount, Prov. Que.,
Thurs. June 30th, 1938.

Dear "E.G.",

It was very reassuring to hear that you had received my letter but I was beginning to wonder if it had reached you.

Your remark: "I miss hearing from my friends, but I do not take their silence as a sign of their friendship" reminds me of occasional conversations I have had with Gordon Whitehead on the subject. With him I do not think it is the difficulty of letter-writing which causes most people to fall down in this respect. I think it is something which goes with age. Partly because he does not seem to have been away with his correspondents and the satisfaction that he derives from them. And partly too, I think, because the own lack of self-confidence has led him to say and claim on himself for the situation to an extent which may not have been entirely justified.

Everything you say concerning the tragedy and the inspiration of open appeal to me very strongly. It is, alas, true that it is difficult to arouse the active sympathy of thinking people, probably even more so than in England, where is so much closer to the scene of conflict. However I do know that societies have been formed, particularly for the raising of funds for the purchase of food and clothing for destitute children. So we are not, as you say, altogether hopeless.

And as for your previous visit this autumn came as a very welcome surprise and I will look forward eagerly to seeing you once more.

Yes, it is true that Gordon Whitehead has had such precarious health. In fact it has been worse than precarious. It has been extremely poor. In fact his health seems to have been very bad and in the past two years he has only managed to get out of the house on the most infrequent occasions. He is in constant pain from his hip most of the time.

nonsense

sorry

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 June 30, Westmount [Canada to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Marjorie Goldstein. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

It is very distressing to hear about the overstrain from which you have been suffering. It is surprising to me that this has not been manifest before, and I do hope that you will exercise every precaution and not ignore the warning which is indicated.

I shall be delighted to follow your suggestion and let our mutual friend read this letter. As for Mrs. Stark, she has been gone from Montreal for some time. Beverly, her daughter, is now married and is living in Montreal. Mr. Stark's business seems to bring him to Montreal about once a month. G.W. tells me he has been asked on these occasions to meet Mr. Stark, but that he has not been well enough to take advantage of the invitation. He will, however, make a very special effort either to see Mr. Stark or to 'phone him and give him your news. I am not quite sure if in view of this it will be necessary for me to write Mrs. Stark also. A lot, I think, will depend on Mr. Stark's reception of whatever news G.W. gives him.

Many thanks for the large amount of magazines which you enclosed, and also the various programmes of concerts given in addition to a copy of "The Vanguard" which arrived from New York yesterday. The article: "Trotzky Protests Too Much" was exceedingly interesting and convincing. I am most grateful to you for having sent on my address. Also your "Black Spectre of War" and the account of the revolutionary economy carried out in the experiment of hospitalised war were read with the keenest attention. Arturo Ross's translation of Berneri's beautiful Credo was most inspiring. In fact I thoroughly enjoyed "Spain and the World" and wish I could show my appreciation in some more tangible way.

Recently I ran across Mrs. Goossens. I wonder if by any chance you remember her? I gave her your most recent news. It appears she was in England some time ago and returned to Montreal about twelve months now. She made various efforts to get in touch with you and was disappointed by her lack of success. She was quite delighted when she learnt she would have an opportunity of seeing you this autumn.

Very sincerely,

Marjorie Goldstein

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880726281

[Letter, 19]38 June 30, Bristol [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Tom] Christy. —
4 p.; 28 x 23 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11 / Freeman the Square
Cotham. Brev tot. 6.

23931

June 30th / 38

My Dearest Friend

In answer to your letter
of June 15th. As usual I was
glad to get it & rest assured I know
how you feel, everywhere things
are changing & I often think of you
& your reaction to it all, its a
hell of a struggle to retain the
smallest amount of optimism
yes it would be nice to find some
spot & a la Whitman —
invite the soul — but how can it
be done there stop, after all I suppose
it would be like running away.
Let's keep as cheerful as possible
your Birthday was last Monday &
I hope the following year & in fact
all the years ahead of you, will
bring at least less disappointment

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& perhaps a little more fortune, it's
not much to ask of the gods anyway.
The wee postcard order will
buy a drink, drink to both of us
Peyser & all that lies ahead of
us, with in our hearts the blessings
of the Saints above us, as ever
ever & ever.

To get back to earth, I had a letter from
Nell the other day, she has friends
in Reading who would like to spend
a holiday in St Tropez, & there
any chance of these people staying
at Bar Esprit or at the Sanströms,
perhaps you could let me know soon, so that
I can write Nell; who knows I may
be able to spend a holiday down
there with you yet, but it won't be
this year.

Sorry there has been a difference of

880726281

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23933

3

of opinion, between you & Chris. in my
opinion Chris has been ill for a long
time, all nerves, rheumatism & all
attendant ailments, however its no
affair of mine & I love you both just
the same, you are right when you say
that humour is not a strong point
with Chris. Auntie is quite well
again, but unfortunately, some weeks
ago, she coughed up just when
Chris died & there you are.
I was sorry to hear of Tom Keell's
death, a man who has done a lot in
his time & more could have been done
had there been a better understanding
between him & Turner, this is
common to all movements & as you
know the Anarchist Movement is no
exception in this case, surprising
number of people born to cross swords &

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[Letter, 19]38 June 30, Bristol [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Tom] Christy. —
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yet holding ⁴⁻simultaneous ²³³⁴coldest & coldest.
Write me soon dearest Deven, at
least we have that much in common,
just a spot of Romance left in both
of us.

Shall be glad to know if there is a
chance of Nell's friends going to
St. Croix, although I ~~do~~ doubt the
possibility of their accommodation
at the top of the Chemin St Antoine

always yours

Christy

P.S. As you will see I have moved, so my
last noticed that your last letter
to me was addressed to my new
address. Its 1 PM must be feeling
tired. Goodnight & good day & ambers
Kiss your eyes

1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I have just learned that Fredrick J. Warburg has made you an offer on five hundred copies of Anarcho Syndicalism if you would advertise the book extensively. Unfortunately this would be suicidal for our comrade Rudolf Rucker. For it is certain that he would fly out from A. without much adp, and there is no other country that would admit him. As you know comrade Rucker is no longer young, nor has he any means of support except his pen and whatever lecturing he can do in the States. Once deprived of this he would actually be deprived of his life. On the other hand if he can remain in America he can be of very great help to our movement by ~~thru~~ the kind of literary and philosophic work he is doing in a quiet way. ~~Therefore~~ ~~apples~~ ~~apples~~

It seems to me that Anarcho Syndicalism can be put in circulation without much advertising, by means of a letter sent out to labor organisations, student groups and colleges. Do you not think so? At any rate have I am taking the liberty to call your attention to the situation of comrade Rucker and to the dire danger threatening him from the discovery by the authorities to A.S. I hope you will consider the matter most carefully.

Fraternally

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1938 July? London to] M[anuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 30 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

29497

M Mascarell,

Dear Comrade,

I have received your few lines telling me that you had written to Vasquez regarding Spanish permission for me to enter Spain. I hope he will do something and that it will not take so many weeks before we hear from him.

Please read the enclosed letter to comrade Roca. You will see that I want him to meet me and also you if you can of course; but I cannot tell you the exact time of my arrival at this writing. I will wire you on Tuesday. Will you please then notify Roca so he can be at the station if he can spare the time.

There are many things I want to discuss with you and Roca about our continued work in England and some other matters.

I hope you will be able to spare me a little time.

Fraternaliv,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 July? London to] Secretary General of the A.I.T., Paris / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Dear Jean Falk
11, rue de la Villette
Paris (10)

Dear Comrade, I have received your bulletins including the recent one no. 18. I am sorry to hear that only the ~~S.A.C.~~ S.A.C. and the C.O.T. S.R. have so far responded to your call for the Congress ~~the~~ of the A.I.T. in the latter part of August. I wonder why that is? Perhaps ~~the~~ your affiliations in other countries will yet respond. Sure our Spanish comrades will be represented at the Congress though their struggle is so terrific that they probably are not in a position to say definitely ~~what~~ what will happen until the latter part of next month.

Dear comrade some months ago I have written you a report of the situation here as regards anything like a movement of Anarcho Syndicalists or Anarchists. Nothing has changed since then. The same group of members of the Anarchist Syndicalist Union in this city is as I have written you really only a propaganda body. Among them are workers of different trades, some who belong to the British Trade Unions and some who ~~refuse~~ refuse to have anything to do with the old reactionary trade unions and have joined the A.S.U. in the hope that it may ultimately develop into an economic fighting organization. Now how far the A.I.T. will consider such a group as entitled to representation I do not know. It is for you to decide. Only bear in mind that the A.S.U. is terribly poor in every respect not the least in their knowledge of Anarcho Syndicalism. They are learning much. I am pointing this out because I do not think they are

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 July? London to] Secretary General of the A.I.T., Paris / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 x 18 cm.

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~~undated~~

I will submit the questions put up for discussion by the Congress to the A.S.U. Perhaps they will send you their attitude to them. But as I said they are but a young members or so and they are still lacking in experience and grasp of the International importance of your body and the Anarcho Syndicalist movement at large.

We are preparing a demonstration for the 19th of this month in for the second anniversary of the 19th of July.

It has to be on Sunday as the workers do not come to Hyde Park in week days or evenings. We had planned to have it in Trafalger Square on a larger scale. But the Communists rushed ahead as usual. So we must have our demonstration in Hyde Park also, a very historic place in England.

We are also getting out a manifesto copies of which we will send you. We see that the Secretariat is getting out a lot of material for the 19th. Unfortunately we get everything too late for our use. And also everything has to be translated. Still we will make use of everything you send suitable for the British workers.

I myself am coming to Paris in the middle of August ~~in the hope of~~ to wait for the Spanish delegation that will come for your Congress and then I must see before sailing for Canada the end of Sept.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1938 July?] Saratoga Springs, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Carlo Tresca. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

CARLO TRESCA 3 WEST 15TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.
TELEPHONE, ALBANY 4-8884

Saratoga Springs, N.Y.

My dear Emma, I beg you to forgive me for the delay in answering your letter. I had to come here for a rest and a cure. It sealed me for a certain increasing nervous breakdown. You know what it means to go on with a weakly anarchist paper, when everything to be done falls on your shoulders.

My dear, my dear Emma! It seems to me that you are under the impression about last time upon my lines. I was in disagreement with you on your attitude and view about Russia. I did send your "My disillusionment in Russia" to me. I was in jail then, at the Federal Prison of Atlanta. The warden called me up. Mr. Throck by the name. He ask me, in giving me the first volume of it, to excuse him for the delay in delivering the book. He said: "I know Emma personally. I locked her up, once, in Texas. So I am interested in what she has to say." He kept the book to read. Now you get the first volume and I keep the second until I finish it. It is very, very interesting. And then.... "I wish that women could take her brain for a worthy cause!"

No. Never in disagreement with you. At the first stage of Mussolini regime we had to fight here, in New York, and everywhere in U.S. among Italian communities, and the fight was a very hard one, with casualties. During that fight a sort of Anti-fascist Alliance (a pre-linked front) was formed, but disbanded as soon as the actual street fighting was over. Although many of our comrades agree with me, then, other disagreed and made a vociferous opposition to our rank. I think that from such history as come to you the idea that at times I did have not approved your stand on Russia. I am glad to tell you that your stand in Russia has helped me immensely and seriously to see the life. I am deeply grateful to you. The Spanish and the Chinese betrayal will open the eyes of many, many more people. I hope so. And you well, I am sure, be in the first rank among the one who have helped the blind to see.

I am sure Juliet Poppo was murdered in the vicinity of New York. I have it from a very reliable source. Nothing is done. My stand in the matter helped only in breaking in part the conspiracy of silence. But the "Nation", and the "New Republic" have not said a word. They know that I exposed the guilty party and they know who the guilty party is and why she was murdered. There is no interest at all. They feel — as long they kill themselves what we do about. Let see who come next —

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 July?] Saratoga Springs, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Carlo Tresca. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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And now let talk about the most important matter
off & truth that I must believe that "it is hopeless to try for a win." I know
Morris to well. At the present he is playing with the CIO. It is popular. And
in playing with the CIO he comes in touch with Stalinist bureaucrats whom he is
the impression that he is being taken in a great conspiracy work. He liked it. I know
seriously, he thinks of them, when one - me or Kate - asks him to do something
for Emma. The same reasons - with slight modifications - are, at the present working
with Roger. I know both of them. And I know that these persons do work well
with them. My dear Margaret will state Roger's go along well by trusting
to withdraw her generous and long support of the CIO Workers Union. I
must pressure on them and others. It is the only way. And I am determined
to organize it.

Vaali is a very dear man, but, as you know, he can't help. I will not, for any reason,
hurt his feelings. What I have in my mind is this: I'd get together first: me,
the Irish Worker, the comrades, Stella, Fitz, Mary, Mary, Kate and
Rose Pasola. In such meeting, with a full sense of cooperation, will be laid down
a program of action. I do not intend to start any work without their consent
and cooperation. Fortunately, I do believe in organization.

This will be done as soon I will be back in New York, which means next week.
Have worded word to Rose already. She is a good worker. Well let you
know about this very soon.

x x x

Your fears for the Spanish situation shared and your attitude in merit of
the CNT has followed by me. You certainly are a guide to my mental
attitude in this very tragic situation. I wish you were in U.S. We miss you
so much, Emma. Never before I felt that your place, let said your name,
his here.

Fraternally yours
Carlo

Please. Send me a copy of: Alan Flanders "The Churches and
their politics" and Rucker "Anarcho-Syndicalism".
Will send you the cost if you let me know how much it is.
Forgive me the numerous misspellings.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 1, London [to] Herbert Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

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Hon. Secretary

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

1st July, 1938.

Dear Herbert Read,

Thanks for the manuscript of your talk and also your letter. I have taken your advice and have written to Routledge first. If they refuse to do anything about "Nationalism and Culture", I will approach Allen and Unwin. The reason I have not yet approached Mr. Warburg is that he pays very little, and my friend, Rudolf Rocker, lives by his pen. I am therefore anxious to find a publisher who is in a better position as far as royalties are concerned than Mr. Warburg. In the end I ~~may~~ have to approach him. The man who is well able to pay considerably is Mr. Gollancz, but his Communist pretences will of course stand in the way of publishing a book like our friend's.

About your review in Criterion, I am terribly sorry ~~that~~ that you took up so much space for Anarcho-Syndicalism, which left you only very little for the other work. Yet it was necessary to write more extensively about Nationalism and Culture. You understand it is not the contents of your review that was disappointing. On the contrary I liked it very much; but one cannot do justice to a large work in the limited space at your disposal. However, I received some copies of letters of Professor Einstein, Thomas Mann and others, who express considerable appreciation of Mr. Rocker's great work.

About the part of your speech which you sent me - I am sorry to find that you consider anarchism "so vague". It seems to me to be the simplest and most direct social philosophy. Whatever vagueness it suggests to the outside reader is probably due to the nonsense that has been written about anarchism both deliberately and indirectly to confuse the minds of the readers. Another point that seems rather strange to me is your stress on Sorel and his theory of direct action. I cannot agree that he had a very

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21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

-2-

great influence on either Anarchism or Syndicalism, since both these ~~the~~ theories are of an older date than the time or Sorel's appearance. In your work, Poetry and Anarchism, Sorel is not given entire credit for Anarcho-Syndicalism, perhaps because you also speak of Kropotkin and other Anarchists. However, it does not matter; it is only my own reaction to it.

One more thing, not in the way of criticism, but just to give you my own feeling - is your statement in the lecture and in the book of the Anarchism you find in Marx, Engels and Lenin. I must be very dense indeed, for I never was able to discover a single atom of Anarchism in their works, except Engel's saying that the State will wither away.

Miss Mannin is not yet back from her holiday. I know that she will write the review just as soon as she returns. The manuscript you sent will go into Spain and the World in the next issue.

Sincerely,

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 19[3]8 July 1, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / E[mma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 1st July 1928.

Telephones: GERARD 3636

Dear Martin,

almost
Your letter No 848 reached me today. It is terrible that it should take a month for our correspondence to go back and forward; but I don't know what can be done about it. One has to grit one's teeth and bear it.

I am glad that the things I have sent you have reached you. I have also sent you Mrs A who left for Spain last week and has promised to call on you and give you a number of messages. The most important is the receipt for £114-8-9 which I sent to the SIA. I wonder why it takes so long to get the receipt. It means saving £16 for the SIA, which was paid for Entertainment Duty. Inasmuch as it takes so much effort to raise a little money £16 looms very high. I do wish you would get after Lucia Soanil and ask her for the receipt if you have not already got it when Mrs A comes to see you.

I am very glad indeed that you have received a copy of my article in answer to Trotsky. I am also sending you a copy of my letter to Vanguard which contains additional points, and shall be glad if you can make use of it.

You say that Rockers book is already translated, and you have sent him a copy.

Dear comrade, I want you to do something for comrade Rocker. I want you to see the CNT-FAI and tell them that he is having a very hard time to exist and that they should see to it that he receives some recompense for the Anarcha-Syndicalist book. I am sure Redolf would be very angry with me if he knew that I am pleading in his behalf to you and the comrades will understand that what is not possible for me-to-do-for-myself him to do for himself should be possible for us because he is so tremendously valuable, and is no longer so young. His constant uncertainty as to his stay in America, and also too bad that he should be worried all the time about his existence. I know that the comrades sent him some money last year, so hope they will do so again without delay. I am sending you the a copy of the pamphlet published by the Labour Party. You will see that it is the worst kind of an historic forgery ever gotten out. The epic contribution of the CNT-FAI to the 19th July and since are simply silenced as if they had not been in existence, and as if they had not been the very people who saved Spain from fascism, and has been fighting fascism ever since. I am also sending one to Vazquez and Herrera, and I will send one to the bureau in Paris and New York. I feel something ought to be done to expose the meanness of the writer in absolutely silencing the part the CNT-FAI have played in the struggle, and in the heroic events of 19th July and ever since. This pamphlet will show you what we are confronted with here. Between the C.F. and the Labour Party our efforts are like carrying loads up high mountains. Nevertheless we will go on of course.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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We have determined to have a demonstration for the anniversary of 19th July. We hoped to be able to hold it at Trafalgar Square where an appeal for money could be made; but it seems that the Communist Party has again preceded us. They have announced their meeting for the same day and at the same place; so we will have ours in Hyde Park. In connection with that we are also getting out a manifesto which of course we will distribute broadcast. Anyway we are doing our best to keep up the interest in your struggle. If we do not reach as many as we like to, you will I am sure understand that it is not lack of effort on our part..

I realise my dear comrade that conditions must be more deplorable now in Spain and especially in Barcelona than it was last year. Perhaps you are right that my going to Spain would not enable me to see as much as I saw on both my previous visits; but I have a longing to be with you people again, and I also feel that it would help me more in Canada if I could say that I am coming straight from Spain; but I have just written Vazquez that I will meet him and the other comrades at the congress of the A.I.T. in Paris, and I can then hear from them whether they want me to proceed to Spain or not.

The money collected for material has already gone to the Paris bureau.

About the events in Puicerda. I have no idea where the English correspondent got it. Strange that they get some things when you in Spain know nothing about such events; but it was interesting.

Of course I understand that the sacrifices are unavoidable; but it does make me most unhappy to think that the best and youngest of our comrades are lying down their lives, and that the rest of the world are holding aloof to the crying horrors committed by Franco.

I have heard from Vazquez about Cervantes book. It is not to appear in English at all.

This is all for today.

When I hear from you in answer to my more recent letters I will write more.

Fraternally,

CG.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 1 [London to Annie Adama] van Scheltema-Kleefstra, [Amsterdam] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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17510

1st July, 1938.

Dear Miss van Scheltema-Kleefstra,

Thank you for your letter of June 27th. Your suggestion of having my collections and that of Mr. Alexander Berkman shipped to Amsterdam is indeed a solution of the problem and very satisfactory to me, because it will save me going through very painful memories were I to go to St. Tropez. There is a small hitch, which consists in the fact that two or three of the cases contain personal household things. Unfortunately I do not know which these cases are. I take it that you will not mind having all of my possessions shipped to Holland. They consist of sixteen cases and two trunks that I left with friends in St. Tropez and two cases of books and correspondence with a friend in Nice.

I have written to both parties asking them to let me know by return mail whether they are remaining at home during this month. In that case it will be possible to collect the stuff during July. I know that most of the French people go away for their holidays in August, so it may not be safe to wait until then. However, I expect to have an answer soon and will then be able to communicate with you.

Do you really think that a permission for my return to Holland could be obtained? I would then come in September to work in the Institute and undertake the assortment of the material which is now in a very chaotic state. Naturally I would be quite willing to promise not to lecture during my stay. I do hope, however, that it will not handicap me to the extent of not being able to meet my friends privately. The question of a return visa is very important, because I could not possibly be cut off from the material at least until I have arranged Mr. Berkman's collection. Please let me know when you write again.

There is another matter and that is the growing Fascism in your country. I was told by Mr. Leon Kramer, who visited me on his arrival, that Fascism has gained tremendously in Holland.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 1 [London to Annie Adama] van Scheltema-Kleefstra, [Amsterdam] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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17511

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Has your Institute considered that possibility and has it made arrangements to safeguard the Institute. It would be terrible indeed if such a valuable organization were to be destroyed with the advent of Fascism as it has been in other Fascist countries. I understand of course that you cannot give me any guarantees, nor do I ask them, but I confess I feel uneasy about the material which is to be shipped to Holland.

For the present this is really all. I will write you again just as soon as I hear from my friends in the South of France. It will be most satisfactory if you will have the forwarding arranged by the agents of your forwarding firm in Holland.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 1 [London to Aldous] Huxley, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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J7486

1st July, 1938.

Dear Mr. Huxley,

You must have given me up as a lost cause or a very rude person. You probably will not believe when I tell you that my reputation as a correspondent is not that of one who is lax. I am sorry that our acquaintance in the very beginning should prove me lacking in appreciation and courtesy which your letter of March 15th did not deserve.

The religious people tell us that confession is good for the soul. May I therefore confess that one of the most important reasons for my silence was complete ignorance of the economists and their work mentioned in your letter. I therefore decided to write to Rudolf R. Rooker, who is the most scholarly and best informed man in the Anarchist ranks, to get from him some data on the works of Ralph Borsodi, Kettering and Abbott. His reply came only last week. He sustained your contention of the revolutionising effect of the invention of your authorities. Mr. Rooker wrote me some things I did not know before - that he had planned to write a book on Borsodi's work and also Kettering's, to bring their contribution in harmony with Anarchism and Anarchist methods.

Mr. Rooker has written two works, one on Anarcho-Syndicalism, published by Mr. Frederick J. Warburg, and the very great work on Nationalism and Culture, published last year by in America. He worked many years on the latter book. Indeed his absorption in the question of nationalism and culture had made any other writing impossible. That and also the fact that he had to flee from Germany and Hitler's humanitarian treatment, which involved the loss of his library of 5,000 volumes, prevented my old comrade from carrying out his intention of writing a synthesis of the authors you have referred me to in your letter.

You probably do not know, dear Mr. Huxley, the tragedy of the refugee, especially for intellectual people who are used to their libraries and their own quarters and are suddenly torn away

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from everything. Then there is the nerve-wracking uncertainty of being permitted to stay long in one country. Young people may be able to adjust themselves quickly to sudden and abrupt changes; not so those of us who are on in years. It is bitter hard. While I am no longer exactly in the position of Rudolf Rocker and thousands of others like him (I have a British Passport now) I have also spent years since my expulsion from America in wandering about from country to country feeling nowhere is at home, or being permitted to stay long.

The last years since '33, first my absorption in the tragedy of Germany, and since '36 my even greater and deeper absorption in Spain, have prevented me from keeping abreast with all the modern writings on economics and social subjects. That is really the main reason for my ignorance as regards Borsodi, Kettering and Abbott. An additional factor is also the material struggle which prevents one from buying the many works that appear on the market. All this is no excuse for my ignorance but it is an explanation which I know you will understand. I have promised myself, however, to make a search for secondhand copies and take them with me when I sail for Canada in the late fall. I will then be in a position to judge whether your faith in the inventions of these men can really bring about fundamental social changes that would do away once and for all with violent upheavals. I wish it fervently, because I have gone through two revolutionary periods, the Russian and the Spanish, and I have seen the harrowing consequences that followed in the wake of the Russian Revolution particularly. But also I have seen something which has never before been even attempted during revolutionary periods, and that is magnificent constructive work begun by the Spanish anarchists almost the day after the 19th of July. I was back in Spain last year and I felt even more inspired than in '36 because of the condition of the collectives. They were working as if there was no war and as if the Spanish people were not in hourly and daily danger from Hitler's and Mussolini's bombs. It was an amazing picture and it strengthened my belief in the indestructible spirit of the Spanish Anarchists.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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What is actually happening in Spain to-day is no longer a civil war. It is the whole imperialist world arraigned against the Spanish people. It is almost a miracle that the Spanish workers and peasants can hold out so long against what is to me the callous indifference of the workers of the world and the betrayal of the so-called democratic countries. Perhaps it is foolish to expect anything from them since they represent the same interests as all the other governments. In point of truth they are more dangerous because of their pretence of democracy. For those of us who are so closely knit with the history, traditions and tremendous power of endurance of the Spanish masses, it is perhaps doubly painful to feel so helpless in the face of the crime that is being enacted by the whole world on Spanish soil. But whatever the outcome, one thing is certain - the magnificent constructive work begun by the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, cannot possibly die. It will live as an inspiring example for future generations, even if the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. should be defeated this time. I am optimist enough to believe that they will not be defeated, for they are the only people in the whole world who still love liberty intensely enough to die for it. No, as long as one single Spanish worker is left, Franco will not triumph.

Dear Mr. Huxley, you may be back in England for all I know, so it is perhaps better if I send this letter care of Faber and Faber. Should you still be in California, they will no doubt forward my letter.

Yours sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 July 1, London [to] Doris [Zhook, London] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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S · I · A

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Telephone GERard 2636

Dearest Doris July 1st 38
I know that you are
very busy. So will ask you
to transcribe the enclosed &
bring it to your house some
time. I must have it Tuesday
or the very latest Wed. they
both so I can rush
it to be printed. But as
as a Manifesto, I mean
to add an appeal to it.
Please dearest do not
disappoint me.
Can you give me.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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an outline, what you
collection of papers I have
Mrs. can send of I might
interest, the Institute, I am
Institute or purchasing
it.
Love
Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 1, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez
[and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº. 751. J.

12525

BARCELONA, den 1. Juli 1938.

An das Propagandabüro C.N.T.-F.A.I. in England.
L o n d o n .

Werte Genossin Emma Goldmann:

Wir erhielten deinen Brief vom 9. Juni sowie den Rechnungsauszug.

Die Art und Weise, in welcher Ihr dort arbeitet, sowohl in Bezug auf wirtschaftliche Angelegenheiten als auch in den Dingen, die sich auf die Propaganda beziehen, erscheint uns sehr angebracht.

In Bezug auf das Weiterbestehen Eurer Büros, glauben wir, dass es von höchster Notwendigkeit ist, dass es weiterhin funktioniert, selbst wenn Du Dich nach Kanada begeben solltest. Wenn Ihr Geld braucht, um fuer seine Aufrechterhaltung Sorge zu tragen, so teilt es uns mit, um Anweisung zu geben, es Euch zu ueberweisen.

Wenn Du es fuer notwendig erachtest, so werden wir das Beglaubigungsschreiben (Credencial) auf den Namen des Genossen Ralph Barr senden.

Wir finden, dass Deine Reise nach den Vereinigten Staaten angebracht ist, wo Du einiges sehr nuetzliches tun kannst.

Was Deine Reise nach hier betrifft, so glauben wir, dass sie nicht sehr wirksam sein wuerde. Auf Grund der Unterbindung des Weges und das Fehlen der Verbindungsmoeglichkeiten wuerde dein Aufenthalt hier auf einige Meinungsaustausche mit den Genossen beschraenkt bleiben. Darum glauben wir, dass es das Praktischste waere, wenn wir uns, wie Du sagst, in Paris auf dem Kongress der A.I.T. sehen wuerden, und dort werden wir einen Meinungsaustausch pflegen, der Dir als Information dienen wird.

Nun gut; wenn Du Deine Reise nach hier als unerlaesslich betrachtest, um mit einigen Genossen in Beruehrung zu kommen, werden wir die Art und Weise Deiner Reise ueberlegen; wenn Du jedoch glaubst, dass eine Unterredung mit der Delegation, die sich nach Paris begibt, Dich genuegend orientieren wird, in dem was Dunzu Deiner Kampagne in Kanada benoetigt, dann kannst Du bis zum Monat August warten.

Auf Grund der Presse scheint es, dass in England die Meinung aufwacht und sich Rechenschaft darueber ablegt; was unser Krieg bedeutet. Das Problem waere, die Propaganda und die Agitation innerhalb der Arbeiterkreise zu erweitern, um diese Reaktion, die fuer uns vorteilhaft sein wird, zu beschleunigen. Du wirst die Moeglichkeiten sehen, die in dieser Hinsicht bestehen und wir sind gewiss, dass Du alles tun wirst, um dies zu verwirklichen.

In Erwartung Deiner angenehmen Nachrichten,

umarmen wir Dich.

Fuer d. M. Kte. der F.A.I.

Pedro Herrera.

Fuer d. M. Kte. d. F.A.I.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

CONFIDENTIAL
Relaciones Exteriores

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 1, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[anuel] Mascarell. —
1 p.; 27 x 20 cm.
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Paris, el 1ero de Julio 1938.

EMMA GOLDMAN
21 Frith Street
Shaftesbury Avenue
LONDON W.1.

Estimada camarada,

En acuse de la tuya 23 de Junio 1938, he de decirte que he pasado la nota al "BUREAU DE PRESSE ET D'INFORMATIONS" como también al Secretariado de Barcelona para que, en lo sucesivo, todo cuanto te manden, lo hagan a las señas que me indicas.

Efectivamente. El Congreso Ordinario de la A.I.T. se celebrará definitivamente en los últimos días del mes de Agosto. No duda que los camaradas de la C.N.T. te concederán la libertad de tu regreso a Barcelona, de quedarte en París para la semana del Congreso. Lo lamentable será que tengas que estar en él en las mismas condiciones que estuviste en el anterior.

Celebraría que se viera confirmada la esperanza de que los elementos individualistas que hay por ahí disgregados, aumentaran considerablemente en número y mucho más en inteligencia. Y que, luego después, en lugar de continuar su labor en pro de las ideas dispersadas y anárquicas cada uno por su sitio, se unieran o hicieran una organización y, como consecuencia, se adhirieran a la A.I.T.

Es doloroso, querida Emma, que en un país como Inglaterra, el movimiento anarco-sindicalista sea tan reducido. Tanto que podríamos decir que no existe. No obstante, soy optimista y, como tú, pienso que un día u otro, renacerá la llama de las ideas en ella y que vendrán a engrosar las filas del movimiento mundial del anarco-sindicalismo que representa nuestro Secretariado.

Tendré el gusto, si vienes a París durante el Congreso, de abrazarte y charlar un rato.

Entre tanto, te saluda cordial y fraternalmente.

M. MASCARELL.



The Emma Goldman Papers

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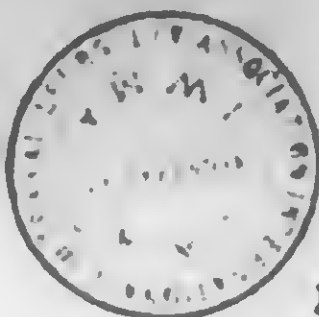
[Circular] 1938 July 1, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / Manuel Mascarell. —
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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE
DES TRAVAILLEURS

Secrétariat

CIRCULAIRE N° 18



Paris 1^{er} Juillet 1938

AUX SECTIONS DE L'A.I.T.

Chers Camarades,

Après la circulaire que nous avons envoyée aux Centrales pour leur demander leurs propositions quant à l'Ordre du Jour du Congrès Ordinaire qui doit se tenir au mois d'août à Paris (Palais de la Mutualité), nous sommes sous l'obligation de constater que seules la S.A.C. et la C.G.T.S.R. ont répondu à notre appel.

Nul doute que les propositions de la S.A.C. et de la C.G.T.S.R. sont actuellement en possession des Centrales, car elles furent expédiées opportunément pour pouvoir être étudiées. Donc, par conséquent, nous demandons aux Sections de l'A.I.T. qui les auront étudiées et discutées, de nous envoyer d'urgence les leurs si elles pensent en faire certaines, afin de faciliter les travaux préparatoires du Congrès prochain.

La revue "INTERNATIONALE" était déjà parue au milieu du mois passé. Nous en avons retardé l'expédition de plus d'une semaine, espérant recevoir des détails des sections sur la nombre qu'elles en désirent. Mais, n'ayant reçu aucune réponse, nous en avons fait l'expédition, par paquets, en nombre égal à ceux du premier numéro dont ont pu nous être encore adressés récemment.

Mais le but essentiel de la présente circulaire est de faire une suggestion à nos centrales affiliées. Le 19 juillet approche, date glorieuse à laquelle nos camarades espagnols entreprendront leur lutte historique contre le fascisme international. Lutte dans laquelle tout le peuple espagnol continue à faire preuve d'un esprit combattif sans cesse plus vif, malgré la trahison du mouvement ouvrier international. Le dernier Congrès Extraordinaire de l'A.I.T. décida de prêter une solidarité entière et exclusive à la cause de nos frères espagnols. Dans une circulaire précédente, nous avons noté que, selon nous, la campagne de solidarité en faveur de l'Espagne Antifasciste laissait beaucoup à désirer. Le 19 juillet nous fournit une occasion d'organiser une action spéciale et de faire un nouvel effort dans ce sens. Le Secrétariat de l'A.I.T. vous propose:

*QUE, POUR LE 19 JUILLET, DANS TOUS LES PAYS OU IL Y A DES SECTIONS DE L'A.I.T. L'ON ORGANISE UNE GRANDE JOURNÉE DE SOLIDARITÉ ET DE PROPAGANDE EN FAVEUR DE L'ESPAGNE ANTIFASCISTE, CONTRE LES ÉTATS TOTALITAIRES ET EN FAVEUR DE L'APPLICATION IMMÉDIATE DU BOYCOTTAGE ET DE L'EMBARGO CONTRE CES DERNIERS, QUE L'ON PASSE EN MÊME TEMPS PRESSION SUR LES GOUVERNEMENTS SOI-DISANT DÉMOCRATIQUES



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The Emma Goldman Papers

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AVEC LE MOT D'ORDRE : DES ARMES POUR L'ESPAGNE ANTIFASCISTE!!

A cette fin, nous vous proposons des éditions spéciales de notre journal et une vaste propagande au moyen d'imprimés spéciaux, de manifestes, de bulletins, etc., etc. Le Secrétariat de l'A.I.T. publiera, dans le prochain numéro de son bulletin, un manifeste qui pourra être utilisé dans cette campagne de propagande.

Nous voulons espérer que les Sections comprendront la nécessité de renforcer notre activité internationale en faveur de nos frères espagnols. L'heure est grave. La solidarité est le devoir impérieux de notre mouvement. Nous commettrions un crime, si nous demeurions indifférents devant la tragédie espagnole ou si nous nous contentions de publier des articles critiques sur des questions tactiques, alors que, au delà des Pyrénées, des millions d'êtres humains, donnent chaque jour leur vie pour nous tous, dans une lutte inégale qui décide également de la vie ou de la mort de la plus importante de nos centrales.

Fraternellement à vous.

Au nom du Secrétariat de l'A.I.T.

Manuel MASCARELL

Secrétaire Général



The Emma Goldman Papers

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18927

Paris, 1. Juli 1938

Liebe Mama,

gestern erhielt ich Brief mit Artikel und Scheck.

Ich war schon ein wenig verwundert über Dein langes Schweigen, heute weiss ich den Grund und verstehe ihn nur allzugut. Ich erinnere mich noch gut als ob es gestern gewesen wäre der Nachricht vom Tode Alexanders. Es war in der gleichen Zeit, vor dem 19. Juli, als Oroben starb. Ein doppelter Schlag für die Bewegung vor so grossen Ereignissen... Gewiss, das Werk überlebt den Einzelnen, aber was ist doch die lebendige Persönlichkeit! Sie allein gibt dem Werke Sinn und Leben. Aber wir müssen uns bescheiden damit, dass auch die Besten und Treuesten und Verlässen.

Weisst Du wo ich Alexander kennenlernte, das heisst das einzige Mal sah! Ich wusste schon von ihm und kannte seine Leidens- und Kampfgeschichte, die mich mit Bewunderung erfüllte, als ich im Alter von 21 Jahren, 1925, auf den Dresdener Kon-ress der PAUD fuhr, als einer der Delegierten von Leipzig. Dort war Alexander eine Weile anwesend, sass sogar stundenlang dicht bei mir, und ich wusste am Anfang garnicht, dass er es war...

Die Unterschrift des Artikels streiche weg, selbstverständlich. Ich lege gar keinen Wert darauf, und die beiden angeführten Gründe sind ausserdem sehr einleuchtend.

Etwas erweitert erscheint der Artikel auch in 'Combat', ich habe ihn selbst französisch umgeschrieben.

Vielleicht hast Du nicht recht verstanden. Ich schrieb, ich hätte aus den Worten unseres Freundes Barr entnommen, dass er mir einen Scheck für die Befreiung gegen wollte, nur auf meinen Namen, das heisst ich sollte ihn weiterbesorgen. Weiter nichts.

Ich danke Dir, dass Du schreibst, ich solle das Geld nach meinen Ermessen für die Genossen verwenden. Ich tue es in Einverständnis mit den Genossen der DAS-Gruppen, und führe diesen direkt, d.h. regelmässig, die Unterstützung zu. Ich schrieb Dir schon dass das Comité der OUISE (Drouot) leider das Geld an allzuvielen Leuten verstreut, Leute, auf die gar kein Teil die harte Kritik der Spanier sogar zutrifft. In diesem Falle kommt es nur an authentische Militanten unserer Sache; dafür Sorge ich. Ich schicke Dir und Barr später eine Kollektivquittung.

An den kleinen Zufall gebe ich nichts mehr, denn er arbeitet und ist sehr stolz darauf. Ihr habt in dieser Sache ein gutes Werk getan!

Die Regierung übernimmt die SIA? Das habe ich noch nicht gehört und wäre ja wirklich der Gipfel. Wo steht das veröffentlicht, oder hast Du es nur privat gehört? Wenn die Entwicklung so geht - nehmen wir an, dass die Spanier in ihren Ländern infolge der schrecklichen Zwangslage wirklich nicht anders können - dann wird doch die Notwendigkeit immer dringender, den anarchistischen Charakter unserer Sache wenigstens in der internationalen Propaganda mehr zu betonen statt diese "neutrale" und laue Propaganda à la Nouvelle Espagne Antifasciste weiterzubetreiben...

Also wir werden uns nächsten Monat hier sehen. Der Kongress der IAA - was das sein wird, ist mit in jeder Hinsicht noch dunkel. Von dem Juli-Kongress für Spanien weiss ich noch nichts. Es ist sehr gut möglich, dass unsere Spanier teilnehmen, leider aber werden sie es sicher tun, ohne einen Teil

The Emma Goldman Papers

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14/7
von ihrer eigenen Sache zu sprechen, nur um in den von den Kommunisten dirigierten allgemeinen Chor einzustimmen. Die OGTSR, bzw. „Combat“ geben sicher nicht auf einem solchen Kongress, dazu sind sie nun wieder zu sektiererisch. Wie schade, dass die grossen Mittel der CWT-Arbeit für nichts ausgegeben werden. Man hat doch nichts geschaffen, man konnte in der Weltarbeiterbewegung einen neuen Ton anschlagen; stattdessen hat man einfach mitgewor- stellt und dabei sogar noch die Interessen der freiheitlichen Bewegungen in den einzelnen Ländern geschädigt, bzw. diese Bewegungen verkümmert und sektie- rerischer gestimmt statt sie einmal vorwärtszureissen. Ich meine hier Frankreich und Südamerika.

Diese Bemerkungen für den Fall, dass es sich um eine kommunistische Sache handelt. Aber ich weiss es nicht. Kannst Du mir Näheres schreiben?

Von der Broschüre Die Spanische Tragödie schreibst Du noch nichts, ich habe auch anderweitig nichts davon gehört. Das scheint ja auf der leider üblichen Linie zu liegen, gegen die die CWT eben international nicht energisch genug gearbeitet hat; siehe oben.

Dora und ich erwidern herzlichst Deine Grüsse. Wenn Du hier bist, musst Du auch einmal zu uns kommen. Wir leben hier absolut einsam. Ich habe die Beziehungen, die durch meine Arbeit gegeben sind, und Dora ist allein und ver- sehrt sich nur im Gedanken an Spanien. Unsere Versuche, trotz Passlosigkeit Einreiseerlaubnis für irgendein Land zu bekommen, sind bisher völlig negativ verlaufen, was für den Herbst keine allzu schöne Perspektive eröffnet. Aber sehen wir zu.

Viele Grüsse!

Heim + Lehmann

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929066

[Letter] 1938 July 1, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Evelyn [Scott].—
4 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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44 Commerce Street,
New York City.

July 1st, 1938.

17632

Dearest Emma:

I am answering by return mail, for I know the estimate of Carlo is important, and in respect to a prompt decision. I do suggest my dearest Emma I'd rather not be quoted to anyone as even the enthusiastic opinions we may have ~~our~~ of our friends sometimes seem to them unkind because of some unexpected turn of mind which makes our view of them not theirs of themselves completely. But this is superfluous I know!

I think Carlo is honest and that he is one of the most genuinely kind people I know; and by nature generous. I do think a degree of physical fatigue enters into his behaviour with promises. Carlo is no longer young and he has not got the physical-glandular equipment that goes with consistent drive toward an end. Probably at one time he did, but of late years I have a constant impression that at bottom Carlo is tired of fighting and would be most content if he could sit down and meditate for a while. Because of Margaret's former prosperity (much less today than it used to be) Carlo's enemies often impute venal motives to him. I think this is entirely inappropriate and Carlo could not more ~~be~~ be bought than could those of sterner exterior. But he does incline to propose doing something for every good cause that comes in his way, thus involving himself in responsibilities that could all be carried through only by implacable will power, which I don't believe he has, though he may have had it at one time. Margaret, oddly, goes through with what she begins with far more rigorous scruple; but Margaret has a degree of innocence in worldly matters that would make her ineffectual without advice. It seems to me, therefore, that you can best count on Carlo if initiative is divided ~~with~~ someone else who could supply drive at points at which Carlo flagged.

Whether it is possible, once Carlo nominally undertakes the business, to introduce somebody else into the committee who could cooperate with him and keep things going where he lagged, you may know better than I do. I can see where there might be harm from an ineffectual effort to secure your visa, in that failure would probably jeopardize in advance the success of another type of sponsor. So it seems to me your decision might be regulated by your optimism in respect to alternatives. If you have other people in mind who are known to be both dependant and aggressive in what they undertake, then I should substitute these for Carlo; but do try to without hurting his feelings. In the first place, his intentions are sincere; in the second place, if you hurt Carlo you hurt Margaret and Margaret is one of the best people alive and, also, has a range of acquaintance and a degree of good will from persons of varying shades of thought. The particular practical value of Margaret and Carlo really is that the combination might make it possible to interest a variety of opinion in having you over to lecture; and I should think that would be preferable to a visa sponsored by a single group.

I'm afraid I am weighing so many items that they may seem to cancel each other, leaving you with no advice at all, my dear; but that is the best I can do with inadequate knowledge of the choices offered by your situation. If you decide to let Carlo and
(over

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929066

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17633
Margaret continue, however, I would rely first of all on Margaret, who is one of the most loyal people in the world. No more loyal than Carlo toward ideas, but more personally devoted to the people with whom she has individual relations. I expect neither of them will work at anything consistently throughout the summer, because of family interferences -- Margaret's children come home, have to be entertained in the country, etc. She has a daughter who is a psychological "problem", a son in school who is the same in a lesser degree, a grandchild and so on.

I must find out whether or not Margaret has called on Dr. Dewey. I expect she has. But I saw him in April and he spoke of you with appreciation and sentiment (dating from Chicago), so that I believe he would be sympathetic.

Darling, to echo your question -- Communist bigotry hasn't a thing to do with the idealism of your group in Spain. Where you and I run into disparities of outlook is solely in connection with conceptions of means. You retain your faith (and your splendid valiance goes with it) in the efficacy of violence, and I in the bottom of my heart never have been able to believe it did more than make further victims of the good. I have always felt this in a measure -- you will remember how often I have said I thought we expected to change in a generation what could change only little by little by little over hundreds of years? -- and I suppose the increasing horrors of the World and America have crystallized the instinct of my early youth. I have hated to say this because, paradoxically, I feel the most unflagging admiration for the self-effacing daring of those who, believing, cast themselves into this vortex of present militance. I can see so plainly how they may resent with scorn attitudes which will always suggest laissez faire and ignoble retiring into security. I think however the differences of conviction -- sincere conviction -- are due to original temperamental differences stressed again by the conditioning of the individual life, in each case unique. So it becomes false in one instance to act in a certain manner without faith; and noble in another. And in truth, looking back on man's history, ~~and~~ the attempt to prove, too simply, some preferred theory, it is hard to say what type of idealist has done most and what least to supply our small advance toward human perfection. The important things to me are genuine benevolence and pure motives, with sufficient accompanying intelligence for the individual to realize, check and correct if he can, lapses and falsenesses in his own attitudes. You, for example, believing in precisely the same universal values I do, see more than I do in the spectacle of individual human nature. Reading Kropotkin this winter, I felt he had a realistic view of individuals named and known, but that when he wrote of "the people" he unconsciously lost his sense of individual complexities. I have that so strongly that it does, inescapably, alter my view of what any immediate action can do. That is why I do still want to give liberalism (you won't hate me for that, will you, dearest Emma?) a longer trial -- try to make it something more positively idealistic than it ever has been, if I can. I want to because I want more knowledge in advance of the most drastic acts -- more science, more art and so on. You feel, I imagine, that the pure idealists exist in sufficient numbers and are sufficient capable of worldly defence, to inaugurate at once, after a militant victory, an appropriate regime for the dissemination of their idealism. I doubt this; and think of the present worldly defeat of the pure by the impure as inevitable, if for no other reason than that in struggles involving brutalities and unscruplings (as wars must), the brutal and unscrupulous have such a terrific advantage over the rest.

I think you will not like this or agree, my dear, because ultimate democracy probably presses you as an idea above all others, whereas I have begun to fear "the people", too, simply because they also inherit human nature's foibles and, inexperienced as they are in so much, seem

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 July 1, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Evelyn [Scott]. --
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to me likely victims of the least reputable "saviours". If one actually envisages perfection as attained in the first stage by immediate democratic action, such a view as mine becomes impossible. And I do know very well that liberalism is and will be made impure too; if it persists. Yet not being able to believe militance can advance the end, I had rather forego if it can be foregone, the millions of personal disasters that follow militance, and retain the slow method (full of personal disasters, too, I understand).

I do think the philosophy of anarchy is the only ultimate; but I also think what makes it so -- its purity -- makes it ill-adapted to attack and defence in times of physical conflict and outrage when idealism is of necessity by the boards to a degree.

As I said before, if I were in Europe I should probably find it impossible to ponder things in this way. If murder were being committed on my doorstep, I could not but intervene to stop it by whatever means lay at hand. And yet I don't think that invalidates the perspectives increased literally by distance. In fact both views and both attitudes have a bearing on finally understanding whatever may be "truth."

In the example of the artist, heaven forbid that he should not write to uphold whatever he believes; but in writing pure propaganda he temporarily at least abandons art, simply because the motive of propaganda is to stir to action at once in the present; whereas art, as it tries to convey the quality of life, is too filled with matter irrelevant to such stirring to ever be propaganda of the best kind. Propaganda for philosophical anarchy can certainly be derived from art, for one bears out the other; but nowhere and for no cause, I believe, are art and propaganda identical.

This year, my dear, I have made my only futile essay in "propaganda", not in my writings, but in trying to stir up among artists some feeling that might result in a unified stand against the present subservience of art to politics; and I have got from the experience the lesson I should have had in advance -- that propaganda is not for me, because it is a different language from my accustomed one, and I don't know how to use it. As far as I can see the sole result of my endeavors has been to arouse a wide-spread suspicion as to my motives, which the political-minded interpret as being like their own; and the artists, all but the exceptions, incline to resist because they instinctively fear threat to their own success in involvement in an agitation which implies so much criticism of critics. If I had the practice of direct fighting I would have done it better. It simply isn't my talent or temperament, which is contemplative and pacific. So it's rather in the end an illustration of the truism of the religionists -- some serve God in one way and some in another. I still hope to "serve God" somehow; and certainly I have more, not less, realistic respect for those able to do it as I am not, in another way. That I can admire you more for being true to yourself in your own terms, is part of the general, the universal, truth, I think each of us seeks to establish.

Indeed my dear the Gallancz enterprise is what is being repeated here on every hand. There is a sort of awful commoality in this new Babbity; I, who am only a shadow of a revolutionary in comparison with you, have nonetheless contributed my mite to the radical outlook for twenty years; and now suddenly I find myself shunned and rebuked as a "traitor to revolution" by three-quarters of the self-seeking band-wagon commercialists in New York, and by a goodly number of agitated wives of wall street business men, who have become vaguely pro-Marxist in sheer terror of being out of style. I don't know what the end will be; but I do know the experience of human nature at its worst produces an infinitely nauseous polluted feeling, so that if one acted on impulse, and it were physically possible, one would retreat forever to some high, remote mountain top where one could shake off the muck and regard for a while the gracious sky, impersonal and uninhabited. (over

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Dear Emma, I love you very much, because I think you have at the bottom of your heart the drop of life that is a true elixir -- clear, true honesty, generosity and goodness.

And indeed my dear I see so much disparity between Marxist and Anarchist ideology that I can now understand what I once could not have -- why men like Dostoevski and Lawrence called "socialism" (which was their term for the vague sensing of the unadulterated materialism of Marx) "anti-Christ" and "Satanic." Anarchistic idealism, apart from views as to the feasibility or lack of feasibility of expressing it directly in militant political programs, is the only heaven in the whole doughy, foul-smelling lump.

I think it is lovely of you to want to write to Jack, for it is so right, and I think it would make him happier to hear from you. But I don't know where he is, Emma dear. The break made was so complete and the psychiatric idea was that it must be complete in order to put an end to the terrible see-sawing of emotional indecision, that I have not got his address. I had a sixteen page letter from him Christmas and a very sweet one; but he did not give me his address then, and wrote through Otto Theis. I think if you sent the letter care of

O.F. Theis
10 Old Square,
Lincoln's Inn,
London, W.C. 2

it would reach him. Or perhaps care of Constable, 10 and 12 Orange Street. Maybe if sent care of Constable, it should go care of Michael Saffier, who would, I am sure, take pains to get it to him.

Jig sends his love. He is my consolation and my misery too, for his attitudes are so like my own as to cut him off from the Marx ridden youth of today; and it is very tragic to be young and have no young to live with. He has matured greatly in the last two years -- is, in fact, in most ways, as old as I am, more's the pity.

It's so good to be in direct touch with you after my foolish lapse into reticence.

So much love and so many many hopes that the visa materialises, and that some sun rays will soon be shed somehow on your hopes and those of all travelling to shatter this reign of darkness.

Blessings from

Evelyn Evelyn

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870925569

[Letter] 1938 July 1, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Dorothy [Rogers]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 17 cm.

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Chine Drive
Scarboro Bluffs
Ontario, Canada.

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July 1st, 1938

Emma Dearest;

I did not reply at once to your last letter since I ^{had} written to you just a day or two before I received it. Also I knew that Joe had written to you following the group discussion of your letter to him. Then again I hardly know what to say to you. I am terribly sorry that you think I am luke-warm on the matter of your return. I, all of us, wish to have you, personally, here with us. You know that nothing would give us greater happiness. The movement needs you sorely, both to give the truth about Spain and to help in our own Anti-fascist struggle which is just now coming out into the open. We have talked it over together and in pairs since you left here, trying to work out schemes to bring you back and keep you here. The whole thing is a question of money. The move I made in the spring met with no more success than the sustaining fund had, in fact less. We who are vitally interested to get you here simply haven't any means with which to accomplish it. Those who have the money, amenable to my requests. I will admit that I am not a good one to ask other people for money. I cannot gain the co-operation of the Free Society Group. They do not seem to like me personally. It was only from you that I learned that they had promised \$50.00 to the fund for your return. They have never communicated the fact to me. Mr Herlick and Mrs Laddon have promised \$10.00 each when it is necessary. Mrs Laddon told me that her son Ben had had some reverses lately and had also assumed some financial responsibilities for her married daughter in the States. Mrs Parker has ignored my letters to her except for the enclosed with regard to Spain and the World.

I will write to Comrade Freedman in New York and he can get in touch with the Jewish friends here. Perhaps he can do more than I can.

When you come we shall undoubtedly have some very successful meetings as you did before. That there will be a certain amount of disappointment both of us know, and we both know that you will not be deterred by that from doing what you feel is in the line of your work.

As to the tour of Canada. What can I say? It would cost an awful lot of money for train fare alone. The IWW contacts we have in two Ontario towns would provide Halls and some help in advertising. Our efforts in endeavouring to set up a branch of the S.I.A. here showed us that our out of town contacts are nil as far as dependable activity is concerned. We cannot depend on our western contacts (Winnipeg and Vancouver) to even distribute a May Day leaflet.

Of course, since you were here, you personally would make an untold difference. The persons over whom I have no influence would react to you as they always have done. You know that when you are among them there is nothing that they will not do for you. Unfortunately, in your absence I seem to be incapable of calling out that latent loyalty. But that it is there both of us know.

You also know that we, I mean the comrades of the Libertarian Group, will work these hardest, giving all of ~~themselves~~ ^{ourselves}, to make the meetings a success. All that we have to give, ourselves and our time are at your disposal, as always.

I cannot paint a rosey picture of the situation. I have to portray things as they are. I don't say that the difficulties cannot be overcome. I am sure they can. The Toronto situation is as hard as ever it was, and I know how you suffered when you were here before. You know that I am not luke-warm as to your return, but what can I do but put things to you as they are? If there is anything that you can suggest for me to do I will do my best to carry out your wishes.

Comradely

Dorothy

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[Letter, 1938 July 1, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. —
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Ethel Mannin

Oak Cottage,
Berkley Road,
Wimbledon Common S.W.15.

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Friday

Dearest Emma,

I got back Sunday night, but have been so busy since that I have rung no one. However herewith the review of Read's book, for you to pass on to Recchioni; I thoroughly enjoyed the book & am really very excited about it; it can be of immense value to the anarchist movement in this country - a really valuable contribution to it - and I enjoyed doing the review, which I hope young R. will like. Its a bit long, but the book we lent itself to apt quotation that I didn't stint myself.

I am returning your copy of the book tomorrow, Emma, and am also returning (to the office) the bundle of pencils sent to me for Spain in response to your appeal.

The ILP-er who sent the pencils and paper wants to know how much we collected in our appeal for money for pens, so if you

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central will let me know I will write to him.

I have no servant so have a lot on my hands, but I feel rested from the two weeks' break and will ring you next week. I hope you keep well, my dear, and that we shall meet soon. I mustn't stop for more now as I have so many other letters to attend to in the mail and must also go out. The days seem to fly!

Reg is going to Holland for a conference about the 27th of the month so we shall perhaps be able to have some more time together here? I know you prefer it when I am alone, & indeed I do too.

I must go now my dear; I will ring you about mid-day Mon. to hear your news about the film and so forth. I had your nice letter when I got back here.

My devoted love as always

You got my letter with
my 10 gn cheque that I sent from
the ship to be posted at Bergen?



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[Letter] 1938 July 1, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rock-er]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Crompond, N.Y., den 1. Juli 1938.

Liebste Emma:

Deinen Brief vom 21/VI. soeben erhalten. Ich hatte dir mittlerweile einen zweiten langen Brief geschrieben, den du jedenfalls bereits erhalten hast.

In meinem letzten Briefe schrieb ich dir, mir zwei Exemplare von "Literary Quaterly" zu schicken. Hatte natürlich keine Ahnung, dass die Zeitschrift so teuer ist. Ich schrieb für zwei, weil Prof. Chase, dem ich von deinem Briefe Mitteilung machte, mich um eine copy bat. Selbstverständlich ist das unter den gegebenen Umständen unmöglich, und ich werde ihm meine Copy leihen.

Read's Buch habe ich bis jetzt noch nicht erhalten. Sobald es hier ~~ankommt~~ ankommt, werde ich es sofort lesen und eine Besprechung darüber schreiben.

Was Tresca angeht, so habe ich dir in meinem letzten Briefe ausführlich geschrieben. Ich habe daher nichts mehr zuzusetzen und hoffe nur, dass er sich in deinem Falle zuverlässiger erweist als in meinem. Jedenfalls werde ich versuchen, ihn diese Tage zu sprechen und ihm noch einmal deinen Fall gründlich ans Herz legen. Mit den Adunata-Leuten werde ich jetzt noch nicht sprechen und solange warten, bis du mir Näheres schreibst. Du brauchst dir aber ihretwegen keine Sorgen zu machen. Eine gute Rücksprache mit Armando Borghi und Valerio wird alles in Ordnung bringen. Das einzige Schmerzenskind ist Graham. Aber wenn Tresca den Fall nicht in die Öffentlichkeit zieht, wozu meiner Meinung nach gar kein Grund vorliegt, wird Graham sicher gar nichts von dieser Angelegenheit erfahren. Du irrst dich, wenn du meinst, dass Tresca sich nicht als Anarchist erklärte. Das ist ja der ganze Streit zwischen ihm und der Adunata. T. ist Anarchist, und das ist es gerade, was die Mehrzahl der italienischen Genossen im Lande, die alle mit der Adunata halten, so gegen ihn aufbrachte. Aber das ist ja auch ganz gleichgültig; die Hauptsache ist, ob er in deinem Falle etwas tun kann und tun wird.

Celia Bushwick ist bereits in N.Y. angekommen. Wir haben sie noch nicht gesehen, aber sie wird diese Tage sicher nach Mohigan kommen. Ich freue mich schon darauf, sie zu sehen, um Näheres von dir zu hören. Yes, Kramer ist ein ausgezeichnete und intelligenter Mensch. Celia war bis nicht lang zurück eine verbissene Stalinistin, hat aber die Partei verlassen und weiss heute nicht, wo sie eigentlich steht in der Welt.

Deine Bemerkungen über Sasha haben eine wunde Stelle in mir ~~berührt~~ berührt, und ich freue mich unendlich, dass du die Dinge nun im rechten Lichte siehst. Als damals die unglückliche Geschichte mit der Uebersetzung meines Buches passierte, hatte ich den Eindruck, dass du und der gute Sasha meine Auffassung von der Sache missdeuten könnten, und ich wurde in dieser Meinung durch einige Briefe Sushas nur bestärkt. Das tat mir furchtbar weh, und Milly kann dir erzählen, dass mir diese Sache manche schlaflose Nacht verursacht hat. Ich habe nie in meinem Leben einen so tiefen innerlichen Konflikt durchgemacht. Glaube mir, liebe Emma, ich habe nie auch nur für eine Sekunde gegen Sasha den geringsten Groll empfunden. Es wurde mir sofort klar, dass unser guter S. infolge der scheusslichen Verhältnisse, unter denen er jahrelang zu leben hatte, seine geistige Spannkraft verloren und nicht mehr zu leisten imstande war, was er in früheren Jahren und unter

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günstigeren Umständen sicher hätte leisten können. Natürlich konnte ich dir das nicht schreiben, denn ich wollte dir nicht wehe tun. Du kannst dir vorstellen, wie sehr ich mit meinem Werke innerlich verwachsen war. Es war das Ergebnis eines Menschenlebens, die Frucht langer mühseliger Studien; aber ich schwöre dir, ich hätte das Buch lieber ins Feuer geworfen, um nur Sasha nicht zu verwunden. Ich habe damals sofort an Goldman in Chicago geschrieben, den Subskribenten das Geld zurückzuschicken und die Sache aufzugeben, und das fiel mir nicht einmal schwer. Dass es anders gekommen ist, ist hauptsächlich Yaffe und den Leuten in Los Angeles zu danken.

Ein Buch wie dieses kann man nicht redaktieren; man muss es übersetzen wie es ist, gut oder schlecht, weil es sich hier um eine ganze Kette logischer Gedankengänge handelt, die man nicht willkürlich unterbrechen kann. Dass die Uebersetzung viel zu Sashas gesundheitlichen Zusammenbruch beigetragen hat, kann ich mir heute sehr wohl vorstellen; damals aber konnte ich das nicht ahnen. Es war wahrlich nicht meine Schuld.

Dass die Erinnerungen an S. dir gerade heute stark zu Herzen gehen, verstehe ich nur zu gut. Er hat ausgelitten, und das ist gut so. Du aber musst die Zähne fest zusammenbeissen und den Weg weitergehen, der dir bestimmt ist. Nichts ist verloren, und jede gute Saat reift einmal, wenn vielleicht auch nicht in unserem Leben. Das gilt auch für Sasha. Du fragst, ob es sich lohnte, alles das durchzumachen, um schliesslich zu enden, wie er geendet hat. Wer kann das sagen, Emma? S. hat in seinem schmerzreichen Leben Grosses geleistet, das immer bestehen wird. Sein Tod? Schliesslich war das nur eine Episode, die dir und anderen grosse Wunden schlug; aber für ihn war es vielleicht das Beste. Es ist möglich, dass die Ereignisse in Spanien ihn zu einem neuen Leben aufgepeitscht hätten; es ist aber auch möglich, dass die innere Zermürbung schon zu weit vorgeschritten war. Bei einer Persönlichkeit wie S. lässt sich das schwer sagen. Und schliesslich gilt diese Frage nicht für uns alle? Aber was hilft es, zu fragen. Wir müssen so, weil wir nicht anders können. Das ist alles. Ich fühle die ganze innere Tragik deines Schicksals und reiche dir stumm die Hand.

Ich habe diese Tage den Brief eines unbekannten Inders aus London erhalten, der mein Buch über Nationalismus auf der Reise von Bombay nach England gelesen hat und sehr stark davon beeindruckt wurde. Er will einige Absätze in einem indischen Magazin veröffentlichen und will vor allen weitere Schriften von mir kennen lernen. Seine Adresse ist: R. Bhava c/o National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, London S.W.1. Vielleicht kannst du dich mit ihm in Verbindung setzen und sehen, wer er ist. Ich werde ihm diese Tage antworten.

Und nun genug für heute. Wir umarmen dich von ganzem Herzen. Fermin lässt herzlich grüssen.

Rudolf

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[Circular] 1938 July 2, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / Juan Negr[un].—
2 p.; 36 x 21 cm.

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Copie A de una circular del Comité de Co-ordinación para el apoyo de la España Republicana.

DECRET DU GOUVERNEMENT ESPAGNOL, paru dans la GACETA DE LA REPUBLICA du 2 Juillet 1938, concernant la CONSTITUTION DU COMITÉ NATIONAL A L'ESPAGNE REPUBLICAINE.

En application du décret du 29 Avril 1938, qui prévoit la création d'un Comité National d'Aide à l'Espagne afin de stimuler, diriger et centraliser les concours de caractère humanitaire, de soutenir le peuple Espagnol dans sa lutte contre le fascisme, et recueillir toutes les organisations de toutes sortes à l'étranger, la Présidence du Conseil des ministres arrête les dispositions suivantes:

1o.- Le Comité National d'Aide à l'Espagne sera composé d'un comité permanent et d'un Secrétariat General.

2o.- Le Comité permanent sera composé de membres librement désignés par le Gouvernement, et aura pour mission de se réunir au moins une fois par mois pour discuter et approuver le rapport que devra lui présenter le Secrétaire General-Délégué sur le travail réalisé par le Secrétariat General au cours du mois écoulé, conformément à ce qui est établi par la présente disposition, et pour approuver le fonctionnement et le plan de travail pour le mois suivant.

3o.- Le Comité permanent aura également mission de proposer la distribution des titres honorifiques auxquels se réfèrent l'article 7 du décret mentionné plus haut.

4o.- Le Secrétariat General sera composé d'un Secrétaire general-délégué, librement désigné par le Gouvernement, et de deux Secrétaires adjoints.

5o.- Le Secrétaire general-délégué, qui sera en même temps secrétaire du Comité permanent, aura des pouvoirs exécutifs pour l'organisation ~~interne~~ et le fonctionnement du Secrétariat General, voici les attributions et les tâches:

a) Il devra étudier les besoins du Peuple Espagnol sous leurs divers aspects, et tenir un registre de toutes les institutions d'aide officielles ou non, existant dans le pays, ainsi que des établissements qui nécessitent, reçoivent et désirent recevoir une aide de l'étranger.

b) Il devra recevoir et centraliser toutes les demandes d'aide que les organisations, dont il est question dans le paragraphe précédent, désirent adresser à l'étranger, en leur donnant la suite nécessaire.

c) Il devra centraliser tout le matériel de propagande adressé à l'étranger, quelles que soient leur origine, nature et destination.

d) Il devra veiller à ce que la distribution des dons reçus soit conforme aux desirs des donateurs, lorsque le destinataire et la destination du don sont expressément indiqués; auquel cas le Secrétaire aura à établir le contrôle nécessaire ou intervenir lorsqu'il le jugera bon, afin de s'assurer que la distribution et l'emploi des dons s'effectuent conformément aux desirs des donateurs, lorsque le Comité d'Aide n'est pas chargé lui-même de la distribution de ces dons.

e) Il devra déterminer la destination des dons reçus lorsqu'il n'y a pas de destinataire indiqué expressément; il devra spécifier les modalités de distribution conformément aux besoins prévus dans le paragraphe f).

f) Il devra tenir un registre détaillé de tous les dons reçus provenant de l'étranger, afin d'en dresser une statistique exacte et de renseigner les organisations officielles Espagnoles ou étrangères qui demanderaient des renseignements à ce sujet.

6o.- Le Secrétariat general, d'autant de sections qu'il sera nécessaire pour l'accomplissement de ses tâches spécifiées dans le paragraphe précédent.

7o.- Les Secrétaires-adjoints auront pour tâche d'aider le Secrétaire general-délégué et, par son truchement, le Comité permanent, de s'occuper des questions et des problèmes qui se présenteraient, en proposant les mesures et les solutions opportunes, et de collaborer en général avec les organismes compétents chaque fois qu'il sera nécessaire pour un meilleur accomplissement des hautes missions du Comité National d'Aide, tant en ce qui concerne le problème intérieur de distribution, qu'en ce qui concerne la propagande extérieure de cette aide plus efficace.

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80.- Afin de coordonner le travail et l'effort des différentes organisations créent à l'étranger à l'obtention de secours pour l'Espagne, le Comité National d'Aide pourra utiliser les délégués et déléguées à l'étranger, le COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL POUR L'INFORMATION POUR L'AIDE A L'ESPAGNE, les organisations spécialisées: GÉNÉRALE D'AIDE ET OFFICE INTERNATIONAL POUR L'ENFANCE: par leur action technique et économique, ces organismes offrent une aide précieuse, tant aux organisations qu'à l'Etat Espagnol. Le chef de ces délégations, le Comité d'Aide pourra avoir un représentant nommé parmi le personnel des organismes officiels du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères d'Espagne. La charge de délégué est honorifique.

81.- De même afin de pouvoir centraliser à l'étranger la réception et l'acheminement des dons reçus en espèces, seules les organisations fonctionnant dans chaque pays en qualité de délégués du Comité National d'Aide seront autorisées à utiliser les moyens de transport des organismes de l'Etat Espagnol à l'étranger. Les autres organisations étrangères pourront également s'en servir par le truchement de ces mêmes délégations. Au cas où elles s'en serviraient pour leur propre compte, il reste entendu qu'elles renonceraient à tout droit d'indemnisation par l'Etat Espagnol des frais de transport et de douane.

82.- A partir de la publication du présent décret, aucun délégué officiel Espagnol ne pourra faire de propagande à l'étranger pour l'obtention de secours autrement qu'à travers le Secrétaire général du Comité National d'Aide à l'Espagne.

83.- Les frais de fonctionnement, de personnel et de matériel du Comité National d'Aide à l'Espagne seront à la charge de la Présidence du Conseil des Ministres.

BARCELONA, le 1er Juillet 1938

Signé: JUAN NEGRIN

Président du Conseil des Ministres.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 July? 4? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17007

Ethel Mannin

Oak Cottage,
Barghley Road,
Winkleside Common, Staffs.

Monday

Dearest Emma, Its too early to ring you (9.30) as I feel you'll be resting in a bit after the long trail to Somerset, and if I post this now you should get it by this afternoon. I've been on to Dean & Dawson's, the 2nd class sleeper to Paris, from Vic. right to Paris, without leaving the compartment is only £3.15.6d. As I can afford this well enough, I do hope you'll let me, dear Emma. It seems such a little thing to do, and I'd love to think of you travelling in comfort; even if you were thoroughly fit I think you should have this little comfort, for you don't have much and you deserve it. So will you just let me know as soon as you can what day you want to go, and I will fix it, and if you like come and get you and take you to Victoria. The return fare, for 60 days, is £6.14.0. But it wouldn't be worth taking this, I think, as the third-class fare, Dieppe route is £1.14. and £1.14.0. added to £3.15.6. is a bit cheaper than £6.15. I mean there'd be no advantage in taking the return unless you yourself were going to use it, and in that case I'd gladly take it for you. I hope so much you found everything satisfactory at Street, Emma. Reg

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thinks its a good idea to have some meetings and show that film.

Like you, I can't make any plans just now; so much depends on what my husband next arranges for my daughter; and what Reg does. If when you decide to go South, if you do, I am free to do so, I should love to come; its ages since I've been in the South. But beyond this I feel I dare not commit myself. (We shall have to see, when

Reg is having his expenses paid to Paris for some conference on Aug. 2nd and I hope to come over then, so if you are there we could have a happy reunion. (As the farthest ahead I feel I dare plan)

I won't stop for more now, dear, as I want to get this into the post. Just write a pc saying when you want to travel and I will fix it, and love to, so please let me do this very little thing for you out of my loving friendship and comradely regard, dear Emma.

Ever devotedly

I wrote yesterday to
Margery Lawrence (Mrs. Fowler)
about Nellie. She may be
away, of course. I also spoke to
Abel Sat. night but he can't do
anything.

I've got to go for a week
in London about the 1st of August

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Ethel Mannin

Oak Cottage,
Burgley Road,
Wimbledon Common, S.W.15

17002

Monday evening

Emma dear, further to my letter of this morning, herewith a couple of rough 'layouts', one for a proposed leaflet, one for a four-page folder; my own view is that the leaflet would be sufficient, and must surely be much cheaper; the copy can be cut if we decide on the leaflet. I had intended writing an alternative piece of copy, cutting out the references to the revolutionary work of the CNT-FAI, but couldn't bring myself to. You will alter this copy as you think fit. I don't mind that you do to it, but I couldn't and wouldn't have anyone else touch it. If you think that the references to the evolution should be cut out, you will do it, but my own view is that we do better to sail under our true colours and not compromise with being tactful and diplomatic and all the rest of it; god knows the bourgeois press has enough say about bourgeois democracy; my own feeling is for god's sake let us who are concerned with the revolution tell about it: that the evolution may have been crushed is no reason why we should not speak of the revolutionary work that has been done and of the revolutionary spirit of the people (I can't believe that that can be crushed: - not for good!) The Lib. Party people won't

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stomach the film anyhow ; no one, I suppose, will hire the film without a preliminary view of it, and when they hear Viva la Pail and see CNT Pail on the lorries and banners, they'll jib. You owe it to the comrade who made the film not to be apologetic about the Pail or tactful or diplomatic about it. That's my view, anyhow, for what it's worth. Compromising gets one nowhere; look at the Spanish Exhib. (sic) Look at the Concert. Its no good.

I was very shocked at P's attitude the other night. He might have been Lab. Party! Let us be proud of the CNT Pail and their work, say I, and not attempt to pretend that they are merely fighting Franco for the preservation of a bourgeois democracy.

And don't, Emma, for god's sake, let anyone dictate to you about what should be done about the film in any way; you don't want a Committee, you want just a few people who care about the film to help the best they can, to what they can, but you must be the sole arbiter, and everyone must get that clear. I have a real horror of Committees, almost amounting to a phobia, I can tell you.

Do what you like with this copy; Harrison can perhaps suggest a better layout. Under the block of the scene from the film there should of course be appropriate writing, in italics, I thought, with the heading of the leaflet or the folder in bold type, as I have indicated on the layout of the rough. Bless you, dear — an Viva la Pail, everytime and all the time! *SKT*

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[Letter] 1938 July 4, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Cecil A. Franklin. —
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Broadway House,
68-74, Carter Lane, E.C.4
London, 4th July, 1938

Miss Emma Goldman,
S.I.A.,
21, Frith Street,
W. 1.

Dear Madam,

We have your letter of July the 1st
and should very much like to see Mr. Rudolf Rocker's
books. We are not quite clear, however, from your
letter if these are already written. If so, we
should like to see them as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS LTD.

or

The Emma Goldman Papers

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F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAPTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 4 de Julio de 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Camaradas Pedro Herrera y Mariana R. Vázquez,
BARCELONA.

3229

Estimados camaradas:

He recibido por fin contestación a mis cartas del mes de Mayo ppdo., después de una espera de unas cuatro semanas. Puede que estas dilaciones se deban a lo que tardan las cartas en ser traducidas, o a que se demoran en la Oficina de París en la ausencia del camarada Mascarell.

Vuestras cartas Nos. 712E y 716E me las trajo el camarada Barr que estuvo en París y las recogió el 27 de Junio; y ahora aguardo respuesta a mis cartas 4 y 10 de Junio ppdo. con los estados de cuentas correspondientes a la C.N.T.-F.A.I. y a la S.I.A.

Anoto que el dinero para material hay que mandarlo a la Oficina de París. El 7 de Junio giré la equivalencia de 50 dólares, que ya fué recibida, según acuse de Mascarell; pero conservo todavía en mi poder el saldo de la S.I.A., pendiente de vuestra contestación a ciertas preguntas contenidas en mi carta a la camarada Lucia Sánchez Saornil.

Igualmente espero noticias sobre lo que os tengo dicho con respecto a la entrevista con el Secretario de la Independent Labour Party y el ruego que me hizo de que os escribiera, solicitando de vosotros un donativo mensual para contribuir al sostenimiento de la guardería con los 40 niños vascos a cargo de dicha Organización. Tan pronto, pues, como reciba contestación de la S.I.A. a estos puntos, enviaré el saldo resultante al compañero Cámara, a Marsella, de acuerdo con vuestros deseos.

Espero, asimismo, vuestra decisión con respecto a nuestro trabajo aquí y si deseáis que continúen abiertas las Oficinas de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. y de la S.I.A., aun cuando nuestras actividades se desarrollen en un plano más reducido; y si estáis de acuerdo con mi visita a España por unas cuantas semanas antes de mi viaje al Canadá. Veo que la conferencia de la A.I.T. tendrá lugar el 24 de Agosto. Podría entrevistarme con vosotros en París para recoger vuestra opinión sobre el particular, pues mi marcha al Canadá no está
./...

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supeditada a ninguna fecha fija.

Queridos camaradas, nos llena de satisfacción la forma en que habláis de nuestro trabajo aquí y la manera generosa en que nos instáis para que prosigamos nuestras actividades, no obstante las muchas dificultades que nos salen al paso. Muchas veces me ha asaltado el temor de que tal vez vosotros creáis que nosotros nos quejamos más de la cuenta de la taimada conspiración observada aquí por casi todos los organismos a fin de silenciar el crimen de España; y de la indiferencia con que las masas sienten vuestra tragedia. Por ello he pedido al camarada Louis Frank que os envíe un informe de los insuperables obstáculos encontrados por él, en sus gestiones para poder proyectar la nueva cinta cinematográfica que ha traído recientemente de España, en la que con tan palpable claridad se expone al público el tremendo esfuerzo que realiza el pueblo español para defenderse de los asesinos ataques de Hitler y Mussolini. El os dirá hasta donde ha llegado la campaña de ciertos elementos para desvirtuar cuánto se relacione con la C.N.T.-F.A.I.; y aún con la S.I.A. Hasta la misma Labour Party es culpable de tal campaña, y adjunto os envío un folleto por el que podréis ver hasta qué límites han sido tergiversados los acontecimientos históricos. La épica intervención de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. el 19 de Julio y en subsecuentes ocasiones desde aquella fecha, ha sido ignorada completamente. Mi indignación es grande, incrementada por al saber que por mucho que trate no conseguiré que ningún periódico de aquí me publique un artículo demostrando el boycott de que sois víctimas. Mi artículo, por supuesto, podría ser publicado en "SPAIN AND THE WORLD" y en nuestra prensa en los Estados Unidos; pero no deseo hacerlo sin antes obtener vuestro consentimiento, no sea que vosotros estiméis que podría dañar a vuestra lucha si fuesen publicadas las tácticas y malas artes del movimiento obrero de este país. Esta especie de conspiración, a la vista de los sacrificios que realizan nuestros camaradas, me hace más caño que si fuera enviada a presidio. Envío también un ejemplar del aludido folleto a Martín.

En cuanto a la publicación del libro de Cervantes, nada se hará. En realidad lo que hubo fué un mal entendido entre el publicista y la persona que haría la nueva traducción. El publicista no le dijo definitivamente que él publicaría el libro, sino que estudiaría el asunto.

Ha sido acordado celebrar una manifestación en conmemoración del 19 de Julio. Pensábamos hacerla en Trafalgar Square, en donde es permitido solicitar donativos; pero parece que el P.C. se nos ha adelantado otra vez. Han anunciado un mitin para la misma fecha y en el mismo lugar, así es que nosotros daremos el nuestro en Hyde Park, y allí distribuiremos un folleto que estamos preperando para dicha ocasión.

Como he visto que mi artículo en "SPAIN AND THE WORLD" ha sido reproducido en la Soli, considero innecesario enviaros un ajemplar de nuestra citada publicación, si es que

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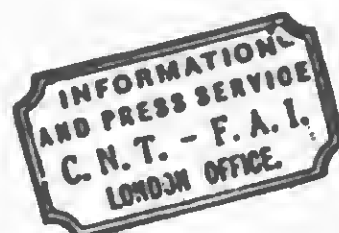
ya no tenéis una copia.

He recibido la circular de fecha 27 de Junio, enviada por el camarada del Comité Peninsular de la F.A.I., sintiendo no poder hacer uso de ella en nuestra prensa, siendo así que su contenido, según se me indica, es de carácter reservado.

Con el fraternal afecto de siempre os saluda,

Emma Goldman

July 4th 38



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COPY.

4th July 1938.

12527

To:-

Pedro Herrera.
 Mariano R Vazquez.

Dear Comrades,

At last I have replies from you to my letters ^{more than} of May. It is very trying indeed to have to wait a month before an answer comes from your end. I realise that it is also probably due to two other reasons, first that it takes a long time for my letters to you to be translated and secondly that it lays around the Bureau in Paris in the absence of comrade Mascarel.

Your two letters Nos 712E and 716E were brought to me by comrade Barr, who had been in Paris and called on the Bureau the 27th of this month. Naturally it is very handicapping to have to wait weeks and weeks before ^{your} ~~our~~ letters reach ^{me.} ~~y-u.~~ I am now awaiting ^{your} ~~for~~ replies to my letters of June 4th and June 10th ^{our} ~~where~~ wherein I ~~asked-you~~ also sent you ~~your~~ ^{our} statements of account, for the C.N.T. and the S.I.A.

I see in your letters just received that the money for material is to go to the Bureau in Paris. Actually fifty dollars was sent in francs according to the exchange on June the 7th and acknowledged by comrade Mascarel. I am still holding the balance for the S.I.A. until I will hear from you in answer to a number of questions in my letter to comrade Lucia Sanchez Boanil. I have also written about the call of the Secretary of the Independent Labour Party and his request to communicate with you ~~ger~~ regarding some regular monthly contribution to the maintenance of the forty one Basque children. All these letters went according to your direction per ~~Bate~~ Postale. When I hear from our comrades of the S.I.A.

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in regard to the balance we have on hand I will of course send the money as you direct to comrade Camara in Marseilles.

Dear comrades I am anxious to hear what your decision is regarding the retention of our quarters here and our work. I mean our Bureaus of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the SIA and the work, even if it will have to be done on a smaller scale.

Another thing which I am most anxious to know is whether you are in favour of my returning to Spain for several weeks before going to Canada. I see that the conference of the I.T. ^{get for} ~~the 24th August. I could meet you in Paris whether you approve of~~ ^{then you could tell me if} my returning to Spain or not. My going to Canada is not tied to a definite date, so I can first meet you in Paris, then you can let me know what you think about the proposition of returning to Spain.

Dear comrades it is very generous of you to ^{speaking} ~~spek~~ so highly of our work here, and to say that you are content, ^{and} ~~that in spite of~~ ^{the} all the difficulties we have here we are to ^{continue} ~~contine~~ our work. In view of your heroism ^{and} ~~and~~ your sacrifice and ^{Re} ~~your~~ strenuous effort you are making in your struggle it would be unspeakable on our part if we were to give up our efforts. Our deepest regret is only that we are not having such results as we would like. I have often feared that you may think that we are complaining too much about the conspiracy of silence in this country and the indifference of the masses to the deep ~~tragedy~~ of Spain. I have therefore asked comrade Louis Frank to write you a report of the insurmountable difficulties and odds he encountered in connection with the new film. He will tell you to what extent the Communist Party has poisoned everybody's mind against the CNT-FAI and even against the SIA. Moreover it is not only the Communist Party - the Labour Party is not much better. For proof of that is a pamphlet which I am sending you. You will

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see that it is the worst kind of an historic forgery ever gotten out. The epic contribution of the CNT-FAI to the 19th July and since are simply silenced as if they had not been in existence, and as if they had not been the very people who saved Spain from Fascism, and ~~has been~~ fighting fascism ever since. I cannot begin to tell you how indignant I feel over this outrage. If only I could get any of the papers to accept a reply to this ~~scourful~~^{scurrilous} boycott of you dear comrades; but there is no paper in this country who will take it. I could of course write for "Spain & The World" and our ~~papers~~^{papers} in the United States; but I would not like to do it without your consent, as you may feel that it will hurt your struggle to expose the miserable tactics and tricks of the labour movement in this country; but I can tell you that I saw fire when I read the miserable thing. All this conspiracy in the face of the sacrifices you are making is hard for me to bear than if I were sent to prison. At any rate I am sending you the pamphlet and I am also sending one to Martin.

Of course nothing will be done about a publication in English of Cervantes book. In point of fact there was a misunderstanding here between the publisher I had in mind and the man who was to do the new translation. The publisher did not tell him definitely that he would bring out the book in English; but simply said he might do so and nothing else.

We have determined to have a demonstration for the anniversary of July 19th. We hoped to be able to hold it at Trafalgar Square where an appeal for money could be made; but it seems that the Communist Party has again preceeded us. They have announced their meeting for the same day and at the same place, so we will have ours in Hyde Park. In connection with that we are also getting

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out a manifesto which of course we will distribute broadcast.

Anyway we are doing our best to keep up the interest in your struggle.

If we do not reach as many as we would like to, you will I am sure understand that it is not lack of effort on our part.

With fraternal greetings.

P.S. My article which appeared in "Spain & The World" I saw in the Soli so there if you have not received it "Spain & The World" containing it, it is hardly necessary to send it now.

Received the committee of
the Denim-salon Committee of
the D.A.L. Dept. circulated
dated June 24th. The bundle
is it is meant as, perhaps
informal. I do not see
what good it does
are not permitted to use
it in our press. cc

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[Letter, 19]38 July 5, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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SHAFTESBURY AVENUE

July 5th 38

LONDON, W.1

Dear H.W.

It is a long time between drinks since you wrote me. True I also did not write. But then you are in my debt. Or are you like all the ~~W~~others who refuse to pay debts? Anyhow here I am doing "good for evil" a "true Christian aren't I" as they say in England.

Dear Harry I had a great surprise yesterday. I was at a housewarming of a certain Dr Stella Churchill, a friend of mine and there ran into an American woman who almost fell off my neck. She told me she was a friend of Mr Harry Weinberger "whom you surely know". Surely know. I should say so. Her name is ~~Mite~~, or Mitle. I have always been rotten on names especially at affairs when one meets many people. Whatever the woman's name she told me you had become a great photographer. She suggested that you ought to come over to take my head. I promptly agreed with her about your coming over, not so much about my head. My it would be good to see you and talk about what was and is even if none of us know what is going to be. I cannot tell you how I yearn for my friends in America. This logging has become an ever present gnawing feeling that gives no peace.

I have definitely ^{decided} ~~decided~~ to sail for Canada. Perhaps my being so near the States may help to get a visa for me. Not that I am too optimistic about it. But I really have to get away from this damned frozen country. The longer I remain in England the less I feel at home here. Yes, I know Canada is as stolid as this country. Still, I am at least known on the American Continent. I am known only by few here and they do not give a damn.

You will be interested to know that Carlo Tresca and Margaret De Silver have offered to start a campaign for my return. I have consented that they should go ahead but that they should pledge nothing for me that I will not be able to keep. I have also asked Tresca to be sure to call together some of my friends for a talk about the best way to proceed to reach the heads and heart (neither very responsive) of Wash. Will you please get in touch with Tresca about the matter? I feel confident you will want to help.

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in some way. There is a hitch however it is that several friends have written me that Tresca readily offers to do things but never carries them through. What is your opinion? I certainly should hate to have the campaign started and ~~then~~ then be left hanging in the air. Please write me will you? You understand dear Harry that this about Tresca must remain entre nous. People talk a lot and T. maybe dependable. So I do not want it to become known that he is not considered reliable.

interest you. I inclose copies of some letters that will

Dear old scout write me soon like a dear.

Affectionately

E.G.

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Bottom of page.

you that the boy gave up medicine. He would have had the same heart-breaking experience to get on as a doctor as he now finds in whatever position he is looking for.

Regarding a life of Bakunin I am very sorry to say that

5th July 1938.

My dear Ben,

It was good to hear from you again after such a long time. You have no idea how I miss hearing from you as often as I used to hear from you in the past. The longer I live in England the more attached I grow to my friends in the States. I don't know why it is so difficult to make friends in this country. It is not that I have not met scores of people; but somehow meeting English people does not mean getting closer. Then those who are friends and respond whenever I need their help in our work for Spain, always leave a wall between us. I could no more think of phoning them up or ask them whether I could come for a visit, than I could do that with utter strangers. Anyway I can say truthfully that with the exception of Ethel Mannin the writer I feel alien with most of the people, though I have their address and even their telephone call. So you will understand why my old friends in the States grow dearer to me, and you and your are certainly among those friends.

I was terribly sorry to hear about Bob's predicament. I wonder whether he broke down owing to the frightful rush in America after material success. People there seem to think that they must live over and beyond their means and that they must not have less than anybody else - even their circle of friends. No wonder so many men break down in the United States. The frightful rush, hurry and grind makes too much attack on the nervous system. I hope fervently that the scheme you write me about - getting him into the country with Florence and the baby to live as near the soil and nature as possibly can be realised. Certainly that is the best means of building up one's energies and physique again. I can imagine how poor Florence is fretting. As to you and Ida I realise what a shock Bob's illness is to you. No less a shock was Nardy's decision to give up the study of medicine. Perhaps he came to see the dishonesty connected with the medical profession and how impossible it is to build up a practice unless one is willing to stuff his patients with all sorts of quack medicines that do everything but heal. If you read the *Critique* by Doctor *Wun*. That is certainly a tremendous indictment against the Medical profession and its corrupting effect. You and Ida should read the book. You will understand Nardy's decision better and not feel so unhappy about it. As to the difficulties of getting a job, dear Ben, the same difficulties applies to all trades and professions. There seems to be no exception, so it should not worry you that the boy gave up medicine. He would have had the same heart-

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18041

Marinov is not is no more equipped with the understanding of the flaming personality of Bakunin than is Netlau. In the last analysis he will have to use the Netlau material; but he will not be able to do more than Netlau has done, merely giving the works of Bakunin but never his personality. A great artist is needed for that - so great an artist as the German writer Ricardohuch. She wrote a marvelous life of the man, and personality of Bakunin. In her case the drawback was that she is a catholic and therefore not very sympathetic to his ideas, although she was most objective more so than Netlau or Marinov could possibly be.

I rather think that Kamanski's comes nearer to ~~be~~ having the passion to portray Bakunin's personality and ~~he~~ his naturally with his ideas. They are working very painstakingly on their job, and I hope that it might be the first worth while biography of the straggly petrel. In any event Marinov writing would have to be transcribed as he can only write in Russian, and I don't anyone in Chicago who would do a good job of the translation. The pamphlet he wrote was abominably translated - however I should not want to discourage him or the comrades who want to help Marinov.

About the Spanish situation. It is indeed heartbreaking. Never before has there been such a conspiracy to exterminate a whole people as in the case of Spain. The conspiracy is of a twofold nature. On the one side it is the determination of the fascist and imperialist countries to crush the Spanish people as such, and on the other hand is the deliberate conspiracy to exterminate our people the CNT-FAI and the SIA. In this conspiracy everybody outside of the anarchists are involved. The Labour Party, Trade Unions, Communists, Liberals, in fact everybody. In proof of that I am sending you a pamphlet gotten out by the communists under the auspices of the British Labour Party dealing with the Spanish situation. I have never read a more authentic historic forgery. According to the man who claims to be a socialist there is no such contingent of people in Spain as the CNT-FAI. He says that the socialists have driven out the fascists on the 19th July. I don't want to go into it - you will read it for yourself. You will then realize the dreadful odds our people in Spain are up against. It is not only Mussolini, Hitler and Franco; but also unfortunately the people who are supposed to speak on behalf of the workers. They hate the CNT with an implacable hatred and are doing all they can to undermine their position in Spain and if possible to crush them altogether - but they are counting without the great courage and fortitude of our comrades. True they have made many concessions and compromises. They are doing so every day; but underneath them all is the flaming spirit of the CNT-FAI which nothing on earth, except death, can tame. In point of fact our people are continuing the fight in spite of everything. They have pledged themselves to either win back their freedom and libertarian achievements or to die in their defence. I do not have to tell you that I am often in black depression and despair; but every letter we get from our comrades in Barcelona puts me to shame that I can doubt even for a moment that our people will not win. Certainly I know of no period in the social struggle in the world where a group of people consisting of no more than two and a half million still love liberty so intensely and passionately that they are willing to throw away their lives for it if it is to be. This then is the real situation as I know it and see it. So we outside of Spain must permit nothing to stop our efforts, or to doubt our comrades.. True we achieve very little

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929315

[Letter] 1938 July 5 [London to] Ben [Capes, St. Louis, Mo.] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

18042

here and elsewhere; but our comrades need every bit of material support they can get and it is up to us to give it to them never mind any other consideration.

Dear Ben I am enclosing copies of letters I have recently written. It will give you an idea how I feel and also that I am pretty determined to get to Canada this fall. Perhaps it is foolish of me to hope that being nearer America when in Canada, the friends who want to organise a campaign for my return to the States, may have a better chance than if I am so far away. So far the actual offer to do something is coming from Carlos Fresca and Margaret de Silver, who is now his wife. She has been the backer of the Civil Liberties Group for years and naturally has very important connections all over the country. The only trouble is that Fresca has a bad reputation. The people who have dealt with him have written me that he means to carry out what he undertakes; but he never does so. It would really be a calamity if he was to start a campaign for me and then drop it in the middle. The trouble is that I have no one else. I have however written to Roger Baldwin whether he would take it up again. He may.

My plans now are as follows:- I intend to go to Paris about the 20th August. The congress of the I.W.M.A. takes place the last week of that month. Of course there will be some of our Spanish comrades there, and I am hoping that they will consent to my returning to Spain for two weeks; but whether they do or not, I may have to go to Holland for a while to assist Sasha's collection of correspondence and other writings as well as his books. The International Institute for Social Research wants to gather that collection, and they are shipping all my boxes and trunks which I left in St Tropez and Nice at their expense to Amsterdam. I will have to go to assort them, as I do not intend them to have my correspondence with Sasha or his with me. I want they should remain with me until I am gone. Then early in October if everything goes alright I sail for Canada. Until then my address remains as on this letter head.

I suppose Ida has been so busy that she has not had time to do anything about the letters which I sent her. I also wanted her to see the St Louis comrades and tell them about my going to Canada, and the possibility of my entering the United States, and ask them whether they would contribute to the fund that comrade Freedman of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme is raising for my trip to Canada, and a possible tour as far as British Columbia.

My dear Ben, I wish life would be a little kinder to you and yours as it has been for quite some time. I think of you very often I thought of you on the 27th and the wonderful reunion we all had at my 60th birthday. That seems far removed now; but nevertheless it is among the few glorious recollections left to me.

I hate to be the harbinger of sad news; but we have lost two comrades last month. Van and Tom Keell. I felt the loss of Van very deeply because he was among the few comrades in America who really cared deeply about my life and who was wonderfully helpful. Now he is gone - such is the law of life.

With love to Ida, the children and yourself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 July 5, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman]. —
3 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.
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Stockholm, Sweden.

H. Rüdiger
jul 1: 1938

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE



London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, July 5th 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

My dear Helmut. I received your letter of the 26th of June and comrade Barr brought me yours of the 27th. Both ^{days} sad days for me because of the second anniversary of Sashas final plunge. He killed himself the night of the 27th, my 37th birthday and he died on the 28th. You can imagine how heart broken I feel on these days. I was therefore unable to write you my dear. I have pulled myself together again. For how is one to go on living in this terrible world unless one uses iron will to hold oneself in check? One must, especially when one realizes how insignificant are personal sorrows in the world turned into a slaughter house of tens of thousands. Still one cannot get away from personal loss. Last week we also lost two good comrades, Thomas Keell and comrade Van Valkenburgh in America. So you see my dear I had many reasons to feel sad and lonely. But life goes on. *in copy*

Thank you for the article. It is very good. I am sending you the English copy that you may see how translations should be made. I don't think your name should go on for two reasons. First because you may have to come to England some day so it is not advisable for your name to appear. Secondly the article is to be a manifesto issued by the CNT-FAI Bureau and the Anarchist Syndicalist Union. And it is not customary to sign such a thing. I hope you do not object. But better let me know.

You misunderstood Barr. He did not mean to say that he would make out the check to you only. But that he would make out a check in your name for another contribution. Of course he is willing the money should be used as you consider necessary. In as much as I have francs in Paris Barr wants me to send you a check for ten pounds, his contribution for the needs of our refugee comrades. The ~~am~~ amount in francs for ten pounds are 1780 francs. I am adding francs for the 25 shillings Sonia Edelman gave me for the comrade for whom the other money was sent. That is in francs 220. Finally I am adding of my own fifty francs as a contribution to Combat Syndicalist. In all 2040 francs for which I inclose a check on the Sigan Bank. I only wish it could be more. You can use Barrs contribution as you decide best. As regards the subscription lists sent me some months ago by the organisation for the relief of the refugees. I am not sure whether it was the Secretariat or that. I have not the record on hand. I still have two lists outstanding. Will send the money when I get it.

Believe me dear Helmut it will be better not to have an English Review at all than to have it in Kauderwelsch. There is enough prejudice against us without sending out printed

The Emma Goldman Papers

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printed matter in an atrocious language. We only are declared as illiterate people. Yes, I know Ethel MacDonald is in London with Guy Aldred who has come here to save the anarchist movement. I have not seen either one of them so I really don't know what they are doing nor do I care particularly.

We are organising a mass meeting in Hyde Park for Sunday the 17th. The Communists under many disguises are ~~are~~ holding one at Trafalgar Square the same day. They are celebrating the "War for Independence". We will stress the Spanish revolution and the part of the CNT-FAI. I would not be surprised if Vazquez would object to a separate affair. But I simply will not join the miserable Communist band. It is sad enough that our people in Barcelona are forced to cover up all the criminal Stalin gang are doing in Barcelona. Our comrades are funny if they were not so tragic. The ~~FAI~~ sends me a long Bulletin about the continued sabotage of the Communists which ~~that~~ is supposed to be "private" and then it appears almost verbatim in LIBERTY. I must say I cannot understand such procedure. Now comes a new thing the decree of the Government to take over all the work and receipts of the SIA. Not that this surprises me in the least. Participation in the government as you know is like stepping into a swamp it pulls your whole body down. Once our people compromised with the government they will have to go on doing so. In point of fact the decree must have been forced by the Communists who have begun to realise that the SIA is injuring their International Red Aid. Well, whatever it is if the government will really succeed in compelling the SIA under its wings I will not be able to continue to do any work for the SIA, nor will anyone else connected with me. I therefore have the very painful job of writing the comrades of the SIA what we here think of the decree. Not that we have achieved much. But we have declared that the SIA is nonpolitical. The moment the government will take it over it will become political to the extreme. It is a nice situation for us and especially for an old war horse like myself.

I am definitely coming to Paris about the middle of next month so I can see Mollie and Senia before they go away for their holiday for a month. Whether I will attend the Congress will depend on whether I can take active part in it. As to an English delegation since there is no representative and responsible organisation of an Anarcho-Syndicalist nature or even a living Anarchist group I cannot see how there can be an English delegation. But that is the affair of the Secretariat. I can come only as an individual. If that is not acceptable I will not attend except as a visitor. Its really not important one way or another. What is important to me is to get back to Spain once more. I am waiting to hear from Vazquez. In any event I hope to see him in Paris. From the circular letter I received signed by Mascarell I see that no one outside of the D.A.S. and the Swedish organisation have responded to the call for the Congress. I wonder why.

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[Letter, 19]38 July 5, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
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3

I see by the announcement of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH RELIEF? Communist managed that there is to be an International Congress in Paris the 24th of July. I wonder what the Spanish Delegation will do, and the SIA? I see that the C.G.T. is going to participate. Will the Combat take part? Perhaps because there is after all some kind of ~~anarchist~~ an Anarchist movement in France the International Conference may reckon with it. Here we tried to get a hearing at the ~~Emergency~~ Emergency Conference but the Communists simply silenced the fact that two delegates from the CNT Bureau and the SIA were in the Hall and had demanded to speak. Frankly I am not sorry because I loath the jesuitic gang and do not trust them for a moment.

I don't know whether I wrote you in my last letter about a brochure called the Drama of Spain by a Spanish Marxist which is the worst historic forgery I have read. I am sending you a copy. I am also sending one to Vazquez. It ought to be exposed because the whole brochure is silent on the part of the CNT-FAI and makes it appear that the Socialists and Communists had saved Catalonia and Aragon from the military and Fascist conspiracy. The conspiracy of silence about the CNT-FAI is wide spread. Yesterday I attended a gathering of a hundred people, not one of them knew anything about the CNT-FAI, collectivisation or anything about their contribution to the struggle. It is heart breaking to me.

Goodby dear Helmut. Kind greetings to Dora.

Affectionately

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 July 5 [London to] Tom Christy, [Bristol?, England?] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23980

July 5th 38

Dear Christy. You are that with a vengeance to send me a gift when you are hard pressed. Who else but an incurable romantic would do that? I have not yet but I will soon drink to your health.

My dear your handwriting is worse than mine. For bad as mine is I do not run my small e's with my d's. You gave me a frightful shock when I read "Auntie croached when Chris died" It was did, of course. But it looked very much like died. Really my heart rushed to my throat. Anyhow never again kick about my handwriting.

Dearest Tommy, I sold Bon Esprit, or rather threw it away for half the cost. Then like a fool I did not change the francs into pounds and dollars so again lost about 40/00 on the deal. Now I have little money left and no roof over my head. Anyhow Bon Esprit belongs now to a Belgian family and is not available. Mrs Sandstrom does not take roomers. In fact she never did. It was only to help me out. At present she would not even be able to do that because it has become extremely strict about foreigners and the Sandstroms could not be bothered with the police, registration and so forth. However with the present exchange of the pound it ought to be easy to go to any of the cheaper pensions, perhaps the Sports Club. In any event it is necessary to write for accommodations because July and August are the most busy months and St Tropez packed to capacity.

With much love,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 5 [London to] Lillian [Kisliuk, Washington, D.C.] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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17527

5th July 1938.

My dear Lillian,

It was indeed a red letter day to hear from you after more than a year. I often wondered about your silence; but I understand that your life must be full with work and interest that do not leave you time to write often. I admit that one misses letters from ones friends, so afr away; but one does not consider silence as a indication of forgetfulness.

I am glad to know that your life is so full and that you are finding expression in what you wanted most to do in your work. Few people can boast of that in this mad world of ours. You say that Phil is working with you. Does that mean that he has given up his store. I should say that he too would prefer to be with you a d the work than in commercial pursuits, which is more difficult in the present poverty strick -on America than it used to be years ago.

I am enclosing copy of a letter I have just dictated to a v r/ dear comrade, Ben Capes. It will tell you everything about Spain, my feeling about it myself, and my plans. I realise it is foolish to pain much in advance. The whole world is daneing on a volcano, and may go up in smoke any moment; but while ones lives one has to cling to hope - life without it would be impossible.

I have no idea what seven dollars you are referring to or what you collected it for. As to sending it here do so by personal sheque. I can deposit it here or in France Parks. If it is for anything connected for Spain I hope you will send it soon. Our people need every penny one can collect and we cannot boast of having raised very much money this year, though we worked terribly hard.

I am very gald to know that your father is still on deck. It is amazing how some of our old comrades continue in the interests when there are so few young ones which can quickly follow equal them.

I wonder if you and your father know that comrade Freedman of the Freie Arbitar Stimme is trying to raise a fund for my trip to Canada and a possible tour through Canada as far as Vancouver, and whether you and your father can raise something towards that fund. Naturally I am hoping that friends will succeed in getting me a visa for America - then whatever money is now raised will certainly be replaced. Afetr all I am known in the States and I feel if I could get in there I could do more in a month than I can here in a year.

Well its all in the lap of the gods. I will meet what-

ever comes.

Remember me fraternally to your father and all the comrades and friends who still remember me. Love to the children. Affectionate greetings to Phil and yourself.

Over

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 5 [London to] Lillian [Kisliuk, Washington, D.C.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Page 1. I have a rotten memory for names so I cannot recall
your name. I am sure I would know her if I saw her. I
will try to give her greetings and give her mine.

Yours truly,
Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925534

[Letter] 1938 July 5, Boston [to] Emma G[oldman], London / Rose [Pesotta].—
2 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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TELEPHONE HARBOR 2000-7

17361
PHILIP KRANER, MANAGER

Joint Board Cloak, Shirt and Dressmakers Union

REPRESENTING LOCALS 12, 23, 29, 40, 56, 73 AND 80

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

OFFICE: 25 LAFRANCE STREET
BOSTON, MASS.

July 5, 1938.

Miss E. G. Colton,
21 Frith St.,
Shaftesbury Ave.,
London, W. 1. England.

Dearest Emma:

I am answering yours of May 24th. The reason for the long delay is because I was constantly on the go and hardly had a chance to sit down to answer my mail. I am doing it now, piece meal.

No, I was not peeved because you suggested the necessity of a committee. On the contrary I welcomed your suggestion and began to explore the ground. After several attempts to reach Trasca, I learned the other day that Trasca is meeting with some people and will probably let us know in the near future when a meeting will be held.

I was in Washington, but unfortunately it was during the "Decoration" weekend and everybody was out of town. Hapgood came in and we both decided to check on who of the Washington people would be willing to serve on the committee. He is now approaching them. Incidentally, Powers Hapgood told me that he has already had lunch recently with Roger Baldwin. Roger explained to him what hardships he had to encounter in Washington with "Madame Secretary" and the others in your behalf.

Come what may, we will do our best, and if we fail it will not be through our negligence, but through the hostility of some people in the higher "Brackets" in Washington.

I am planning to be in New York this weekend and will see Trasca. It is too bad that he constantly gets into the press in a most unfavorable light. On Saturday the Times carried a news item that he had declared himself bankrupt. Moreover, our people are not on too friendly terms with him.

You must have heard about "Van". I saw him a few days before, meeting him accidentally on 14th Street. He told me he was going to the hospital and asked me for a small loan which I gave him. That was on June 21st. On June 24th he passed away. I am told that he used to get lost for weeks, getting into the same stages as "Hippolyte" and it is for his own good that he passed away on time.

The "Young Comrades" are very much in earnest about challenge. There was a conference in New York where I was present and gave them all the suggestions you mention in your letter and my own as well, which were taken very much in earnest.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925534

[Letter] 1938 July 5, Boston [to] Emma G[oldman], London / Rose [Pesotta]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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TELEPHONE HARBOR 8006-7

17362
PHILIP KRANER, HARBOR

Joint Board Cloak, Skirt and Dressmakers Union

REPRESENTING LOCALS 12, 32, 38, 48, 58, 72 AND 80

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

OFFICE: 28 LAGRANGE STREET
BOSTON, MASS.

July 5, 1938.

-2-

Unfortunately, none of these young people are journalists; and as Abe told me later that Journalism is definitely a profession, and that he hopes to learn as much as he could from the older comrades. Do give him some of your advice and constructive criticism. I am sure he will not reject it. On the contrary, he will benefit by it.

I am going to New York Thursday, and expect to meet the people we both know. I shall let you know the result.

I am very much interested in the latest developments in Spain. What contacts do you have now, and what are the comrades planning to do? The press, even the "Yellow Sheet" in this country cannot fail to mention the fact that a C.N.T. membership and leadership are responsible for the continuous defeat of the Fascists, and there is quite a marked interest in the movement here.

I will let you know the results of our conference in New York.

My love to you,

Rose

RP/MSG
STH&AU
14965

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 5, East Gloucester, Mass. [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Edward Dahlberg — 2 p. ; 26 x 18 cm.

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19677

July 5, 1938

Dear Emma Goldman:

Many thanks for your very good letter. It was distressing not to receive the other one you had written me. I told Stieglitz that you spoken of him and he was very pleased and mentioned having seen you last at the Provincetown Theater in Washington Square. We spoke of the war ordeal and your brave and spirited protest against it.

Some two weeks ago or more I mailed three of my books to you. I sent them, I should add, with some misgivings. Today I feel so remote from them. I never look at them, for there are so many mistakes in feeling, so many perilous crudities of expression and tone that it would be a painful experience for me to read them. They were honest books and really felt but so wrongly recorded. I wish now, whenever I happen to think about them, that I had waited. When Swift was an old man he once picked up something he had written years before and cried, "My God! what genius I had then." But as I look back at such waste of material and badly imagined experience I can only say, "How stupid I was!"

So whatever you may think be sure I will not mind. I despair when I think of the modern American novel and the drab little figure that supinely passes through it and who as robot protagonist demands our aggressive attention and sympathy. He does not get much, it is true, for who can weep or laugh over this pasty and rudimentary hero, with his hovel mind, his latrine emotions and his pathological sexual tropisms. I cannot help but feel that the American novel, without sky, moon, stars, grass, is a forerunner of some dreadful holocaust. We cannot make a carnage of the human heart and mind as we have done on a so-called ideal plane without suffering a parallel slaughter of man on the lower one, the beast and jungle world we live in. So that some day man will break out, from the very pages of the Novel, as he will do from the caverns of the cheap little movie hades and the whole underground death cities and make blood flow, if only to slake his thirst for color!

Believe me, it was heartening to be sure that you are not cause-ridden and that you have not adopted slogans as substitute for vision, and more, that you have not wasted yourself down to the ugly dimensions of the average political mind. I think that the unkempt saviorism of the type radical is as perilous to human growth and flowering as anything we have had in the monotonous history of predaceous man. How to struggle for men so that the effort does not destroy the very enchantments of tenderness and pity that one so craves. How to continue the quest, eye even for truths, and not become an evangelist, a little sorry and pathetic oneself! These are the things I ask myself and they are not transitory problems but vast eternities and puzzles which I will never know. But I will continue asking so that at least I may not drop into pathological pitfalls.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 5, East Gloucester, Mass. [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Edward Dahlberg. — 2 p. ; 26 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19670

2

Only in the past year have I come to understand what Thoreau meant when he refused even to have principles! And it is so, it seems to me, that one can finally acknowledge only the imperious demands of the senses, the fingers, the eyes, and the brain and that doctrine can never be a substitute for these.

I am still at work on the Bourne essay. Did you ever read his UNTIMELY PAPERS. The title is still deeply relevant to our own period. They were his war papers, unfinished, because of death, but they have foreshadowings of a major personality. That he already was, but he did not have time to profoundly ripen. Bourne, as you doubtless know, was greatly drawn to radical emotion and philosophy. THE LEAVES OF GRASS and the Christian Anarchism of Peter Kropotkin leavened his temperament. Both of these men, finally ideologues rather than poets in the truest sense, had much in common. Both were rank optimists, a little abject in their faith in men. Poor Peter Kropotkin, thirsting like a Karamazov for brotherhood, pity and love, becoming a "pro-war communist". Could a man who despaired more as Lear did have been so wretchedly optimistic! I admire Kropotkin and he has much to teach, but I beware too!

Please let me know whether you have gotten the books. And above all, do let me hear from you when you can.

Meantime, accept as always, my warmest regards and admiration.

Edward Dahlberg

35 Mt. Pleasant Avenue,
East Gloucester, Mass.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929017

[Letter] 1938 July 6, Amsterdam [to] Emma Goldman, London / Annie Adama v[an] Scheltema-Kleefstra. — 1 p. ; 28 x 18 cm.

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17512

Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis
International Institute for Social History
Institut International d'Histoire Sociale
Internationales Institut für Sozialgeschichte

Directie: Prof. Dr. H. W. Pothmann



Klovenburgstraat 254 - Amsterdam-G.

A.v.S./B.M.

Tel. 24400

6th. July 1938.

Mrs. Emma Goldman,
c/o. Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista,
21 Frith Street,
Shaftesbury Avenue,
London W.1.

Dear Mrs. Goldman,

Thank you for your letter of July 1st. Naturally you can send us all your cases that are in the South of France. Later on you will be able to examine them all, ourself in Amsterdam and to indicate which are to be unpacked and which not. That always is quite easy here. As soon as your friends would be ready to send the cases, will you please warn me, so that I may inform our forwarding agents?

We really are of opinion that there will be no objection to your coming to Holland, on condition that you promise not to lecture during your stay. The Institute has good connections, which no doubt could be used in your case.

What you did write about growing Fascism in Holland seems to me rather fantastic. I take it that Mr. Leon Kramer got some very pessimistic information. The truth is, that at the latest election the Fascist party only got 4% of the votes, and I do not have the impression that there is any real growth. Should they have increased by now to 5% there is still no reason to feel uneasy about the matter. We in Holland are of opinion, that on the whole, Fascism does not go very well with the Dutch character. So I don't think that you have to be uneasy about this.

I am very much looking forward to your coming to Amsterdam, and I will gladly do all I can as to make you feel at home.

Sincerely Yours,

Annie Adama v. Scheltema-
Kleefstra.

Librarian.

694

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] July 6, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Roger Baldwin.—
2 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

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18226

31 Union Sq.,
New York
July 6th

Dearest E. G.,—

I cannot believe our last exchange of letters was over a year ago, for I have been hearing of you so regularly from one friend or another that I feel as if I had been in touch with you pretty recently. Your coming and goings have been hard to keep straight, but I have known pretty well what you have been up to. Many of your friends have taken up with me, too, the matter of your reentry. I have had to tell each of them what I tell you, that there isn't a chance of it in the present temper of the Administration, save for the sole possibility that somebody might interest Eleanor Roosevelt personally. She has been spoken to and took it up with Frances Perkins, who says, and with justification, that your readmission means the sacrifice of the legislation the Department has been working for four years and hasn't yet been able to get through. The bill passed the House and was held up in the Senate by fierce opposition from the Hearst press and the professional anti-alienists. The bill would permit to stay in the USA some 3000 persons now deportable who have American-born wives and children, where Miss Perkins found them of good character and not guilty of crimes or anarchistic or communistic beliefs. I'm sure we can't get around this obstacle, but try again by any method you can, and I'll help. I cannot go to Frances again on it. Cummins has nothing to do with it, and the State Dept. is in such matters subordinate to the Labor Dept. So you come back to Frances whatever way you go at it. And Frances comes back to the opposition to her and her bill. Tresca, as an alien himself, is in no position to do anything, and Margaret De Silver, who is on our Civil Liberties board, has no machinery to use except ours. So there you are, dear Emma.

But do come to Canada. Anyhow those who love you can get over the border, for personal visits, and even for meetings in some border cities like Windsor and Niagara Falls. Yes, I forgot to answer your question, a new commissioner of immigration has been appointed, a J. L. Houghteling, a relative of the president's, and a very gentlemanly weak sister. He's no Mac Cormack, who was in his MacDiavellian way a genius.

I, too, am absorbed in Spain in my spare time from the Civil Liberties, for I am chairman of the relief committee which has raised over half a million in cash and almost as much in supplies. The Communists and Socialists are both on it, working in harmony, and many others, though the so-called libertarians, mostly Spanish, prefer to run their own show, cooperating in joint public meetings. We have little trouble with the Communists here. They are

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[Letter, 1938] July 6, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Roger Baldwin. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18227

as tame as cats. The tragedy of Spain is the tragedy of us, all confronted by Fascism. Now democracy, let alone libertarianism, is to survive is a problem for which I see no present answer. We here are in the best position to save what we have of it and extend it by working-class organization, but even our favorable remoteness from Fascist nations does not leave us free from the same strife that marks Europe. It is diluted and more covert, but it has the same elements which nature will produce the same results.

I go on in my old ways because they are all I know, and they are satisfying by their contacts and their activities. I get the best sides of people who care for their fellowmen, and being above partisan struggle, we are not beset by warring philosophies. I am teaching too at the New School. My new wife whom I married two years ago, following the years of separation of Elaine Doherty and me, produced a daughter only two months ago, — a somewhat tardy venture for me, but one of those defies to the years that prolong one's sense of youth.

My affectionate greetings to you ever. You are always an inspiration by the very tenacity of your uncompromising loyalty to what you've always stood by. I couldn't live or work like that, because it's not my temper, but I relish the rare souls who can.

ever yours,

Roger Baldwin

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 July 7 [London to] Cecil A. Franklin, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.
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July 7th 38

Mr Cecil A. Franklin
George Routledge and Sons Ltd.
68674 Carter Lane
E.C.4.

Dear Mr Franklin.

I am sending you my personal copy of NATIONALISM AND CULTURE by Mr Rudolf Rocker as there is no other copy in England. Please take care of it and when you are through send it back by your messenger, not by mail.

You will see on the cover of the book Mr Bertrand Russell's opinion of Rocker's book. You will find Mr Rocker's Preface to the English edition. This is not to be taken as the edition in England. The work was written in German. That is why Mr Rocker speaks of an "English edition".

I hope you will be impressed by the work as nearly everyone is and that your House will consider its publication in this country. May I say the American publisher does not have the British rights.

Sincerely yours

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 7, Barcelona [to] Emma G[oldman], London / Lucía Sánchez Saornil. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18780

Barcelone le 7 Juillet 1938.

**Solidaridad Internacional
Antifascista**

Consejo General

Emma G. Golton
21, Trith Street - Shaftsbury
Avenue.
LONDON (Inglaterra)

Chers camarades:

Jusqu'à présent, et avec la compréhension des circonstances politiques, propres de votre pays, qui font qu'en regard de la correspondance qui vient de l'Espagne avec nous, vous avez eu le point de départ pour nos relations, Paris.

Maintenant nous vous informons que par décision de notre nature intérieure, notre Secrétariat s'est mis d'accord pour que à partir de cette date soit annulée l'adresse de Paris que vous utilisiez pour fixer le point de transmission -Marseille, et ainsi que la correspondance a:

J. CAMARA PIRES
40, La Canebière
Marseille.

et avec l'enveloppe intérieure à l'adresse du Conseil Général. De même manière que la correspondance vous pouvez nous envoyer la ou des articles seulement, de divers documents, paquets et tout ce qui d'après vous puisse nous intéresser.

Dans l'attente des relations plus étroites entre nos sections, recevez nos salutations bien affectueuses et fraternelles.

POUR LE CONSEIL GENERAL DE S.I.A.
Lucía Sánchez Saornil-Secrétaire.

**S. I. A.
CONSEJO GENERAL**

Nº 228

Sede 9-12-38



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698

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929042

[Letter, 19]38 July 8 [London to Pedro Herrera, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.
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July 8th 38

Lieber, guter Kmarad.

Da ich die Gelegenheit habe Dir meine Autobiography durch
Dr Grace Griffith, eine Englische Bekannte zu schicken, so tue ich
es obgleich ich no keine Zeit hatte die Kurzung vorzunehmen.
Ich werde dieselbe in einem andern Exemplar vornehmen und Dir dann
dann ausführlich schreiben welche Seiten weggelassen werden können
ohne dem den persönlichen und historischen Wert zu verlieren.
Das Werk von unserm Kmaraden A.B. hast Du ja wohl erhalten. Ich
habe es via Paris geschickt. Hoffentlich geht es nicht verloren
wie das Exemplar meiner Autobiography ich voriges Jahr Martin
Sante. Bitte sende mir eine Zeile mit Dr Griffith. Ich schreibe
Dir nächste Woche ausführlich.

Kamaradschaftliche Grusse and Senttilen und alle
andere Kmaraden.

Herliche und kamaradschaftliche Grusse and
Dich. , Salud.

699

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London, July 14th 1861



I have written Routledge and Sons about your book and have sent them the appreciations you letter prior to the last container. They expressed

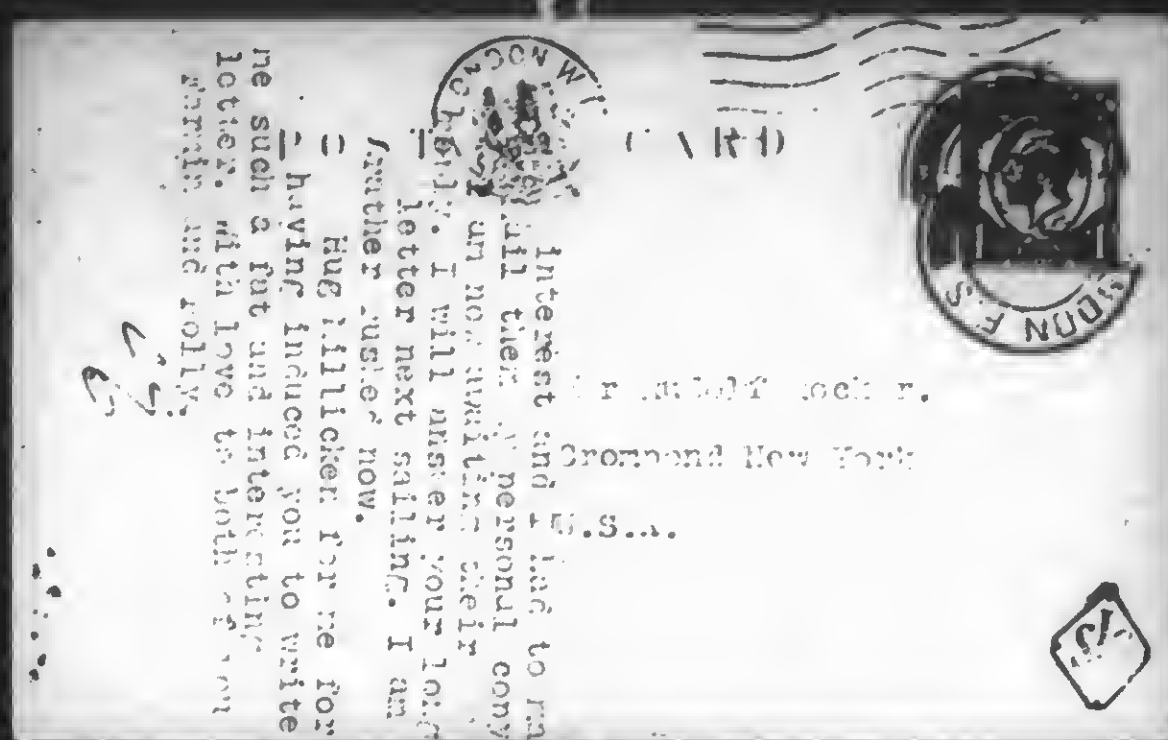
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700

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]38 July 8, London [to] Rudolf Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 8 [London to Aldous] Huxley, [Hollywood, Calif.] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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17481

8th July, 1938.

Dear Mr. Huxley,

the enclosed

You will see by the date of this letter that it was written a week ago. An unfortunate oversight sent the letter addressed to your brother, care of Faber and Faber. When I called Faber and Faber on the phone I learned much to my surprise that the letter they received was not for you but for Professor Julian Huxley. I have waited all the week to hear from your brother whether the letter reached him and whether he had forwarded it to you. I dare say he may be away on his holiday. I have therefore decided to send the letter again, this time to your California address. I am awfully sorry about the mix-up, but I know you will forgive.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930424

[Letter] 1938 July 8, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera.—
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EDITORIAL

19291

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BIBLIOTECA DE LITERATURA REVOLUCIONARIA
PEQUEÑA BIBLIOTECA SOCIOLÓGICA

Barcelona 8. de Juli

de 1938.

Werte Genossin Emma:

Ich besitze verschiedene deiner Briefe, welche ich hiermit beantworte.

In Bezug auf den Inhalt deines werten Briefes vom 10. Juni, lege ich Wert darauf, festzustellen, dass der Irrtum durch diejenigen verursacht sein dürfte, die die Umschläge für die Korrespondenz an dich fertigstellen, weshalb dieselbe an die alte Adresse, die du hattest, gelangt sein wird. Dies wird ausgeschaltet werden, indem wir die Karteikarte vernichten, in welcher diese Adresse verzeichnet war.

Zu meiner grossen Freude erhielten wir das Buch von Berkman, welches du sandest. Ich teilte dir den Erhalt nicht früher mit, da ich erwartete, einen Übersetzer zu finden und dir mitteilen zu können, dass die Arbeiten bereits begonnen hätten. Heute kann ich dieses tun und teile dir mit, dass wir vor zwei Tagen das Buch einem guten Literaten übergeben haben, welcher, dauere es auch einige Zeit, eine gewählte Übersetzung ins Spanische wird fertigstellen können. Natürlich haben wir ihn beauftragt, das Buch komplett zu übersetzen, entschlossen, den Text, den unser Genosse Berkman schrieb, ohne Kürzungen zu veröffentlichen.

Unsere Zeitschrift TIMON, wird binnen drei oder vier Tagen erscheinen. Sobald sie erscheint, werde ich dir einige Exemplare zusenden, damit du sie kennenlernenst und uns deine Meinung über dieselbe geben kannst. Ich bedauere es sehr, dass du nicht über genügend Zeit verfügst, um uns deine wertvolle Mitarbeit zur Verfügung stellen zu können. Trotzdem, entschlossen, dass dein Name in derselben figuriert, habe ich für die zweite Nummer der Zeitschrift den Artikel, den du über Aronstadt schriebst, in die Setzerei gegeben und dessen Übersetzung uns der Genosse Martin Gudell vermittelt hat.

In Bezug auf die Probleme, die du in Hinsicht auf die Arbeit der S.I.A. in England aufwirfst, nehme ich an, dass die Genossin Lucia: Generalrat der S.I.A. dir bereits ihre Meinung übermittelt haben wird, da sie es ist, in dessen Bereich diese Probleme gehören. Ich interveniere nicht unmittelbar in den Angelegenheiten der S.I.A. und kann lediglich Meinungen äussern und ihnen mit meinen Ratschlägen, wenn sie dieselben ersuchen, zur Seite stehen.

In Bezug auf die Angelegenheiten C.N.T.-F.A.I., vertraue ich darauf, dass die Antwort, die Mariano und ich dir vor einigen Tagen zusandten, bereits in deinen Händen ist; in derselben ist die Antwort auf die Fragen enthalten, die du stellst.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 8, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera. —
 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Ich schreibe dich, in deinem Namen den Genossen Pedro
 nicht mit dem Namen, den du mir gegeben hast, sondern
 mit dem Namen, den du mir gegeben hast, mit dem Namen
 den du mir gegeben hast, mit dem Namen, den du mir
 gegeben hast, mit dem Namen, den du mir gegeben hast.

Gute Nacht fuer jetzt und in Erwartung deiner
 Antwort

P. Herrera

Herrera

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[Letter] 1938 July 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / D. Muigo. —
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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FEDERACION IBERICA DE JUVENTUDES LIBERTARIAS

COMITÉ PENINSULAR

TELÉFONO 10882

SECRETARÍA GENERAL

GRABADOR ESTEVE, NÚM. 4 - VALENCIA

EMMA GOLDMAN

Barcelona-9-7-1938.

Estimada compañera: Salud.

Es deseo de este Comité Peninsular de Juventudes Libertarias de España, ponerse en estrecha relación con todas las Juventudes afines de los diferentes países.

Como ignoramos si ahí en Inglaterra existen esas juventudes afines a nuestro movimiento, te enviamos la adjunta Circular, esperando que de existir, se la remitas a ellas por el conducto más seguro a tu alcance.

Sabemos que existen en ésa, las Juventudes Independen Labour Party y que son de tendencia marxista, simpatizando con la corriente Troskista.

También sabemos que existe la Revolutionary Yourth Federación, pero desconocemos a qué tendencia pertenece, lo que quisieramos nos informaras para los efectos oportunos.

Con el fin de evitar que los informes y cartas que nos envíes pasen por la censura que en España hay establecida, todo el material que por correspondencia nos envíes, lo mandarás al Delegado permanente que tenemos en París, el cual se encargará de transmitirlo a nosotros por conducto directo y seguro.

La siguiente: **BUREAU D'INFORMATION ET DE PRESSE**

28, Boul' Saint-Denis
PARIS-X'

En espera de tu atenta y fraternal contestación, quedamos tuyos y de la causa revolucionaria



POR EL COMITÉ PENINSULAR

EL SECRETARIO GENERAL

[Signature]

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 11, London [to] Luc[í]a Sánchez Saornil, Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — 5 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

9
F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 11 de Julio de 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Lucía Sánchez Saornil,
Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista,
BARCELONA.



Estimada camarada:

Hemos tenido el gusto de recibir tu grata carta de fecha 27 de Junio ppdo., que precisamente fué escrita el mismo día en que cumplí los 69 años.

Como podrás ver, ya van pasando los años por mí, y si no fuese por mi apasionada fe en vuestra lucha, probablemente mis esfuerzos e ideas acusarían cierto declive debido al cansancio de los años; pero no podré resignarme a ello mientras tu y los demás camaradas continuéis bregando en la desigual lucha en que estáis empeñados.

He dado curso al recibo que me has enviado y confío que estas autoridades fiscales nos reintegren las 16 libras que habíamos depositado con ellas.

Para nosotros hubiese sido mucho más satisfactorio si hubiéramos estado en situación de no formular cargo alguno a la S.I.A., en concepto de gastos; pero en vista de las circunstancias agradecemos tu conformidad al cargo del 50% que te tenemos comunicado.

En cuanto al donativo para la Independent Labour Party, deseo aclararte que no tiene relación con vuestra posición. Se basa únicamente en el hecho de que, según nos han asegurado, los 41 niños recogidos en su guardería vienen de padres que pertenecen a la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Siendo así que la I.L.P. ha venido soportando el sostenimiento de estos niños a un costo de 125 libras al mes, estimamos justo el año pasado destinar la suma de 50 libras del importe que habíamos recaudado en donativos, para ayudar al citado organismo en sus gastos en el sostenimiento de la guardería, donativo este que también creímos se debería hacer extensivo este año. En consecuencia, hemos enviado a la I.L.P. un cheque por 50 libras, lo que esperamos merezca vuestra conformidad.

En una de mis últimas cartas os informaba de la visita que me había hecho Fenner Brockway, Secretario de la I.L.P., para solicitarme os escribiese a ver si a vosotros os sería posible contribuir un importe fijo mensual destinado al sostenimiento de los 41 niños bajo su protección. Nos hizo saber que el fondo de que disponen

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 11, London [to] Luc[ía] Sánchez Saornil, Barcelona / Emma Goldman.— 5 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

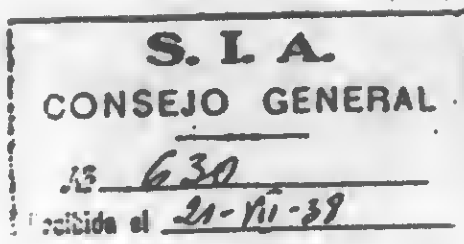
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F.A.I.

A.I.T.

C.N.T.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LABOUR
AND REGIONAL COMMITTEES IN EUROPE
AND THE MEDITERRANEAN



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- 2 -

quedará agotado durante Agosto o Septiembre, y de no recibir alguna ayuda económica, bien de la S.I.A. o de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., se verán obligados a entregar los niños al "National Committee for Spanish Relief", o sea la organización que se encarga de traer aquí a los niños vascos y cuida de los 4.000 que vinieron en total. Créeme que me apena tener que escribirte esto, cuando sé las numerosas y urgentes obligaciones que ya pesan sobre vosotros; pero nosotros aquí no estamos en situación de poder resolver nada sobre el asunto en la ausencia de recursos adecuados, y por eso os presento el problema tal y como se encuentra, de forma que vosotros podáis decidir los que tengáis por conveniente.

La película a que te refieres ha llegado ya, con el compañero Frank, quien hace que se encuentra aquí cosa de un mes, tropezando con los mismos obstáculos que yo he encontrado durante el tiempo que llevo en ésta. Más de tener en cuenta que la mayoría de los organismos que trabajan por España están dominados por el P.C., y fuera de su círculo es casi imposible desarrollar actividad alguna, sobre todo si parte de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. o S.I.A.

Veo que estáis ocupados en la preparación de otra película, la que confío no tarde mucho en ser terminada. Si la que trajo Frank hubiese llegado antes, a principios de año, nuestra Oficina hubiera podido hacer algún uso de ella; pero en esta época del año de plena vacación nada se puede hacer.

Ahora esperamos que Martín Gudell envíe la negativa de la película para hacer una de 16 m.m., lo que esperamos haga sin dilación alguna a Perpignan, a donde irá a recogerla el compañero Frank, a fin de preparar la nueva con tiempo suficiente para que yo pueda llevarla al Canadá en mi próxima visita. Considero esto de suma importancia, por lo que te ruego intereses a Martín Gudell que se de prisa y mande cuanto antes la referida negativa.

Mis deseos de volver a España son grandes y vuestras manifestaciones de que estaríais contentos que fuese me llenan de satisfacción. Ahora me falta recibir la opinión de los camaradas Vázquez y Herrera. De todas maneras, yo estaré en París alrededor del 15 de Agosto, cuando pienso entrevistarme con la Delegación española al Congreso de la A.I.T., y allí se podrá decidir definitivamente si he de ir a España o no.

He leído con sumo interés la Circular No.13 dirigida por la S.I.A. a todos la Consejos nacionales y Comités de organización, y el decreto a que la misma se refiere e imposiciones que representa, nos ha causado una pésima impresión. Estamos casi seguros que detrás de dicho decreto está el P.C. en España. Evidentemente no pueden soportar que la S.I.A. haya adquirido tal preponderancia en todas partes. Como comprenderás, ellos han de temer que la S.I.A. haga competencia al organismo de ellos, que hasta ahora venía disfrutando de un completo monopolio. Además la organización del P.C. recaudaba fondos para toda clase de fines y en nombre de diferentes causas, tales como el caso Sacco y Vanzetti, una huelga general en Kentucky, Norteamérica, el caso Mooney y muchos otros.

./...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 11, London [to] Luc[ía] Sánchez Saornil, Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — 5 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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- 3 -

Consiguieron recaudar importes considerables con estas campañas; pero camaradas de América me han dicho que muy poco del dinero fué a parar a manos de aquellos en cuyo nombre fué conseguido. Naturalmente, la S.I.A. constituirá un obstáculo para el P.C., y sin duda por ello han pedido que pase al control del Gobierno. Hace gracia una de las razones que aducen de que se evitarían prácticas poco escrupulosas si las actividades de la S.I.A. fuesen controladas por el Gobierno, y no conozco organización de carácter privado que pueda llegar a los extremos de un Gobierno, y como quiera que la S.I.A. está administrada por camaradas cuyos esfuerzos están encaminados primordialmente a ayudar a nuestros semejantes en España, víctimas de la fiera fascista, es absurdo alegar que el Gobierno podría administrar los fondos de mejor manera. Tememos que si el Gobierno llega a hacerse cargo de las actividades de la S.I.A. en España y fuera de ella, tal medida contribuirá a apagar gran parte del fervor de muchos camaradas; y francamente no se si la Sección inglesa podría seguir su trabajo si tal medida llega a ponerse en práctica, pues si bien comprendemos que a vosotros os ha sido impuesto por la fuerza de las circunstancias, nosotros aquí en conciencia no podríamos trabajar por un Gobierno que en sus 13 puntos declara absolutamente que viene a introducir aquellas faltas que el 19 de Julio vino a destruir. Además, la S.I.A. fué constituida como un organismo apolítico y sin partido y desde el momento en que el Gobierno tome posesión de ella perderá esta virtud, y considerando el asunto bajo todos los aspectos, no puedo concebir como la S.I.A. podrá consentir su sometimiento al control del Gobierno, pues triunfe o no, la S.I.A., camaradas, es cosa vuestra, creada por vuestro propio esfuerzo, y debe ser defendida con todo el ardor que nuestro cariño nos proporcione.

Hace muchísimo tiempo que nuestros camaradas de SPAIN AND THE WORLD no tienen noticias de los niños de la colonia MASNOV, que ellos contribuyen a soportar, cosa que les extraña, pues a fin de seguir solicitando donativos es preciso mantener vivo el interés de los contribuyentes, y eso sólo puede hacerse por medio de noticias e informes acerca de la marcha de la colonia; el estado de los niños; fotografías de ellos, y, si posible, cartas de ellos mismos. Este material contribuiría a mantener activo el interés e induciría a nuestros camaradas, tanto aquí como en América, a continuar su ayuda en favor de dicha colonia en Masnov. Ruegote, pues, prestes atención a este asunto, y procures que se nos mande este material sin interrupción. Otra cosa que deseo consultarte con respecto a la repetida colonia es la siguiente: Tenemos una amiga aquí, que se llama Grevelle Foster. Ha estado en España varias veces -yo me encontré ahí con ella en 1936- y no teniendo nada que hacer hasta el mes de Octubre, desearía ocupar este tiempo al cuidado de la colonia de SPAIN AND THE WORLD en Masnov, si es posible que vuelva a España. No desea que se le pague nada, y ella abonaría sus gastos de viaje. Dime si sería factible poder complacer los deseos de esta amiga.

Encárgote de nuevo la mayor prisa en la preparación del material y película, de forma que esté listo antes de mi salida para el Canadá, y con el cariño de siempre te saluda fraternalmente,

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 11, London [to] Luc[ía] Sánchez Saornil, Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — 5 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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Montag den 11ten July.

P.S. Liebe Kamaradin. Der Spanische Kamarad der die Übersetzung dieses Briefes gemacht hat hat leider die CNT-FAI schreibe Papier gebraucht anstatt das der SIA. Hoffentlich macht dieses keinen Unterschied.

Ich kann Dir jetzt bestimmt mitteilen dass ich eine Kamaradin gefunden habe die mich wehrend meines Aufenthaltes in Canada für die SIA vertreten wird. Sie ist eine bedeutende Englische Schriftstellerin die mich die ganze Zeit in der Arbeit für die SIA unterstützt hat, eine sehr zuverlässige und treue Genossin. Ihr Name ist Ethel Mannin. Ich bitte Dich daher mir so schnell wie möglich ein Mandat für sie zu schicken. Damit Du weisst wo ich bin teile ich Dir mit dass ich bis zum 15ten August in England bleibe. Ich fahre dann nach Paris und werde dort die Ankunft der Kamaraden aus Spanien zum Kongress der AIT abwarten. Es wird sich dann entscheiden ob man will und es möglich machen kann dass ich nach Spanien mit den Kamaraden komme. Wenn nicht werde ich wohl auf einige Wochen nach Holland müssen und im Oct reise ich dann nach Kanada. Du kannst aber immer weiter an mich an die Adresse der SIA 21 Frith Street London W.1 schreiben. Briefe werden mich immer auf diese Adresse erreichen. Natürlich werde ich so lange ich hier bleibe die SIA weiter vertreten. Ich möchte aber doch das Mandat für Ethel Mannin von Dir bekommen. Bitte sende es recht bald. Wenn ich von hier weg bin wirst Du mit der Kamaradin Ethel Mannin Französisch, oder auch Spanisch korrespondieren können. Deine Briefe an sie und ihre an Dich können hier übersetzt werden.

Salud.

Liebe Genossin. Ich habe doch etwas wichtiges vergessen. Morren fährt hier eine bekannte Englische Aertin nach Barcelona. Sie wird Dir ein Packet Nahrungstoff bringen die für Dich und Mercedes bestimmt ist und die Du natürlich mit andere Kamaraden teilen kannst. Sie wird Dir auch meine Grösse bringen. Es wäre sehr gut wenn Dr Grace Griffith die SIA Kinderheime sehen konnte und alles andere was die SIA bis jetzt erreicht hat. Es würde unsere Arbeit in England sehr viel helfen. Also bitte Sorge dafür dass Dr Griffith die Inspektion machen kann.



S. I. A.	
CONSEJO GENERAL	
Nº 621	
Recibida el 21-11-38	

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 11 [London to] Luc[í]a S[á]nchez Saornil, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11th July 1938.

18774

Dear comrade Lucia Sanchez Saornil,

We are tremendously relieved to get your letter of June 27th. Strangely enough you wrote it on the day of my 69th birthday.

As you see I am getting on in years and it were not for passionate faith in your struggle in Spain I probably also show decline in my ideas and in my efforts; but I never do that so long as you and the other comrades are fighting so heroically and under such dreadful odds.

I am dispatching the receipt you sent us to the Entertainment Tax Department and we are hoping to get the £10 which we have deposited refunded.

We are very glad indeed that you did not consider us unkind in charging 50% of the expenses of the upkeep of the offices to the S.I.A. We should have felt much better if it had not been necessary or if the financial result were more gratifying.

As regards the contribution to the I.L.P. we wish to say that it really has no relation to your situation. It is that the 41 children are as far as we have been assured of O.I.A.I. parentage. In fact some of the children themselves express sympathy with the C.N.T.-F.A.I.. Inasmuch as the I.L.P. has been maintaining these children at a cost of £125 per month we felt last year that £50 of the collections we made for the Spanish and children should be contributed for the children's colony in this country, and we feel the same this year. We have therefore decided to send the I.L.P. a cheque for £50 which we hope will be with your agreement.

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870930173

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In one of my last letters I have informed you that the Secretary of the I.L.P., Fenner Brockway, called on us to ask whether we would write to you about a regular monthly contribution to maintain the 41 children. He told us that their fund will last longer than the end of August or September and that unless they receive some help from you or the C.N.T.-F.A.I. his organization would be compelled to return the Basque children to the National Committee for Spanish Relief that has brought over the 4,000 children last year. Frankly I hate to write you that because we feel that it is almost criminal to ask you of the S.I.A., who are fighting so many odds, to maintain our work by contributing in this country. It is therefore for you to decide what you can or want to do. We do not feel justified in any way to decide this for you.

I am now awaiting your answer to that.

Yes dear comrade the film has arrived and so also has Frank who has made the film. He is here a little over a month and he has already gone through many disappointments. The same miserable indignities and sabotage on the part of the C.P. that I have suffered for nearly two years - for you must bear in mind that nearly all organisations working for Spain are dominated by the C.P. and no one else has a chance against their insidious activities against the S.I.A? the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and in fact everything that emanates from our bureau.

After much effort and waste of time we have come to the conclusion that it will be the most practical thing to do to put the film in the hands of a distributing agency, and comrade Frank has as a matter of fact made an agreement with which will give us 60% and them 40% plus £40 for the expenses.

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870930173

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18776

incurred in registration with the censor and duty he had to pay on entry of the film into this country. The contract provides that our share should be sent to us and we have made arrangements, and I will be sail for Canada that the cheques should be sent to the comrades who will remain in charge of the S.I.A..

I see that you say that you are in the process of making another film. Unfortunately it takes so long that it makes it impossible for us to benefit by it. Had "Dawn in Spain" come in the beginning of the year we would have been able to utilise it ourselves; but at this time of the summer it is impossible, and it would be the same with the new film unless it would reach me before I leave for Canada I could not avail myself of it.

However we are having a 16 mm made of the 35 just as we will have the negative from comrade Martin Gudell. It is of the utmost importance that he ship the negative right away with delay to Perpignan. Comrade Louis Frank is returning to there and he will make the 16 mm copy so that I will be able to take it for my Canadian visit tour.

I cannot begin to tell you how important it will be for me to have the film in my work for the S.I.A. or the C.I.T. Perhaps you will be good enough to get in touch with Martin Gudell and impress upon him that we must have the negative without delay.

I am delighted dear comrade that you and the other comrades would be pleased if I could come to Spain. Needless to say that I want to come very badly. I have not yet heard from comrade Vasquez and Herrera what they think about the proposition. In any event I am going to Paris about the 15th August. I am hoping to meet the Spanish delegation to the international congress of the A.I.T. which is to take place the last week in August. It will be

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be decided whether I am to proceed to Spain or not.

Now to another matter dear comrade. Circular No. 13 addressed from your side to all the national councils and organisation committees. I say that we were shocked at the attitude of your government and the imposition the decree represents. I only mildly to express our feeling. We are convinced that the only of this decree is the C.P. in Spain. It evidently cannot be the fact that the S.I.A. has become such a world wide subject. Dont you see dear comrade the C.P. must feel that the S.I.A. is injuring their International Workers Defense, formerly the International Workers Relief, which until the appearance of the S.I.A. was an absolute monopoly. Moreover the C.P. organisation has funds under all sorts of different names for all sorts of purposes such as the Sacco and Vanzetti case. A huge mining strike in the city of Kentucky, North America, the Mooney case and many others. They raised tens of thousands of dollars for these cases. I have had it on good authority of comrades in America that very little of these large funds went to the actual parties for whom it was raised. Naturally the S.I.A. must be a thorn in the side of the C.P. and it is this which must have induced the C.P. to your government to pass the decree that the S.I.A. should be a function of the government.

We see that the claim is made that it would do away with corruption if the activities of the S.I.A. were taken out of their hands of individual organisations. That is indeed what I know of no private concern that reaches such corruption as governments do and as the S.I.A. is manned entirely by those whose only effort is to help you in caring for the suffering women and children in Spain it is certainly absurd to say

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18778

the government would be more honest painstaking with the funds

Dear comrade I do not ~~think~~ it is necessary to assure you how very intensely we are interested in all your work and how deeply we feel with you in your struggle and want to help the struggle; but we are afraid that if the government will take over the activities of the S.I.A. in Spain and outside it will destroy the fervor of the comrades in every country and it will destroy what they have already achieved. ~~Frankly~~ Frankly we of the ~~London~~ section will hardly be able to continue our work for the S.I.A. if the decree should be enforced. We are not among some of our comrades who sit in judgment of the concessions the Spanish government have made. We know that were forced to do so by the insurmountable odds but on the other hand we cannot conscientiously work for the Spanish government which absolutely declares in its 13 points that it will introduce the very faults ^{which} the 19th July came to destroy. Moreover we would make ourselves ridiculous before the workers of this country and we would achieve even less than we have done so far.

There is another point - it is this. The S.I.A. was organized as a non-political and non-party organisation. The moment the government will succeed in taking possession of it it will necessarily have to lose its character and its colour. It will then become a real organisation which will destroy its humanitarian value. From all points considered, dear comrade, I cannot see how the S.I.A. can consent to go under the "protecting wings" of your government. I admit it will be a sad hour for us, for whether we succeed much or little we are for the S.I.A. with every fibre of our being and we are willing to continue the work and the struggle against all odds if we can do so for the S.I.A. which you comrades have created and which you comrades should defend to the very last.

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870930173

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18779

Dear comrade. We are surprised that our comrades of "Spain & The World" do not hear anything about the childrens colony at Masnov which they started are supporting. You must realise that it is so important to continue appeals for money, and ^{it is necessary that} unless one can keep the interest of donors at a high pitch, and one can only do that by news and information about the condition of the colony, the state of the children, photographs of them and possibly also little letters from them. Such material would keep the interest alive and would induce our comrades in this country, America and everywhere else to continue their support for the children at Masnov. Will therefore see that Spain & The World receives the necessary material otherwise it will have to discontinue the appeals.

Another matter connected with the colony is this. We have a friend here named Greville Foster. She has been in Spain a number of times - in fact I met her at one of the villages in 1934. She is free until October and she is most anxious to put in the time between now and then taking care of the Spain & World colony at Masnov provided she could get back to Spain. She expects no salary and will pay her own fare. It therefore occurred to us that it might be worth while to let her come and put her in charge of the colony.

You say in your letter that you will prepare material that I might take to Canada and also the new film. I would be delighted to have both, of course, but unless it is done quickly it will be of no value.

Will you please see about it.

Fraternally,

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[Letter] 1938 July 11-12, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p.; 23 x 18 cm.

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Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAPTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

11th July 1938.

London,

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

My dear Martin,

You letter no.1032 reached me a day or two after I sent off a long letter to you via our Perpignan address. Just now I was called up by Mrs A. who had some messages for me from you which I will get this evening, and perhaps add a few lines to this letter.

I was very glad indeed to get the receipt from the S.I.A. for the amount from the concert. I despatched it to the department here and we are glad to tell you that they have refunded the money.

First of all my dear I want to tell you that a friend of mine, a doctor and English woman is leaving for Spain tomorrow in her own car, and she has kindly consented to take some food parcels for you and Lucia Sanchez Saornil. I immediately bought a lot of stuff which has been delivered to her. It consists of a large and small box. The smaller one is for you, your companion, and if you wish for your secretary. The large one is for not only Lucia; but also for Mercedes. She will take the latter to the address of the S.I.A. and she will bring yours to the Casa. I have also given her a copy of "Living My Life" with a note to Herrera. You will notify Herrera that the book has reached you. If you will not be long in the reading, you can read it first; but it is intended for Herrera.

I think that I wrote you that I had received a letter from Herrera of the Tierra Libertad saying that they wanted to publish a translation of comrade Alexander Berkman's "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist", and also "Living My Life". They want to get out abridged editions of both - not more than 300 pages. I confess I cannot see how they can possibly hope to concentrate books over 1000 pages into 300 each. However I suggested to Herrera in my letter that a considerable number of recent cases of which Alexander Berkman wrote about could be eliminated without much harm to the book. I could not undertake to do it, simply because of lack of time. However I have begun to delete the material in my autobiography. I think quite a bit can be left out of a personal nature. The one thing that worries me is the Russian part. I am afraid that the C.N.T. will not want to hurt the sensibilities of Stalin, and without the Russian part my book would really lose its value, because Russia represents the most crucial part of my life and work. I would rather not have "Living My Life" appear in Spanish at all at this time, than to have the part of Russia eliminated. You might have a talk with Herrera and tell him that although I will write him myself just as soon as I have completed the deletions.

About the film. Frank has left for Paris. He will write you and Herrera detailed accounts of the nerve breaking experience he had here with the various organisations supposed to be of a liberal nature; but in reality completely dominated by communists. When he fi-

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first arrived he was rather sceptical about my attitude to the communists - that they permeated all organisations, and have a regular boycott against everything that emanates from the C.N.T.F.A.I. or the S.I.A. but five weeks struggle with these gangsters have convinced Frank that I did not exaggerate. Anyway he was forced to put the film in to the hands of distributors on the basis of 60% and 40%. Sixty% was to go to us if ever they do. He has also received £40 which he had to share with the agents, besides paying duty for the film and several private shows he gave. If only the film is shown we would not care whether we get material results out of it or not; but as the matter stands we have no control over the showing of the film, neither are we in a position to control the income; but it seemed to be the only way thing Frank could do. If the film had arrived at the beginning of the year we might have been able to exploit it ourselves by means of a 16 mm film. At this time of the year being summer it is impossible to hold meetings and therefore impossible to avail ourselves of the opportunity. Besides Frank did not have the 16 mm copies. This brings us to the negative you have got. Dear Martin, you must rush it to Perpignan directly you get this letter, and notify Frank o/o The Bureau de Information de Presse that he should collect the negative there. He intends to go to Perpignan anyway, so it would be well if you could immediately send the negative. We do want several copies of the 16 mm - one for England and one for me to take along with me to Canada. It would help me tremendously in my tour if I could have a 16 mm film, so please hurry up and rush the negative to Frank.

I do not know why Vaequez is so slow in answering my last long letter. I wish you would get hold of him and impress upon him that I must make my plans and arrangements for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. --- Bureau. I simply cannot drop everything that took two years of energy and pain to build up and sail away. I must know what the C.N.T.-F.A.I. wants us to do - when I say us I mean comrade Barr and myself. So will you please try to prevail upon him to give me definite answers to the questions I put to him, which includes the means of further maintaining the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bureau.

I had a letter from the comrade in Paris and he has finally sent you the Russian paper. I am sending to Jean Emile some more of the clippings from the Russian paper. I am also sending you a copy of the pamphlet gotten out by the Labour Party here about the events in Spain. It is the worst kind of historic forgery I have come across; because it does not even mention the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and their part in the 19th July. I am sending two copies, you can give one to Vasquez, and translate it, at least the gist of it to him.

I am glad to know that Herrera also agrees in the importance of my being able to return to Spain for a little while. A letter from the S.I.A. comrades also assure me that they wanted me to come. I will be in Paris during the congress of the A.I.T. and will then meet Vaequez and the other delegates. If they can make it possible for me to return to Spain with them, that of course would be the most satisfactory way. If not, if they can arrange for me to make the trip as last time by air, I would be very glad. I realise dear Martin that conditions at your end have worsened to a terrible extent; but after all I am coming for only a few weeks. If you and the others can stand the shortage of food and all the other inconveniences there is no reason why I should not. In point of truth I should prefer to remain in Spain with all its hardships and horrors if only I could be of use, rather than to remain in England, or go to Canada; but that being out of the question I would very much like to revisit Barcelona, as it would help me very much in Canada.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 11-12, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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You say in your letter that you are sending us a collection of photographs. So far they have not arrived and I am afraid that they be held up by the customs, which happened last year with a lot of stuff that was sent us from Paris. We certainly would have been glad to have got the photographs and use some of them for our manifestos to the 19th July, and also in Spain & The World.

Yes my dear I have seen the article from Spain & The World in the Soli with my photograph. It is a good thing that I am not vain-glorious, or I should feel very bad indeed over the awful photograph that you people used; but all this is so insignificant compared with your gigantic struggles and sacrifices you are all making.

This is all for today my dear.

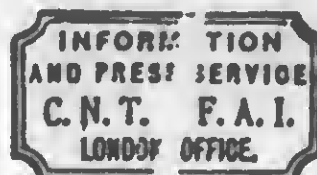
Please see Herrera regarding "Living My Life" and Vasquez about an immediate answer to my letter.

Greet your companion for me and your secretary, and thank her for the few lines she added to your letter.

Fraternally,

July 12th.

Dear Martin. Mrs A. came to see me yesterday afternoon. But she brought very little news. You might at least have given her the photos. She did say that those she spoke to about my coming to Spain were in favor of it but insisted that I could see nothing because of the impossibility of moving about. Well, when I see V. at the Conference I will talk it over with him and I will go if he can help me to a visa. By the way, in Souchy in Barcelona? If so ask him for the address of the man who got my French visa last time. His name was Wolfe. Perhaps S. will write him a note to ask him to help me with the French visa. Will you please attend to it right away.



Mrs A. tells me you permitted Langdon-Davis to use all your material in regard to Nazi and Fascist documents. Langdon Davis is a miserable creature. Ten years ago he wrote a book favorable to the CNT-FAI. This year he turned completely because he is with the Stalin gang. In a debate with Penner Brockway he charged the CNT with sabotaging the anti-Fascist struggle with mismanagement and dishonesty. And he did the same in an article. Such people are worse than Fascists because they smuggle themselves in under the pretense of friendship and then lie about you up and down. Now he will publish a book and of course not mention one word where he got the material. It is damnable.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 12 [London to] Vanguard, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

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17919

12th July 1938.

Dear comrades of Vanguard,

At last your issue of this month has arrived. I realise that it was my fault in holding you up with the May issue, or did it not appear at all; because we did not get it.

Please dear comrades do make it your business to send us your paper regularly. It is not satisfactory to get only an occasional number. Inasmuch as you also sent bundles to "Spain & The World" and to comrade Barr, we are rather loaded with more than I can dispose of; but we will do our best to sell them at our second anniversary of the 19th July in Hyde Park the coming Sunday, and also to send it out to our contacts in the hope that they may subscribe.

Dear comrades, I realise my article would take up far too much space for Vanguard, and it is for that reason that I wrote you to shorten it so that it might fit in to the space you allotted for it. I am only sorry to say that you have unfortunately made deletions that have unfortunately left the rest of the manuscript lacking in continuity. In addition there are expressions undoubtedly very valuable in the present American language; but which I never use. Not that this matters very much except that they are interjected where they do not seem to belong. I do not want to hurt you in any way; but I am never the less sure the article was edited in a slipshod way.

I had hoped to have a letter from you in answer to my last wherein I suggested that Vanguard issue a new edition of comrade Berkman's "Kronstadt" or that my manuscript had been turned into a pamphlet. I would like to know what you intend to do. Will you please answer as soon as possible.

With fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 12, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 5 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR
COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.-BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

Roc

London Office

11 PRITH STREET
CHAPINBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 12th July 1938.

Telephone: GERARD 2000

Dear Rudolf,

Last week was a regular red letter week; because of three letters dated in succession that you wrote me. Who said that the way to a man's heart is through his stomach. In your case it is by no means so much as by the keeping after you by your splendid wife. I am sorry if I had ~~to~~ beg her to go after your scalp or I would still be waiting for answers to the many letters I have written you. You had better hug Millie for me and tell her I am truly indebted to her. Actually I do not remember the time when you wrote me letters of three pages or closely typewritten matter. I know my dear how busy and harrassed you are; but also I know that there are very few of the old guard whose letters mean so much to me as yours. It is because of your broad approach to every question and your deep understanding for all human frailties. The harmony which has existed between us all these years is grateful to me because my life never lacked harmony more than it does now.

What you write me about Tresca I know to be absolutely true from my own experience when Sasha and I were joined together in with him in our work; but I am glad that you do feel that the man is honest and that he really means to carry out what he undertakes, even if he lacks the power of concentration to do so.

With your last letter of July 1st I also received a letter from my dear friend Evelyn Scott. She knows Tresca and Margaret de Silver very well indeed. She lived in Margaret's apartment for a long time, and there had the opportunity to come in close contact with Tresca. She also writes that he is unfortunately not very much of a stickler to anything he undertakes; but that he is generosity itself and absolutely honest and sincere. You see my dear Rudolf, beggars are not choosers. If I had anybody else among our old comrades or one of my many old friends who might undertake a campaign for my return I naturally would not have Tresca; but I cannot think of anyone except Stella, and she is tied to her country place and to her family, so she is out of the question, and there is no one else. - so whether I like it or not I have to consent to Tresca's offer to undertake the campaign. I have however written to Harry Kelly and to Weinberger to co-operate with Tresca and to hold him to his word. Of course they will have to do so very carefully and tactfully so as not to make Tresca aware that he is being "controlled". He would certainly drop everything at once and would be very angry with me. I can assure you I do not feel very happy or optimistic about my chances of getting back to the States and I shall have no peace from the time Tresca starts the campaign until it is finally over for good or evil. I shall have a chance to write Tresca this week so I will beg him to get to work; but insist that he starts as quietly as possible. Just the same I think it

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pages

sure

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Roc

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outrageous to pay any attention to that miserable gossip Graham. Surely there ought to be a way to stop his mischief. The L'Adunata comrades, of whom you have such a high opinion, ought to make it their business to shut him up. He has done enough harm by his methods, and it would be too cruel if he were to start the same miserable methods again in my case. You might have a talk with them; since they swear by their idol Graham and support his paper which certainly is not worth the printing it costs.

As regards the L'Adunata comrades, as I do not know anyone of them, I cannot argue whether they are all you say; but granted they are splendid, it is their sectarianism and fanaticism which so easily defeats their own end. For anarchists to launch into an attack on comrades who have stood in the forefront of battle for fifty years, without making sure that their charges are justified, proves them rather a hindrance than a help to the Anarchist ideas, and that is actually what they have done, thanks to Graham of course, when they published a scurrilous attack on "Living My Life" and again recently when they wrote our comrade of "Spain & The World" about me. I must say that I have no patience with comrades who set themselves up as moral censors and judges of their comrades without investigating whether they have the right to do so or not. However the methods of L'Adunata is nothing new in the anarchist ranks. Instead of fighting a common enemy, each one is at the other fellows throat.

This brings me to the idiotic outbreak of Abe Blusstein in Challenge No. 8 against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I cannot tell you how outraged I was when I read that scribble. It is too cruel to indulge in such a thing at the time when our people are falling in battle by the hundreds of thousands, and when the enemy is creeping nearer and nearer to devour them utterly.

The enclosed letter from Harry Kelly in regard to Abe Blusstein also expresses my feeling in the matter. Fancy going back to America to safety when the comrades are in such imminent danger, and then to judge their actions. I feel sick with this.

I suppose now that Sania is going to write for Challenge. He will also add his attack on our Spanish comrades. It is bitter; but he is helped. I am entirely with you in your stand and feeling regarding the actions of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.. I did not agree with them; but I would rather have cut off my right hand than to write a single line against them for publication. We kept silent for four years in our attitude to the Bolshevik gang. The least we can do is to stand by our comrades through their critical time. Sufficient until the day if they are successful, or when they will have to roam the earth as refugees, turned from their passionately loved soil. I don't say that it has not caused me a terrible inner struggle to continue the work for them. I have rebelled inwardly against the blunders and mistakes they have made; but like you I am not sorry. I will go with them to the very end.

Yes I know that the unfortunate misunderstanding with Sasha must have been a great blow to you; but you are mistaken if you think I agreed with him in his attitude. I could not because I knew long before you or any one else that he had reached the point of physical and mental condition which completely incapacitated him to do concentrated work on your book. What I did object to at the time was that you waited until nearly your entire manuscript was translated. You could have saved Sasha a great deal of agony if you had taken issue after each of the first pages had

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 12, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 5 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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Roc

been in your hands. I know that is what hurt Sasha most - that you waited until he had almost completed the job, and then found that you could not let him go to with it. It seems to me that the first half dozen chapters should have been enough for you to judge how well the translation was, but then why take up the wld. unfortunate happening. Let us close the chapter. It was closed with Sasha's end. The main thing is that you read the translation of "Anarchism & Culture" with your satisfaction and your approval. I know that you will not feel hurt when I tell you that some sentences seem rather odd to me; but that is neither here nor there.

I sent copies of the letters from Thomas Mann and Einstein and the others to Routledge and Sons who are very important publishers here, and I also called their attention to Herbert Read's review of your book, asking them whether they would be interested in a possible English edition. Unfortunately I have only my personal copy, so not to lose time I sent them that, so you see there is a regular conspiracy against my reading the book to the finish. I was just in the midst of it after months of waiting until Read returned it. Now I have had to use the same copy for Routledge, and if he turns it down for other publishers. Don't you think you can get Covici Friede to send me a copy. They are robbing you right and left. They certainly afford to send me a copy. I will let you know when I hear from Routledge whether they want to get it out. I am very happy indeed that your American publishers do not have the British rights. You had better send me an authorisation so that I can negotiate with the publishers for you.

I sent you "Poetry & Anarchism" last week. Do please not delay in writing an appraisal of it. I already wrote you in a card that we already had a review by Ethel Mannin, which is very beautiful; but naturally we want yours as it will represent the authoritative evaluation of Read's anarchism. In this way your name will get known and also advance our ideas in intellectual ranks.

It is certainly an unfortunate thing about Anarcho-Syndicalism if it is in the least to jeopardise your chances of remaining in America. I now realise that it would have perhaps have been better if you had written the book under a pen name; but who can think of all the possibilities of becoming a prey to the restrictions and laws in every country. I think that nothing must be permitted to stand in your way. It is too important that you should not be robbed of your chance of earning your living in the States, especially as there is hardly a country where you will be admitted. The comrades of Vanguard will simply have to be told that they should refrain from advertising. I should think that there are enough anarchists in the whole of the United States who can be reached by post with the announcement of Anarcho-Syndicalism if only each one will purchase a copy, it would be nothing at all to dispose of the 500 which Warburg offers to Vanguard at a substantial discount. Anyway I will get in touch with Warburg and I will try to impress upon him that the book must not be widely advertised in the States.

My dear, my dear, the very thought that it might undermine the ground from under your feet in the States makes me shiver, for though I have British citizenship, I know what it feels to be cut off from the one country, where one still has a chance to do worth while work for our ideas - in your case largely by the pen, which is invaluable for our literature and our movement.

Stupidly I left your letters together with other letters in my room. I will bring them along tomorrow.

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Roc

and if there is anything important in them I have omitted to answer I will add a few lines to this letter.

My love to Mimi, Fernan, and Polly. Give my affection-
ate greetings to Bella Gollub and tell her I spent two pleasant
evenings with Leon. It is too bad she had to precede him. He so
seems to be quite forlorn without her.

Affectionately,

Emma

I have to keep Harry's letter to be able to reply so I am going
to quote the passage in re Bluestein, "the workers and peasants
of Spain no longer know why they are fightin"... Their mistakes have
been many, their compromises suicidal, their present participation
in the Negrin government beyond understanding... we cannot
get ourselves to condemn them too much"... Come to think of it
on no doubt read Abe's stupid attack. What is interesting is
Harry's own reaction. He writes "it makes me boil. When he grew tired
of Spain and its hardship he probably wrote his father for money
and then left for home. Those poor "benighted" workers and peasants
who do not know why they are fightin could not write home for
money and leave, they had to stay and fight, suffer and oft times die
in their struggle against Germany, Italy, Portugal, hypocritical
England and war torn France afraid to antagonise that same
England and Russia forcing them to barter their souls for aid. ~~and~~
All of this and our own comrades talk smugly about compromises etc".
Harry's a thousand times right.

I had news ~~that~~ that Santillan is in the Dept of
Culture with Blanco and it is this Dept which is planning to get
out a Revista and also to publish works. Thus Herrera wrote
me for Sasha's Memoirs and for Living My Life. The trouble is
they want to get out abridged copies about 300 pages. They asked
me to do the deletions in both books. I could not face going over
Sasha's Prison Memoirs now. It would be too lacerating. It is hard
enough to do it with Living My Life. I am afraid the CNT will
not be willing to publish the last part of my book on Russia
and without it the work would lose meaning. Russia was the crucial
experience of my life. I do not see how it can be left out. Well
I will write Herrera when I have ~~the material~~ deleted
the rest of the material.

That is news to me that Santillan's book was taken
out of circulation in order to safeguard his life. It is true
that he was forced to go under cover when I was in Barcelona last
year. He came to see me and gave me an authorisation so I could
try to find a publisher for his book. I never heard from him
again or got a copy of the work. When I met Yaguel at the I.A.A.
Conference last year he told me that I should do nothing about
about Santillan's work in case I do get a copy. Anyhow it sounds
a bit far fetched that the book was confiscated to save
Santillan. You ask how it is possible that I would have the

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full conflict of the organization. The reason for it is the
extreme... And also
be... not... to stand
on... done such
... though...
... a greater supply
... of other
... in all...
... would do
... anyone with understand
... the whole world is at
the threat of... is the issue and nothing else.

My dear I am not sure that I already wrote
you that the International Institute in London is becoming
getting Sasha's material and also mine. They are sending for
all the cases and trunks I have in St Tropez at their expense,
and they will also pay for the shipment of the boxes that contain
my collection which I am not ready to let them have to England.
Well among the material is the book of clippings of Sasha's act and
trial you let me have. Write me if you wanted it back. If not
I will let the Institute have it. Of course the Institute is to
pay for whatever I give them. I do not think they will consider
Sasha's poor Nachlass important enough to pay a high price. But
what ever it is it will help Emily. Let me know about the clippings

I inclose a pamphlet published by the Labor Party. You
will see to what extent the conspiracy of silence goes against
the CNT-FAI. According to the writer no such organisations had
any part in the events in Spain. It is scandalous.

cf

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[Letter, 19]38 July 12 [London to] Fredric [J. Warburg, London] / Emma Goldman. —
1 p. ; 21 x 16 cm.

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10175

July 12th 38

Dear Fredrick. I have received an S.O.S. from my good friend Rudolf Rucker. It is in regard to the offer you have made to the VANGUARD GROUP of ANARCHO SYNDICALISM if they will advertise extensively. The moment the people who have been instrumental in prolonging Ruckers stay in America learned of this they insisted that advertising would involve the immediate deportation of R.R. from the United States.

Now, Rucker is a German refugee his passport having long expired. It is certain that no other country would admit him. Can you imagine what this would mean to him at his age with an invalid wife and without a penny to his name? It would actually mean suicide. Of course we cannot permit that. I have therefore written the Vanguard Group impressing them with the danger to our comrade from the publicity of A.S. I have suggested to them that five hundred copies of the work would be sold by other means than advertising. The labor unions in America might be circularised and the colleges besides the numerous meetings that take place in New York alone during the winter where the book can be offered for sale.

My writing you in the matter is to inform you of Ruckers position in the U.S. and to beg you not to insist on wide publicity. I am certain the VANGUARD Group will find other ways of bringing the A.S. to the attention of those who should read it.

If you have received more reviews of the work please let me have them soon.

Sincerely

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 July 12 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p.; 28 × 21 cm.
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23861

July 12th 38

Jeanne, my Dearest.

What is the matter with you? I worried enough until your dear brother and his charming Irish wife appeared. But when they told me you had definitely promised to write me and tell me they were coming I grew even more anxious. I only hope it is not illness. Well at least I had you by proxy. I spent a beautiful evening with him and his wife last Saturday. They are such genuine and kind people. I was amazed at the social awareness of your sister-in-law. She showed such keen interest in everything and seemed so well informed. It ~~is~~ was a joy for my yearning heart. I am to meet them again before they leave. Thank you for sending them to me.

What a fortune you sent me darling a whole dozen stockings. You have no idea what that means in Europe. I am sure ever so many ~~women~~ women would envy me. And the lovely slippers. You cannot get such material or so well made ready things in England. Bless you dearest for your generous spirit.

Dearest Samuel Freedman has taken up the question of the fund for my trip to Canada again. You may have heard ~~from~~ from him. He said he would write you. The comrade who works with Joe Desser in the Libertarian group is the blackest pessimist I ever came across. Her letters really take it out of me. But then Joe himself four years ago was also not much more cheerful. We need not go by them. I know what Canada is worth, very little I must say. Still I have always succeeded in putting life into our ranks and while I never left C. with more than my return trip I always manage to pay all expenses. No one lost on my visits to Canada. So I am not worried.

The fact of the matter is I must change the "climate". England has gotten on my nerves. And the main reason is that unless I am near to the States I will never get in. Not that I am too optimistic that being in Canada will help. But it holds out a better chance. Also I will be able to see my near and dear ones

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23862

among whom you and Jay have a large and abiding place.

You will be glad to know that our Spanish comrades are very much in favor of my going to Canada. That is a great relief to me as I should have hated to go away without their consent. It would have looked as if I was leaving them in their frightful predicament. I have written them that I would also like to get back to Spain for a few weeks to refresh last years impressions. It would help me if I could state in G. I have come straight from Spain. Alas the conditions have worsened frightfully, the shortage of food and getting about will probably make it impossible for me to see much. Still it would be the living contact with tragic martyred Spain. I am meeting the CNT Committee in Paris the 24th of next month at the International Workmens Ass Congress and I will then know where I am.

There is another thing the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam is keen on getting Sashas material correspondence sketches etc. They have offered to ship all the cases and trunks I have left in St Tropez to Hobland at their expence. They want me to come to Amsterdam to assort the material for which of course they will pay. I may go there the second week of Sept and then sail for Canada.

However the CNT-FAI and SIA office remain in charge of two reliable comrades. And all mail until get to Canada will ~~xxx~~ be forwarded where ever I am.

Dearest if you wish you can send me the money you have raised last year for my Canadian trip. Freedman also has about \$150, last year. He may have more by the time I am ready to sail. That will have to do if comrades of other cities do not help. By the way you never replied to my question about Calif whether you did anything there

Dearest Jeanne please, please write me soon.

With love to Jay and yourself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 July 12, London [to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Dear Samuel.

Here is a copy of my article about V.A. which I sent for Spain and the World. Use it for the V.A. if you want.

I had a long letter from Rudolf saying he would speak to the L'Adonato people. Rudolf too thinks Fresca not very reliable although perfectly honest and sincere. I really don't know what to do. If I had someone more certain than T. you but I would not accept his offer. But I have no one, no one with who can reach the people needed for the campaign. Besides T. is the only one who has come forward with his offer. Well, I have written Roger Baldwin and I have a letter from Harry K. saying he would help, also I have written Harry Weinberger. Between you and them it should not be difficult to keep T. to his promise. Of course it will have to be done in a tactful way. For I do not want to hurt him.

So ~~for~~ I have heard nothing further from T. I really realise nothing much can be done at this time of the year, then the election. Besides the whole thing must be kept quiet until the committee is really in existence and has sent its representative to Wash. I am writing T. to day to impress upon his mind that any publicity in advance will kill my chances absolutely.

In haste but with kindest greetings to your family Mark and Johanna and all the comrades

Emma Goldman

I am sorry to say VANGUARD did a poor job on my article in the first issue. I am sorry to say VANGUARD did a poor job on my article in the first issue.

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When to Vanguard of the
and 500 copies as advertisement
from the weekly group. Then
a big discount. I have just
written Vanguard impressing
them with the danger to
of advertising. Say as day 2
would be departed. Surely
the comrades do not want
to have that an open cause.
Better see Vanguard and
tell them the book could be
sold quietly. ag.

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 July 12 [London to] Carlo [Tresca, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17537

July 12th 38

Dear Carlo. I wonder how you feel, if well enough to have returned to the City. I have heard from Harry Kelly and Rose Pesotta that they had had no word from you. This leads me to believe that you are probably out of town. Of course I know how little one can accomplish in New York during the hot summer months. I feel sure you will write when you have anything important to tell me. I am therefore not impatient nor do I mean to pester you. I am really writing only for two reasons first to send you the inclosed brochure which you asked for. It took some time to get it. Secondly because I wanted to let you know that it will be necessary to avoid all publicity in the campaign you kindly offered to start for my return to the States. You know yourself my dear that once the papers would get hold of the project they would begin to work against it. Last time when Roger succeeded in finally getting a visa it was because not a word about his efforts had leaked out until the committee had been organized and Washington had as good as promised to permit my return. And I am certain the same silence will have to be observed this time. So will you please take the utmost precautions please.

I know you will not mind my suggesting this method. I feel confident that you will do all in your power to get me back. It is to help you that I have taken the liberty to call your attention to the imperative need of keeping your efforts from the press until you have reasonable assurance of success in Wash.

I suppose you agree that not much can be hoped for before the elections. But it might be possible to gather the outstanding people you ~~have~~ and Margaret have in mind for the committee.

Please write me as soon as possible.

Kindest greetings to Margaret.

Fraternally.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 12, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman].—
3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION DE LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

12th July 1938.

London,

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Rose,

Your letter of the 5th instant reached me today, and while I have a chance I am dictating a reply to comrade Barr so that it can go with tomorrows fast sailing on the Queen Mary.

I admit I was very unhappy over your long silence. I know that you are a very busy woman and certainly do not expect long letter but a post card here and there telling me why you cannot write at length would go a long way to putting me at ease. Is that asking too much?

My dear, since I heard from you I have been in correspondence with a number of people regarding Carlo Tresca. Nearly every one has replied the same thing - that he is absolutely honest and sincere; but that he never carries out anything he undertakes to a logical conclusion. A few days ago I had a letter from my very dear friend Evelyn Scott. She shared for a long time Margaret de Silver's apartment and there she came in almost daily contact with Carlo. She assures me that he is generosity itself, and absolutely sincere; but whether owing to growing years or general fatigue he simply does not seem to be able to keep at one thing for a long time, and I had similar opinions from other friends who know him. Frankly I don't know what to do. If I had some one else who has contacts with the people we need and who could devote him or herself to the effort of starting a campaign I would manage somehow, without hurting Carlo's feelings, to tell him he had better not begin; but dearest Rose there is not a soul.

You are so busy that it took you a long time to answer my last letter, and while I know that your co-operation is invaluable I also know that I have not the right to load you with being the moving spirit in the campaign. If at least Stella were in New York, she could certainly do the intensive work; but unfortunately her finances compel her to remain in the country - so who else is there? In other words, I am really forced to accept Carlo's offer. I have however written to Roger Baldwin and Harry Weinberger begging them to co-operate with Carlo. A letter from Harry Kelly has already promised me that. It therefore seems to me that between you, Roger Baldwin, H.W. and Harry it should be possible to keep Carlo to his promise. In any event I have no choice in the matter. After all Carlo and Margaret were the only ones who came forward with their offer. There is only one thing that is to use discretion in working with Carlo. Not for anything in the world would I want him unnecessarily hurt.

Yes I know that Roger has been very discouraged by his experience with "Madame Secretary" but that is a year ago - he may have better luck this time. The only thing is that he made his attempt privately. Naturally Perkins refused. She may think differently if

+ upside
of your
of chairs

very comrade Barr made a mess of the whole thing

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2.

the campaign is backed by people whose names carry weight. However I must leave this to you and the others who are combining in my behalf. Indeed I am quite sure that you will do your best and if you fail it will not be through negligence.

Yes my dear I heard about Van. I got the news from Sadie. It was a great shock to me. My last letter to him was never answered. I have written a tribute for "Spain & The World" and I am sending a copy today to the Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

I am sure my dear I cannot refuse over Challenge. It is

wretchedly gotten up. Not an outstanding article. I cannot see what appeal it will have in its present state. Perhaps it will improve. I hope so. The important thing however is the outburst of Abe Bluestein against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. It is a great pity to have his condemnation appear in public at a time when our people in Spain are falling by the hundreds and thousands. It seems to me cruel to stab them in the back. Great heavens, should not we do for our own comrades what we have done for the Lenin Trotsky gang. We were silent for four years while Russia was fighting on all her fronts - should not we at least do that much for our own flesh and blood, especially as the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is surrounded by more than one the fascist front and the imperialist pack of hounds. They are also surrounded by the entire Marxian gang - Stalinists, communists, Trotskyists and whatever their other names. Is it so difficult for me to realise that whatever will happen in Spain the C.N.T.-F.A.I. will be held responsible. They are hated by everyone without exception. I must say I cannot understand those comrades who find it necessary at this crucial moment to pour out their complaints. As I know I will be charged of going back on the right of

freedom of the press. It's not a question of freedom of the press - it's a question of solidarity with our own people who show the main spirit courage and valour for the struggle. Don't think I am angry with Abe. I am only sad that he shows so little comradeship and solidarity. As long as Challenge finds it necessary to indulge in public recriminations of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I really do not care to write him for it or make suggestions to improve Challenge. Besides I think that the young comrades should found their own paper and learn from their own experience to get out a decent looking paper.

My dear, my contacts with Spain are the same as they were always, entirely with the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the S.I.A. We are in constant correspondence and we do get their papers and their bulletins; but mainly it is their letters that are permeated with an enthusiasm and faith I have never before come across in my public experience, and it is their fiery spirit which holds us up and makes us feel that we must go ahead in our work no matter how poor the results.

You will be glad to know that our very dear friend Ethel Mannin will remain in charge of the S.I.A. when I sail for Canada, and comrade Barr will represent the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

As to my plans - as far as I can make them they are as follows. I intend to go to Paris about the 15th August and meet the Spanish delegates at the conference of the International Workingmen's Association. I will then know whether it is possible to re-

turn to Spain for a few weeks. I want very much to refresh my impressions. If not I may have to go to Amsterdam for a few weeks to assort Sasha's and my material which the International Institute

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3.

for Social History is keen on acquiring. It is having all my cases and trunks removed from St Tropez at its expense. At first I thought I would go to St Tropez and do it; but I simply have not the strength to open up old wounds and be confronted by all the old painful memories of Sasha. I am therefore glad that the Institute will pay for the shipment and that I will be able to do the sorting there. In any event I intend to sail from England, so will come back from Amsterdam for that purpose, and also to make final arrangements about our Bureau.

You had better go on writing me to the above address. Mail will always reach me - besides plans are so uncertain now. I may have to change them.

I am looking forward to your next letter telling me what you have achieved in New York - whether you have seen Tresca and all the rest.

With love.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 12 [Barcelona to] Emma Goldman, London / [Martin Gudell]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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N° 1109.

12 de julio de 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère camarade,

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 1^r. courant. J'ai à vous communiquer que M^{me}. Adams est venue me visiter, à qui j'ai renseigné en détail sur tous les problèmes que vous exposez.

La quittance de S.I.A. vous a été remise le 10 juin. D'ailleurs, M^{me}. Adams est allée au Conseil Général de S.I.A. et j'espère que l'on aura donné une copie de cette quittance. J'espère qu'à l'heure actuelle vous aura parvenue la dite quittance.

Je pense que si les lettres tardent à venir, c'est à cause qu'il y a très peu de possibilité de les faire arriver. Vous devez savoir qu'assez tôt de recevoir les lettres on fait la réponse et plus encore pour des lettres de cette espèce. Nous savons bien qu'un retard peut être la cause de perdre l'argent et en conséquence nous avons intérêt à vous envoyer cette quittance le plus rapidement possible.

J'ai reçu votre article faisant une réponse à Trotsky, lequel est déjà traduit et se trouve à l'imprimerie pour faire la composition. Cet article sera publié dans le deuxième numéro de la revue "Timen" qui paraîtra dans le mois d'août. Le premier numéro sortira à la fin de ces jours et j'espère que le camarade Herrera va vous envoyer un exemplaire. Le matériel de votre article est presque absolument inconnu en Espagne et les camarades qui l'ont lu, le trouvent très intéressant.

Dans votre lettre vous me communiquez l'envoi de un article que vous avez remis à "Vanguard", mais cette copie ne m'est pas parvenue.

J'ai pris bonne note de ce qui concerne Becker et je vais le soumettre à la considération des camarades qui s'occupent de l'édition, afin de lui remettre quelque argent pour son livre.

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2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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J'ai n'ai pas reçu non plus la brochure dont vous parlez dans votre lettre.

L'on peut espérer que dans tout le monde, les uns consciemment et les autres par ignorance, feront tout le possible pour ne pas dévaloriser la valeur à l'œuvre de nos camarades en Espagne. Nous devons déployer encore plus d'efforts et de l'argent pour la propagande extérieure et publier toute une série de livres en parlant des efforts que l'on fait ici en Espagne.

La semaine dernière j'ai envoyé à votre adresse, par avion, quelques photos concernant le 19 Juillet et un manifeste des Comités National et Péninsulaire. J'espère que vous arriveront opportunément pour les reproduire.

J'espère que la manifestation que vous préparez pour le 19 Juillet aura un grand succès. Je suppose que dans votre prochaine vous pourrez me dire quelque chose sur cela.

Concernant vos désir de venir en Espagne, j'ai communiqué à Moe. Adams les inconvénients et je suppose que Herrera et Vasquez, vous auront écrit. Nous croyons que vous pourriez faire maintenant très peu. Vous ne pourriez pas aller à Madrid ni à Valencia. Apparemment vous avez eu des difficultés pour obtenir une voiture, et maintenant ces difficultés seront presque insurmontables. Il faut ajouter en plus la diminution des vivres et que l'on vient bombarder presque tous les jours mais, si malgré tout cela vous désirez encore venir en Espagne avant de partir pour le Canada, vous pouvez venir passer quelques jours et ainsi vous pourrez dire que vous avez été tout récemment en Espagne.

Salutations fraternelles.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 14 [Boston to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Rose Pesotta].—
1 p. ; 25 x 22 cm.

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July 14, 1938

Dearest Emma,

I'm answering yours of June 27th. By now you must have received my letter and know why the long delay. Tresca sent word that I wait until I hear from him and I'm waiting. It seems he has contacted some people and he wants to do as much as possible.

The important people we've been talking to, seem to be lukewarm. At any rate they do not express any opposition. But they are reluctant to start anything themselves. Roger, however, is on the job and Tresca is trying through him, to find a way of getting to the big people in Washington.

I read your reply to Trotsky in the Vanguard which is very pointed and should make the Trotskyites realize that their saint played an important part in the bloody debacle which is now ruining the USSR. The Trotsky adherents, however, are worse bigots than the Stalinites. Their minds are shut to any reason whatsoever.

Accept my congratulation on your Birthday. I cannot bring you any more cheers on this Birthday than the hope that on your 70th Birthday our Spanish comrades will have won over our foes, and that you being a part of the movement will celebrate the victory in Spain. By all means you should be present at the Congress the 24th of August and if you can return to Spain together with the CNT comrades, it will give you a chance to bring us first hand information when you come here. I am hopeful that you will be granted a visa for at least a short stay.

Mother is pleased that the stockings finally reached you. Consider it her birthday present.

Love, gly

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 July 14 [London to] Annie Adama van Scheltema-Kleefstra, Amsterdam / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

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17818

July 14th 38.

Miss Annie Adama van Scheltema-Kleefstra
International Institute for
Social History.
Amsterdam, Holland;

Dear Miss van Scheltema-Kleefstra.

Your letter of the 6th inst. reached me last week but I was waiting to hear from my friends in Nice and St Tropez in reply to my letters asking if they will be at their respective home this month. I have heard from both M. Sandström in St Tropez and Mme Honore Teissier in Nice that they are not going away on their holidays until August and that your agents can call for the cases of material I had left with them in both places.

I am inclosing herewith two authorisations, one to M. et Mme Robert Sandström of St Tropez, and Mme Honore Teissier 14 Blvd. Mac-Mahon Nice A.M. which you can give to your agents. I have also sent copies each to my friends in France. The note to for Mme Teissier I am sending in French, bad French I am sorry to say because she does not read English. Mme Teissier has two large cases of the material I left with them her two years ago. The Sandströms have I believe 16 cases and two trunks. They may have more. I do not remember. But they are absolutely reliable friends who will deliver everything belonging to me and in my name to your agents. So you have but to instruct them to collect the entire material.

You will see that my signature is E.G. Colton. That is my legal name. I left everything to my friends in St Tropez and in Nice under that name. Goldman is my name I have used in my writing and public work.

Now as to my getting back to Holland. As a British subject I do not need to apply for a visa to Holland. I therefore

think it unwise for the Institute to ask for a visa. But I will need a letter from Prof. Mr N.W. Posthumus stating that I have been invited to work in the Institute for a month and

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 July 14 [London to] Annie Adama van Scheltema-Kleefstra, Amsterdam / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

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17514

I am coming to Holland for this and nothing else. Also I will need someone to come to the border to meet me in case of any delay in permitting me to get into your country. Perhaps Mr Muller ~~Lehman~~ Lehning might be sent to meet me. If your ~~Miner~~ Director has another way for my re entry I should be glad to follow it. But in any event it is unnecessary, it seems to me to take the authorities aware of my coming when as HIS MAJESTY'S subject I am exempt from to need of applying for a visa.

I am leaving for Paris August 15th. I will not know until the end of that month when in Sept I can come to Holland. It will either be the first part of the middle of Sept. Naturally I want to assort the material before I sail for Canada. As I may be gone a year and one never knows what might happen during such a long time.

Until Aug. 15th my address continues at 21 Frith Street After that c/o The American Express Co., 11 rue Scribe Paris. Of course we will hear from each other before I leave London. In fact I hope you will write me when you send for my material to France and when it reaches you as I shall be very anxious about it.

Sincerely

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[Letter] 1938 July 15, London [to] Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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London, 15. July 1938

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3244

Relaciones Exteriores CNT-FAI

Compañeros Mariano Vázquez y Pedro Herrera.

Liebe Genossen Vázquez und Herrera,

ich war sehr erfreut Euren Brief No. 751.E. zu erhalten, auf meinen Brief an die SLA, den ich zu gleicher Zeit mit dem an Euch abschickte, hatte ich bereits letzte Woche Antwort und ich wunderte mich, dass Eure Antwort so lange auf sich warten liess. Ihr könnt Euch also denken, wie erfreut ich war endlich von Euch zu hören.

Ich bin sehr froh, dass Ihr einverstanden seid damit, dass das CNT-FAI Büro in meiner Abwesenheit weitergehen soll. Es tut mir sehr leid, dass wir so wenig erreicht haben mit allen unseren Anstrengungen für die Kameraden der CNT-FAI, seit Beginn unserer Tätigkeit im Januar 1937. Aber trotzdem würde es sehr schade sein, das Büro und die Beziehungen, die wir aufgenommen haben, abbrechen. Darum erfreut mich Euer Beschluss, das Büro weiterzuerhalten, so sehr. Genosse Barr ist ein sehr hingebender und ernsthafter Arbeiter. Zwar kann er nicht aktiv mit der Feder mitarbeiten, und hat auch nicht genügend Anziehungskraft ~~xxxxxxx~~ um Versammlungen zu füllen. Aber in Bezug auf unsere Drucksachen, Bulletins und Manifeste, an die kritischen Arbeiter im Zusammenhang mit Eurem Kampf, da gibt es mehrere Genossen, die mit Genossen Barr mitarbeiten. So wird es ihm möglich sein, die CNT-FAI den englischen Arbeitern nahezubringen. Wir haben ebenfalls Genossen, die mit Übersetzungen aus den Spanischen oder Französischen helfen werden.

Ja, wir benötigen Mittel um das Büro und seine Arbeit weiterzuführen. In meiner letzten Abrechnung, die ich Euch schickte, bemerkte ich, dass wir ungefähr £ 96 übrig hatten. Seitdem mussten wir die Ausgaben für Juni und diesen Monat decken und haben jetzt sogar ein Defizit. Nach reiflicher Erwägung und unter Hinweglassung von allem nicht unbedingt Notwendigen, habe ich errechnet, dass £ 50 im Monat nötig sind um das Büro zu unterhalten. Darunter fällt nicht die Beihilfe an SPAIL AND THE WORLD. Uebrigens erhielt ich von Euch keine Antwort auf meine Anfrage SPAIL AND THE WORLD weiterzuunterstützen. Diese Zeitung ist von grösster Wichtigkeit für die englisch lesenden Arbeiter. Es ist in der Tat die einzige englische Publikation, die ganz Eurem heroischen Kampf gewidmet ist. Darum bitte ich Euch noch

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[Letter] 1938 July 15, London [to] Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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einmal dringend SPAIN AND THE WORLD auch weiterhin zu helfen. Wenn Ihr damit einverstanden seid, dann ~~haben wir~~ benoetigen wir fuer das Buro und die Zeitung zusammen £ 75 im Monat. Darin einbegriffen wurden ein spezielle Ausgaben von Bulletins und Manifestos, wenn noetig.

Ueber meinen Wunsch nach Spanien zu kommen. Ich weiss dass es dieses Mal schwieriger sein wird. Aber wenn ich es auch vermissen werde nicht herumreisen zu koennen wie bei meinem Aufenthalt 1936 und letztes Jahr, und Eure herrlichen konstruktiven Anstrengungen zu studieren, so koennte ich bei meiner Ankunft in Kanada sagen, dass ich direkt von Spanien komme. Ihr koennt auch denken, welchen moralischen Effekt das fuer meine Taetigkeit in Kanada haben wuerde. Das ist der hauptsaechliche Grund, warum ich wieder nach Spanien kommen moechte. Wenn hunderte und Tausende spanischer Frauen die Schwierigkeiten erdulden koennen, denen sie unterworfen sind, so kann ich sie wohl fuer einige Wochen auch ertragen. Ich wuerde nur zu gerne Eure Leiden mit Euch teilen, lieb Genossen, wenn ich Euch damit helfen koennte. Ihr seht also warum ich danach verlange auch widerzusehen auf auf spanischen Boden zurueckzukommen, der von Blut seiner Martyrer geheiligt ist. Wenn es also eine Moeglichkeit gibt nach Spanien hineinzukommen, dann arrangiert es bitte fuer mich. Wir koennen dann darueber sprechen wenn wir uns in Paris auf dem AIT Kongress treffen werden.

Ich erachte es fuer unumgaenglich notwendig, dass Ihr Genossen Barr ein Credencial schickt. Er kann ohne ein solches nicht fuer Euch handeln, noch Zutritt zu irgend einer Arbeiterorganisation bekommen. So bitte schickt ein credencial fuer unseren Genossen.

Liebe Genossen, ich wuenschte ich koennte mit Euch derselben Meinung sein ~~was die~~, dass ein Wechsel stattgefunden hat in diesem Lande gegenueber Eurem Kampf. Die Arbeiter selbst sind immer fuer Euch gewesen und waren immer bereit aktiv fuer Euch zu wirken. Sie sind durch ihre Fuehrer gelahmt. Diese Fuehrer haben immerhin den faschistischen Britischen Regierung das Leben sauer gemacht mit ihren Fragen im House of Commons. Aber ebendieselben Fuehrer wollen nicht die direkte Aktion der Massen. Und Ihr wisst selbst, dass nicht wirklich vitales ist jemals durch Reden ~~zu erreichen~~ allein erreicht worden.

Sines ist immerhin wahr. Chamberlain ist durch den Druck der britischen Meinung gezwungen worden Franco's Angriffe auf britische Schiffe und ~~das~~ arroganten Antworten der Nationalen Regierung zuzugeben. In andere Worten, nicht die Tragodie des spanischen Volkes, seit 2 Jahren martyrisiert durch Franco's und Mussolinis Norden, sondern die Zerstoeerung britischer Schiffe hat die oeffentliche Meinung geweckt und Chamberlain gezwungen Notiz zu nehmen. Es gibt ein englisches Sprichwort in dem es heisst: " wenn zwei Diebe sich streiten, dann ~~kommt der dritte~~ ~~auf~~ bekommt der ehrliche Mann seinen gestohlene Stiefel zurueck." Das kann man auf die Spanische Situation anwenden. Der antifaschistische Kampf wird vielleicht von der ~~ersten~~ " Patriotischen Entruestung " Chamberlains ueber die Frechheit Francoe, auf Befehl seiner deutschen und Italienischen Herren britische Schiffe zu bombardieren, einen Vorteil haben.

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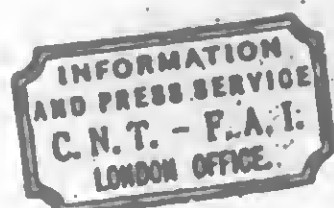
Ihr koennt sicher sein, liebe Genossen, dass wir alles getan haben was in unserer Macht steht um die englischen Arbeiter zu erfassen, und dass wir weiterarbeiten werden, auch wenn ich England verlasse. Das Schlimme ist das Vorurteil und der Antagonismus der britischen Labour Party und Trade Unions gegen die CNT und FAI und die Verschwörung des absoluten Schweigens in der Presse gegen Euch.

Ich lege ein Zirkular ein, welches wir fuer den 19. Juli heraus gegeben haben. Unser oeffentliches Mitin wird am Sonntag in Hyde Park statt finden. Wir wollten es gerne in Trafalgar Square abhalten, aber die C.P. unter dem Deckmantel des National Council for Spanish Relief, hat uns zuvorgekommen. Darum werden wir unsere Demonstration in Hyde Park, einem ebenfalls historischen Platz abhalten.

Ich hoerte von Ilse, dass Ihr mir von Dort mit dem visa fuer Spanien helfen muesst. Bitte tut alles was moeglich ist.

Salud.

Emma Goldman



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 15 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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19293

15. Juli 1938

Editorial Tierra Y Libertad

Lieber Genosse Herrera,

Ich war sehr erfreut Deinen Brief vom 8. ds. Monats zu erhalten. In demselben fragst Du was aus Ilse geworden ist. Sie kam einige Tage nicht wieder zurueck in unser Buro aber heute erschien sie wirklich. Selbstverstaendlich nehme ich die Gelegenheit wahr und diktiere diesen Brief, den sie gleich deutsch schreiben kann. Ich hoffe dass es ihr moeglich sein wird oft in unser Buro zu kommen und mir mit der Korrespondenz mit Spanien zu helfen.

Ich war sehr erfreut zu erfahren, dass das Buch von unserem Kameraden Alexander Berkman Dich erreicht hat. Ich muss gestehen, dass ich nicht erwartete es wuerde so schnell uebermittelt werden. Ich habe bis jetzt sehr traurige Erfahrungen gehabt mit sowohl der Korrespondenz als auch mit Drucksaachen und Buechern die ich ueber Paris, an Dich, Genosse Vazquez und Martin schickte.

Es wird wohl notwendig sein, dass das ganze Werk von Alexander uebersetzt wird, denn nur dann werdet Ihr im Stande sein zu urteilen, was ohne Schaden weggelassen werden kann. Ich hoffe natuerlich, dass es Euch moeglich sein wird, das Buch ganz herauszugeben. Nicht nur vom revolutionaeren Standpunkt, sondern auch als Studie von Psychologie des sogenannten Verbrechens ist das Werk unseres Genossen eines der bedeutendsten uns res Jahrhunderts. Amerikanische Kritiker, trotz ihrer buergerlichen Einstellung, haben das Buch gleichgestellt mit dem grossen Werke des beruehmten russischen Schriftstellers Dostojewski.

Im Bezug auf "Living my Life". Ich muss gestehen es ist eine fast unueberwindbare schwere Arbeit, das Werk zu kuerzen. Ich habe den Anfang gemacht, aber bis Jetzt ist das Resultat nicht sehr zufriedenstellend. Vielleicht waere es moeglich auch dieses Buch ganz uebersetzen. Du und die anderen Kameraden vom Editorial, waeren dann in der Lage zu beurteilen, was fuer Spanien von Wichtigkeit ist. Du wirst verstehen, lieber Genosse, dass eine Autobiographie das Persoenliche eines Lebens darstellen muss und dass es unmoeglich ist, ganze Abschnitte davon wegzulassen ohne der Aufrichtigkeit und Bedeutung des Werkes zu schaedigen. Ausserdem ist das Problem: Russland, das einen grossen Teil meines Werkes behandelt. Was wollt Ihr damit machen? Es kann doch unmoeglich weggelassen werden. Das wuerde dem Buche unendlich viel schaden. Ausserdem wuerde es ein Schlag sein, gegen all das was ich waehrend meines Aufenthalts in Russland durchlebte und kampfte. Ich muss gestehen, ich wuerde lieber auf eine spanische Auflage verzichten.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Daß, dass der Abschnitt ueber Russland weggelassen wird. Bitte schreibe mir, was Du und die anderen Genossen darueber denken. Vor einigen Tagen schickte ich ein Exemplar von "Living my Life" durch Dr. Grace Griffith, eine englische Genannte, die nach Spanien fuhr. Ich habe ihr die Adresse Martin Gidells gegeben, damit sie das Buch ihm uebergibt, und habe ihm schon geschrieben, er soll es Dir so schnell wie moeglich uebergeben.

Nein, ich habe bis jetzt noch nicht erhalten. Es tut mir leid, dass es mir nicht moeglich war, etwas dafuer zu schreiben. Vielleicht spaeter, ich war etwas ueberrascht, dass Ihr meinen Artikel ueber Kronstadt in Eurer Zeitschrift zu bringen gedenkt. Ich meine, wenn das moeglich ist, dann sollte auch der Abschnitt ueber Russland in meiner Autobiographie erscheinen koennen.

Ja, ich habe das Schreiben, unterzeichnet von Dir und Gen. Mariano Vazquez, erhalten. Die Antwort wird je denfalls Monte abgehen. Und zwar werde ich von jetzt ab alle Briefe an die CNT, Editorial und SIA durch Perpignan senden. Das sagte mir es waere das Beste, Zuverlaessigste und auch Schnellste. Ich bin sehr froh, dass Ihr einverstanden seid, dass das CNT Buro weiterexistieren soll und die Arbeit so gut wie moeglich weiter gefuehrt werden soll, nachdem ich nach Canada reisen werde. Ich habe Vazquez eine Erklaerung abgegeben ueber die Kosten, die absolut notwendig sind um das Buro weiterzufuehren und auch um SPAIN AND THE WORLD zu unterstuetzen, denn wie ich schon fruher schrieb, ist dieses die bedeutendste Zeitung, die ganz im Dienst Eures Kampfes steht. Es waere schade, wenn sie untergehen wuerde. Ich hoffe daher dass Du Genosse Vazquez unterstuetzen wirst, dass er auf meinen Vorschlag eingeht.

Im Bezug auf meine Rueckkehr nach Spanien. Es handelt sich nicht so sehr darum, dass ich dort viel herunkommen um die weitere konstruktive Arbeit zu sehen, wie darum, dass ich im Stande sein werde in Canada zu sagen ich kaeme direkt von Spanien. Dieses waere von ~~bedeutender~~ moralischer Bedeutung fuer die Presse wie auch fuer meine Vortraege. Was der Mangel an Nahrung und anderen Schwierigkeiten an betrifft, so kann ich schliesslich ein paar Wochen die Schwierigkeiten mitmachen, wenn Ihr sie seit 2 Jahren erduldet habt. Es waere mir sehr lieb wenn Du und Kamerad Vazquez fuer mich ein Visum besorgen koenntet. Immerhin werde ich natuerlich die Spanische Delegation beim Kongress der I.A.A. sehen und ~~mit~~ Verschiedenes mit ihnen besprechen.

Ich verstehe sehr gut, dass Du Dich nicht mehr in die SIA Angelegenheiten mischen willst. Wenn ich Dir trotz alledem Exemplare meiner Korrespondenz mit Lucia Sanchez Sa rnill sende, so ist es weil Du besser in der Arbeit der SIA orientiert bist. Aus diesem Grunde sende ich Dir heute wieder eine Kopie eines Briefes an unsere Genossen. Du wirst daraus erkennen, dass es mir unmoeglich sein wird fuer die SIA weiterzuarbeiten, wenn sie in die Haende der Regierung uebergehen sollte. Ich bin sicher das wuerde der Arbeit der SIA in allen Laendern unendlich viel schaden. Ich gedenke am 15. August nach Paris zu reisen. Hoffe aber vorher noch von Dir zu hoeren in Bezug auf "Living my Life", ob Du das Buch erhalten hast und auch ob das Ganze uebersetzt werden kann anstatt ~~xxxxxxxverkuerzt~~ anstatt zuerst die Verkuerzung weiterzumachen. Bitte gruesse Genosse Santillan recht herzlich und alle anderen Kameraden vom Editorial.

Mit solidarischen Gruessen an Dich

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 15 [London to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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17448

15th July 1938.

Dear Harry,

I was glad to get your letter of the 25th June. For some reason Abe sent me only the first and second numbers of Challenge. I was therefore glad to get Nos which you included in your letter and to find Abe's stupid denunciation of our comrades in Spain. Heavens knows I am not against a free press or free criticism if only people know what they say, and what they write; but I have no patience with our comrades who are enthusiastic over Spain to almost the last stand, and then make a complete somersault thus running away from one extreme to another. Take Abe. In November of last year, shortly before I left, he gave me a manuscript of his which I was to take out. Neither R.R., yourself or I could have written a more laudatory and enthusiastic account of the Spanish struggle. True during my stay in Barcelona we often talked of what seemed to us fatal in the compromises the comrades were making; but Abe still agreed with me that certain of their actions were imposed upon them by the grave issues confronting them. Before I left Barcelona I arranged for Abe to go to Valencia and Madrid. I had hoped that Madrid, especially with its epic grandeur in courage and valour would impress the boy, and would make him see as it made me see that whatever the shortcomings of the C.H.T.-P.A.I. the marvelous work they were doing, almost superhuman courage in the defence of Madrid far outstripped their blunders. Imagine then my surprise when at the end of December, before he was sailing back for America, I received a letter from Abe, repeating parrot like what he must have heard from Samia Shapiro while he was in Paris. All I can say is that to write as he has in Challenge against the comrades, is to my mind, on par with Trotsky's infusions. It is simply dastardly.

Only Saturday I received the German bulletin from Barcelona. It contains a report of the celebration they had of "Week of the Book". It brought tears to my eyes. Here are people condemned to death with all avenues closed in on them, and their own comrades stabbing them in the back, subject to slow malnutrition, and yet they still think of culture and the value of good books. It is simply amazing. It will expose Abe's statement that the people in Spain do not know what they are fighting for.

I have been getting almost the identical views about Carlo from all kinds of people including R.R. and Evelyn Scott. Everyone speaks highly of his generosity and kind nature - of his absolute honesty and sincerity; but everyone agrees that he unfortunately lacks the capacity to carry out a project which he undertakes. Inasmuch as he and Margaret, outside of Rose Pesetta, were the only ones who offered to organize a campaign for my return, I really have no choice, and it is for this reason that I have asked them to go ahead, impressing upon Carlo's mind that the most essential thing in my case is to avoid publicity until a committee will have been organized and Washington sounded whether or not

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17448

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there is a chance of getting a visa.

I have written Roger again after a years silence on his part, and I have written Harry Weinberger. I can only repeat to you what I have asked them - that they should impress co-operate with Carlo and try to hold him to his word. For this reason, dear Harry, it wont do for you to wait until you hear from Carlo. I want you to go after him - see Roger and Harry and H.W. and the three of you put the driving force at the back of Carlo. That alone will keep him going.

I don't yet when I am going to sail for Canada - most likely before the beginning of October. I will know more definite when I meet the Spanish delegation in Paris the last week in August at the congress of the International Workmen's Association - so you can write me to our London address, which will be the safest address.

I am glad to hear my dear that you are feeling better. Keep it up, and please Harry constitute yourself as my representative. Take hold of Carlo and write him after you have had a talk with him what your impressions are.

Give my greetings to Leah and the rest of your family.

Affectionately,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 15, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
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H. Rüdiger
Jul 1: 1938

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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE



London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 15th July 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Helmut,

In the rush of our work this week I have mislaid your letter which reached me last week, and should have been answered at once.

I am glad you were able to put the money we sent to proper use. I only wish we had other comrades who would be as willing to help as our comrade Barr. Unfortunately our comrades in England are poverty stricken, not only economically but also in spirit and vision.

When I wrote you that I received from Barcelona the Government Decree in regard to the S.I.A. and all other organisations working for Spain I made a mistake. It was not the Decree but the answers of the S.I.A. to the Decree. Today I have received a copy of the actual Decree which I am sending to you; but which I must have returned as soon as possible. It was brought from Spain by a friend who is working here for refugee women and children and hospitals. It seems that no one knew about the Decree, not even the British Labour Party. They were very much incensed to find that a relief organisation in Paris had gotten in possession of the Decree and evidently was the main mover of its adoption by the Legerin Government. The Labour Party seems to be quite determined not to permit the monopoly of all relief organisations to fall into the hands of the scheming and plotting gang of communists - for it is obvious that the communists are at the back of the whole matter. Dear Helmut I must ask you not to make public in any way how you received the Decree; because it would involve the friend who was good enough to send me a copy. Perhaps you had better also make a copy and return the one enclosed in this letter.

I am also enclosing a copy of my letter to the S.I.A. in regard to this government decree to take possession of all relief organisations including the S.I.A.

I am also sending you a few copies of what was to be a manifesto. Unfortunately it was botched. Added to your article I had a paragraph which our young comrade editor of "Spain & The World" was to translate and which represented a strong appeal for action on the part of the British workers. That unfortunately was left out of the manifesto. As it stands it is of course very good as information; but it does not contain the necessary appeal for action as I had in mind. It is simply that one must attend to everything ones self to assure it will be done.

I have at last had an answer from Vasquez to my letter written early in June and the statement of expenditure. I asked them to let me know whether they wanted the Bureau continued when I sail for Canada. I am glad to say that the C.N.T. consented. It would have been terribly painful to have to close down the bureau and the

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 15, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
2 p.; 30 x 21 cm.
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effort of two years - not that much will be done in my absence in the way of meetings; but still the work can go on even if on a limited basis, and the place will be reachable by people who are interested in the struggle of our comrades..

The S.I.A. will be represented by Ethel Mannin who has been our mainstay since we began work for it a year ago.

I am leaving for Paris 15th August. I had not planned to do so before the 22nd; but I want very much to spend a few days with Mollie and Sania and they are going on their vacation on the 20th. I will meet the Spanish delegation when they arrive for the congress. It will then be decided whether it is possible for me to go back to Spain, if only for a little while. Vasquez and Herre-
ra have both written that they would be very glad to see me in Barcelona; but they are evidently afraid that I could not stand as much as the brave Spanish women in the way of lack of food and the impossibility of going from place to place. I realise the desperate situation; but it would be of great moral effect if when getting to Canada I could say I have come direct from Spain. Well it will be decided when Vasquez and the others meet me in Paris.

Indeed when I come we must see more of each other than we have in the past. We will arrange that without fail. Meanwhile we can still keep in contact by means of letters.

I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the new German bulletin from Barcelona which contains a most encouraging account of the "WEEK OF THE BOOK" held in the middle of June, and also the bulletin now gotten out in Chicago. You will see the difference between that and the Bulletin of the I.W.M.A. in English you sent me. If I am not mistaken it is comrade Daly who is doing the translation and editing in Chicago. He knows both languages to perfection. He has had to support himself by translations for a long time, besides being a very active comrade.

Dear Helmut I wish you would send me the programme for the congress as soon as possible. I will have the points translated and put before the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union here. It should help the comrades to broaden their vision and perhaps to send an account of their re-action to the points.

Remember me kindly to Dora,

Affectionately

Emma

My reply to Trotsky's renewed attacks on the Kronstadt sailors was badly shattered in the Vanguard. I send you the magazine & my full text.

... know whether they wanted the Bureau continued when I sail for Canada. I am glad to say that the C.N.T. consented. It would have been terribly painful to have to close down the bureau and the

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 July 15, London [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / Emma [Goldman]. - 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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DOROTHY ROGERS

orig

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, 15th July 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Dorothy,

I am sorry if charging you with being lukewarm to my coming to Canada has hurt you. You see my dear your letters are permeated with such black pessimism that it unfortunately expresses the complete paralysis of your will and your feelings. One cannot do anything successfully in the state of mind you are. I am therefore not surprised that you do not have faith in the contribution to the propaganda in Toronto my visit would be likely to have. I wish I could infuse in you, if only a small part, of the flaming spirit of our comrades in Spain, their abiding faith, and their iron will to win. You would then not stop at all the difficulties that loom ahead so high in your pessimistic mind. Frankly the last two letters from you have sapped my own will and determination - not for long I admit.

Naturally I do not expect the comrades who are out of work or earn very little to contribute to the fund that is being raised for my trip in the United States. Its not money that worries me - it is the lack of enthusiasm in you and in a measure also Joe.; but as you say yourself when I will arrive all the comrades, as many as there are, will be as they have always been in my presence, willing and eager to help to the best of their ability.

Joe will have shown you my letter in answer to his where-in he told me that the Jewish Group was peeved with me because I have not written them about my plans of coming to Canada. As a matter of fact I wrote Marion Seltzer last year when I thought of going to the American continent. I never had an answer from her. I never corresponded with the others except Langbord, and I have come to the conclusion that to write to him is to write in the void since he never replies. However I have written Julia Seltzer and have asked him and Marion to have a talk with the Jewish comrades. It is necessary to impress them that at a time when our comrades in Spain are sacrificing their lives this petty vanities among the comrades outside of Spain is certainly to be deplored. Anyway I know that once I am in reach of them they will wake up. They have in the past and there is no reason to doubt that they will again.

At this writing I cannot say the exact date when I will sail for Canada. I am going to Paris the 15th August to attend the congress of the International Workingmen's Association where I will meet the Spanish delegation. My decision for sailing will have to wait till then; but of course I will keep you and the others informed. In any event there is to be no publicity connected with my planned trip, nor anything undertaken until I arrive. I have found this to be the best plan for safe landing. You can if you wish do whatever

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2. ^{seems} ^{for you}
possible in a quiet way; but since ~~it is~~ so difficult and distaste-
ful to approach the people who were once interested in my work in
Canada please do not undertake it. I will write them direct from
here.

You can continue to write me to my London address. When
I leave my mail will be forwarded.

Give my best greetings to Dien and Tom.

Affectionately,

Emma

send me
address

send me a list of the
people who were helpful
in my last visit, and
their addresses.

P.S. Have you ever reg-
istered the last shipment
of albums we sent you?
The reason I ask is
that I want to begin
sending the album on
small quantities to different
people in Argentina who be-
lieved at my meetings. That
was in editorial newspaper
for my wanting a list of
names & addresses.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Circular] 1938 July 15, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / M[anuel] Mascarell. —
1 p. ; 31 x 21 cm.

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Adresser toutes les communications à

Le Secrétariat,
4, Square Jean Falck, 4
117, Bd. de la Villette,
P A R I S, 10^e

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER - ASSOCIATION
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORATORI

Paris, le 15 Juillet, 1938.

CIRCULAIRE N° 18

AUX CENTRALES SYNDICALES DE L'A.I.T.

Chers Camarades,

Les Sections de l'A.I.T. n'ayant d'une part, formulé aucune objection au projet d'ordre du jour qui leur a été soumis par le Secrétariat et, d'autre part, fait parvenir aucune suggestion à ce sujet, avant la date du 15 Juillet, l'ordre du jour définitif du Congrès International ordinaire est arrêté comme suit:

- 1° - Rapport moral;
- 2° - Compte rendu financier;
- 3° - Rapports des centrales;
- 4° - Déclaration de principes (voir texte exact indiqué précédemment);
- 5° - Statuts (" " " " " ");
- 6° - Solidarité (" " " " " ");
- 7° - Siège de l'A.I.T. et Election du Secrétariat;
- 8° - Questions diverses.

Le Secrétariat rappelle que le Congrès aura lieu du 24 au 31 août 1938, à Paris, Palais de la Mutualité Salle K - 14, rue St. Victor, 5° (Métro Maubert-Mutualité).

Pour permettre au Congrès d'appliquer les dispositions Statutaires, en ce qui concerne l'élection du Secrétariat, les Sections sont invitées à faire parvenir au Secrétariat sortant, avant le 1er août, la liste des Candidats présentée par elles au nouveau Secrétariat.

En agissant ainsi, les Sections éviteront le recours au référendum, qui fait perdre un temps considérable, et elles pourront fixer leur choix en toute connaissance de cause.

Recevez, chers camarades, nos salutations fraternelles et syndicalistes.

Pour le Secrétariat:

Le Secrétaire Général.



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[Postcard] 1938 July 15 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].—
1 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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July 15th 1938

17038

You shld have receiued some ginger chocolates from John Bakers some days ago - did you, my dear ? If not let me know so that I can get on to them. Not having heard from you I am wondering.

I wanted to write & thank you for our nice evening together, dear, but have been so very rushed, but you know I loved it, so peaceful & nice, & such a good play, & I enjoyed the meal with Frank & the other comrade. It was all splendid - and I wished very much I'd not promised to meet R since he chose to await me with that frightful creature attached to him !

I hope I'll get some tickets during the next 3 weeks for something we shall like to see together. Very much love, dear Emma. *Ethel*

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[Letter] 1938 July 15, Montreal [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Max [Zahler].—
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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July 15th, 1938

Dear Emma:-

I hope you will not administer me a good spanking for not writing you any sooner, and particularly, for not forwarding the enclosed two cheques. The one for \$11.13 is the balance left in the Bank of Montreal from the Publication Fund Committee, and the other cheque for \$5.10 is from the Montreal Light, Heat & Power Cons., which I found amongst some of my records, and haven't the slightest recollection as to how I became the possessor of it. However, whatever the case might be, I am glad to forward same to you, and am sure you can make use of it.

I am anxious to know how things have been coming along with you, though I fully realize how difficult your present situation must be in view of the turmoil in Europe. Rucker is certainly fortunate that he has been able to settle in the United States, as you can well imagine what would have happened to him had he not received permission to stay there. We do hear from him once in a while. During the winter he was kept busy, but for quite some time he has been rather inactive, that is, publicly.

The political and economic situation in this city is as bad as it ever was, but of course not any worse than you have it down there. For the time being, the reactionary elements in this city are running the whole show, and in view of the Padlock Law, which undoubtedly you must have read about, every radical organization has practically become inactive.

If you have a few spare minutes, please drop me a line telling me all about yourself. With kindest regards from Gert and myself,

With Love,

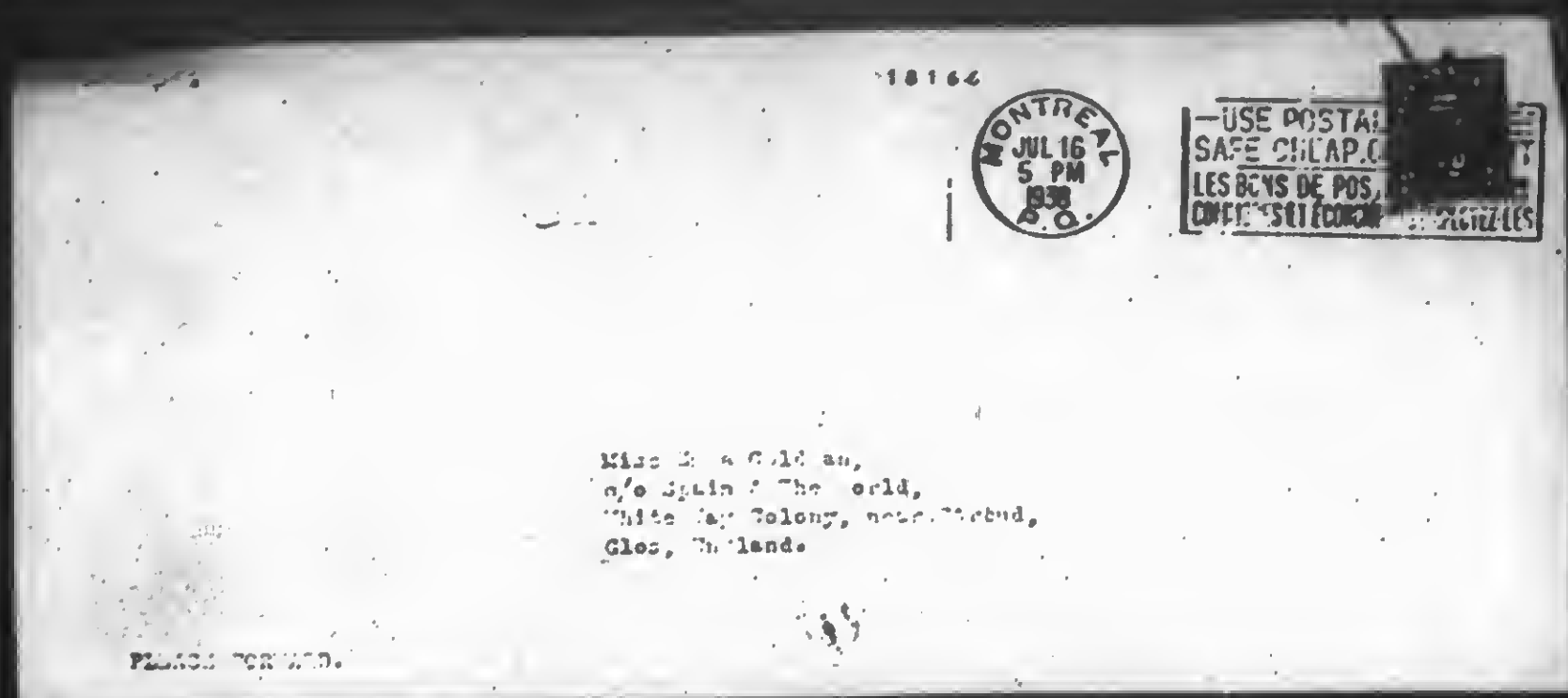
Max



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[Envelope] 1938 July 16, Montreal [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Max Zahler. --
2 p. ; 8 x 18 cm.

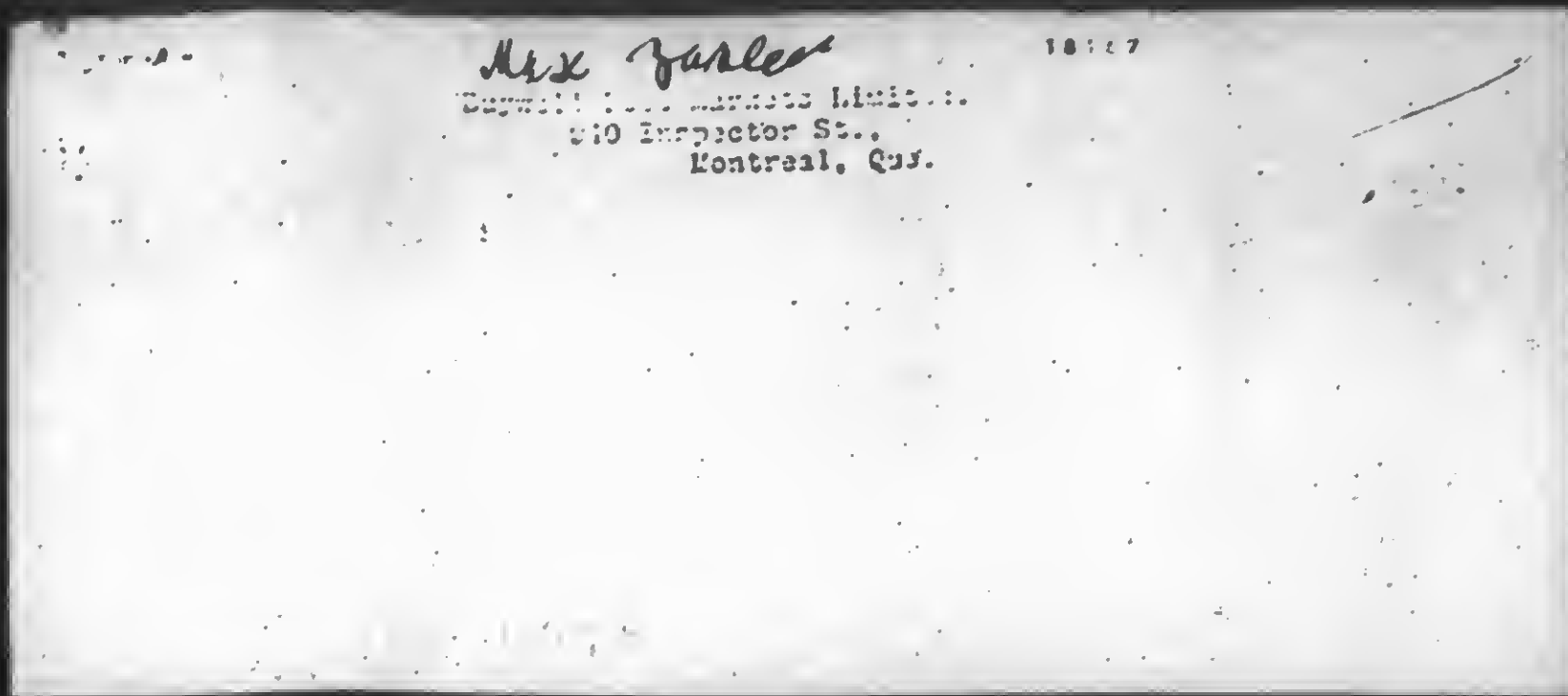
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A Microfilm Edition

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Correspondence

April 16, 1938, to July 15, 1938

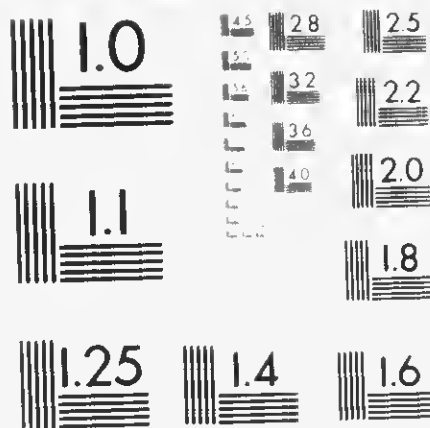
Edited by
Candace Falk
Ronald J. Zboray
and
Alice L. Hall

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia

Cambridge, England

16X



END

